

**CIVICS EDUCATION
IN
BHUTAN:
STUDENT KNOWLEDGE AND
STAKEHOLDER PERSPECTIVES**

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Abstract

Bhutan became the world's youngest democracy in 2008. In order to keep pace with the change in governance, the Ministry of Education in Bhutan initiated the development of a curriculum to educate young people on democracy by preparing Bhutan Civics textbooks. Civics education as a standalone subject starts in Class 7 and continues to Class 12. It is a mandatory subject for all students up to class 10 but exit for those who choose to pursue science, commerce and *rigzhung* streams. Only arts stream continues to study civics till class 12. Up until Class 6, civics and citizenship is taught as part of social studies and is not a separate subject. Given that Bhutan's civics education has now been in operation for a number of years, it is timely to explore the learning experiences of students, the teaching experiences of teachers and the expectations of relevant stakeholders. The enhanced understanding of the current state of the acquisition of civics knowledge in Bhutan resulting from this study can be used by policy makers, curriculum designers and teacher educators, as well as teachers and the public, as part of a process of continual quality improvement.

Data for this study have been gathered from five sources:

- A test taken by 270 students on Bhutan Civics content;
- Focus group semi-structured interviews with 54 students;
- Face-to-face semi-structured interviews with 13 teachers;
- Face-to-face semi-structured interviews with 11 curriculum-based stakeholders;
- and
- An analysis of Bhutan Civics textbooks.

This study reveals the need to strengthen civics education in Bhutan, starting from the presentation and content of the textbooks to the delivery of lessons in classrooms. Lack of citizenship content is identified as another gap in the overall teaching and learning process of Bhutan Civics. Further, there is a demand for civics teachers' professional development in teaching the civics subject, from both students and teachers. Besides other civics sections, Bhutanese ethos, such as *Ley Jumdrey* and *Tha Damtshig*, and Bhutanese etiquette, *Driglam Namzha*, have been identified as important components that ought to be part of civics and citizenship education in Bhutan.

In order to fulfil national aspirations for an informed citizenry able to participate in a democracy, civics and citizenship must be recognised as one subject that needs to be given importance. For future citizens to be active participants in nation-building, subjects such as civics and citizenship should not take a back seat in the school curriculum.

Candidate Certification

I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not currently being submitted for any other degree or qualification.

I certify that any help received in preparing this thesis and all sources used have been acknowledged in this thesis.



Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the youth of Bhutan
towards fulfilment of the
education vision:

An educated and enlightened society of GNH,
built and sustained on the unique Bhutanese
values of *tha-damtshig ley gyu-drey*.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	ii
Abstract.....	iv
Candidate Certification	vi
Dedication	vii
Table of Contents	viii
List of Tables	xv
List of Figures.....	xvi
List of Abbreviations	xix
Glossary/Transliteration	xxi
Chapter 1: Overview.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Problem statement.....	5
1.3 Purpose of the study.....	6
1.4 Research questions.....	7
1.5 Study population	8
1.6 Assumptions of the study.....	8
1.7 Limitations of the study	8
1.8 Significance of the study.....	9
1.9 Summary	9
1.10 An overview of the thesis structure.....	9
Chapter 2: Conceptualisation of civics and citizenship education	12
2.1 Overview.....	12
2.2 Background	13
2.3 Civics and citizenship vs. civics education and citizenship education	18
2.4 Western concept vs. Eastern concept of civics and citizenship education.....	20
2.5 The Bhutanese concept	25
2.6 What is Gross National Happiness (GNH)?	29
2.7 Importance of civics and citizenship education	32
2.8 Values promoted through civics education.....	37
2.9 Challenges with civics and citizenship education.....	38
2.10 Conclusion	42
Chapter 3: International perspectives on civics and citizenship education.....	44
3.1 Overview.....	44

3.2	Array of perceptions on civics and citizenship education.....	46
3.3	Involvement of citizens for success of democracy and governance	48
3.4	Teaching morality: Values-explicit versus values-implicit teaching.....	49
3.5	National identity: An explicit focus for civic education.....	50
3.6	Civics education: Approaches to transmission	52
3.7	Civics and citizenship education in five Asian ICCS countries.....	54
3.7.1	Chinese Taipei	54
3.7.2	Republic of Korea	55
3.7.3	Hong Kong SAR.....	56
3.7.4	Indonesia	57
3.7.5	Thailand	57
3.8	International perspectives outside ICCS countries	57
3.8.1	Civics and citizenship education in Japan	58
3.8.2	Australia: The context of civics and citizenship education	60
3.8.3	Civics and citizenship education in Singapore	64
3.9	Inferences for Bhutan.....	66
Chapter 4: The democratisation processes and a brief history of education in Bhutan.....		70
4.1	Overview	70
4.2	Historical background of democratisation in Bhutan	71
4.3	Contextual background of Bhutan’s education system.....	77
4.4	Introduction of new civics textbooks	81
4.5	Public perception of democracy.....	82
4.6	Research rationale	87
4.7	Conclusion	89
Chapter 5: Research methodology		91
5.1	Overview.....	91
5.2	Approaches of social behavioural research.....	91
5.3	Historical development of different approaches and worldviews.....	93
5.4	Selecting an appropriate research methodology	95
5.5	Research purpose	95
5.6	Research design.....	95
5.7	Mixed method	99
5.8	Stage 1 data collection: Test and focus group interviews of students and the face-to-face interviews with civics teachers	100
5.8.1	Selection of schools	100

5.8.2	Methods employed in Stage 1	106
5.8.3	Stage 1A: Quantitative data collection: Tests on Bhutan’s civics textbooks 106	
5.8.4	Stage 1B: Qualitative data collection: Interviews with focus group students 112	
5.8.5	Stage 1C: Qualitative data collection: Semi-structured interviews with civics teachers	122
5.9	Stage 2 data collection: Qualitative data.....	125
5.9.1	Semi-structured interviews with curriculum-based stakeholders	125
5.10	Credibility of Stage 1 and 2	128
5.11	Limitations of the study	128
5.12	Conclusion	130
Chapter 6: Quantitative results: Knowledge about Bhutan civics		131
6.1	Overview.....	131
6.2	Civics knowledge research.....	132
6.3	Description of the students’ civics test results	136
6.4	School-wise performance in civics test.....	137
6.5	Pattern of students’ scores in civics test under different divisions	137
6.6	Comparisons of civics test results with results of English and Dzongkha board examination.....	140
6.7	Further analysis of English and Dzongkha results.....	144
6.8	Comparison between results of civics test and the 2014 results of English and Dzongkha	146
6.9	Performance of students in different topics that make up the civics curriculum	148
6.9.1	Topic 1: Knowledge of Democracy	149
6.9.2	Topic 2: The Constitution	150
6.9.3	Topic 3: Fundamental Rights and Duties.....	151
6.9.4	Topic 4: Government	152
6.9.5	Topic 5: Local Government	153
6.9.6	Topic 6: Citizen and Voting.....	154
6.9.7	Topic 7: Election and Formation of Political Parties.....	155
6.9.8	Topic 8: Constitutional Bodies	156
6.9.9	Topic 9: Gross National Happiness (GNH) and Good Governance	157
6.9.10	Topic 10: Parliament.....	158
6.10	Comparison between independent groups of respondents.....	159
6.10.1	Private vs. public.....	160
6.10.2	Location-wise comparison (urban vis-à-vis semi-urban)	161

6.10.3	Regional performance comparatives.....	162
6.10.4	Stream-wise comparisons	164
6.10.5	Gender-wise comparison	166
6.10.6	Status comparison (boarding vs. day scholar)	168
6.11	Conclusion	169
Chapter 7: Qualitative results: Stakeholders’ experiences and perspectives.....		170
7.1	Overview.....	170
7.2	Focus group interviews with students.....	170
7.2.1	Misplaced understanding of importance of civics education.....	171
7.2.2	Innovate civics teaching-learning practices	173
7.2.3	Call for living civics textbooks/content	174
7.2.4	Unattractive civics textbooks: A deterrent factor	176
7.2.5	Students’ interest dependent on teachers’ subject proficiency	177
7.2.6	Demand for a variety of teaching-learning experience.....	179
7.2.7	Diverse views on values education through civics lessons.....	180
7.2.8	Civics: A lifelong subject.....	182
7.2.9	Need for a common definition of civics education.....	184
7.3	Teachers’ interviews	186
7.3.1	Less weighting in the exam: A demotivation for students.....	186
7.3.2	Time constraints: A hindrance to effective civics lessons	188
7.3.3	Priority for civics and Bhutan history	189
7.3.4	Periodic updates in the textbooks: Teachers’ plea.....	191
7.3.5	A need for adequate teaching-learning materials.....	193
7.3.6	Attractive textbooks generate students’ interest	194
7.3.7	An exit for civics education at Class 10: Deprivations for non-arts students 195	
7.3.8	Convergence in teachers’ understanding of civics education	197
7.3.9	Lack of clarity for students of civics definition: Teachers’ perception	198
7.4	Interview with Curriculum Officer (CO).....	199
7.4.1	Civics is a dynamic and evolving subject: A claim by CO.....	200
7.5	Curriculum writers’ interviews	202
7.5.1	Usage of provisional textbooks for too long.....	202
7.5.2	Ineffectiveness of civics education	204
7.5.3	Civics textbooks: Potential avenue for values education.....	205
7.5.4	Need for improvement of the textbooks	207

7.6	Curriculum-based stakeholders' interviews.....	209
7.6.1	Civics textbooks: Perceived incomprehensive with skewed content.....	209
7.6.2	Less priority accorded for civics.....	210
7.6.3	Need for improvement in the textbooks.....	213
7.6.4	Shallow content on constitutional organisations.....	216
7.7	Conclusion	221
Chapter 8: Commentary on Bhutan Civics textbooks.....		223
8.1	Overview.....	223
8.2	Bhutan Civics Classes VII & VIII: A Supplementary Textbook.....	226
8.2.1	PART 1 for Class VII: Forms of Government.....	227
8.2.2	PART 2 for Class VIII: Constitution and the Citizen	228
8.3	Bhutan Civics Classes IX – X: A Course Book.....	229
8.3.1	Class IX.....	229
8.3.2	Class X.....	237
8.4	Bhutan Civics Classes XI & XII: A Course Book	250
8.4.1	Class XI.....	251
8.4.2	Class XII	254
8.5	Consolidation of commentaries	259
Chapter 9: Discussion: Integration of findings and recommendations		264
9.1	Introduction.....	264
9.2	Part One: Context/background.....	265
9.3	Part Two: Commonalities of practices and challenges	265
9.3.1	Research sub-question 1	268
9.3.2	Research sub-question 2	282
9.3.3	Research sub-question 3	285
9.3.4	Research sub-question 4	288
9.4	Part Three: Realisations and recommendations, limitations, and the way forward 289	
9.4.1	Policy implications.....	289
9.4.2	Practice implications	295
9.5	Recommendations to Curriculum Officer.....	296
9.5.1	Curriculum revision	297
9.5.2	Aims of updating curriculum	298
9.6	Limitations of the study	301
9.7	Possible directions for future researchers	302

9.8 Chapter conclusion.....	303
References.....	305
Appendices.....	319
Appendix 1 Topic1 - Knowledge of democracy.....	319
Appendix 2 Topic 2 -The Constitution	320
Appendix 3 Topic 3 - Fundamental Rights and Duties.....	321
Appendix 4 Topic 4 - Government	322
Appendix 5 Topic 5 - Local Government	323
Appendix 6 Topic 6 - Citizen and Voting.....	324
Appendix 7 Topic 7 - Election and Formation of Political Parties.....	325
Appendix 8 Topic 8 - Constitutional Bodies	326
Appendix 9 Topic 9 - GNH and Good Governance	327
Appendix 10 Topic 10 - Parliament.....	328
Appendix 11 Summary of Generalized Linear Mixed Model (GLMM).....	329
Appendix 12 Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) summary of GLMM	330
Appendix 13 Backwards selection process based on AIC values.....	331
Appendix 14 Bonferonni corrected final model	332
Appendix 15 Average scores of nine schools	333
Appendix 16 Overall mean scores on different topics by all students.....	334
Appendix 17: Test: Bhutan Civics	335
Appendix 18: Possible semi-structured interview questions	350
Appendix 19 UNE ethics approval letter	352
Appendix 20 Participant information sheet - high school	353
Appendix 21 Participant information sheet - stakeholders	357
Appendix 22 Consent Form for High School Students	360
Appendix 23 Consent Form for Stakeholders.....	361
Appendix 24 Approval letter from the Ministry of Education, Bhutan.....	362
Appendix 25 Approval letter from Department of Curriculum Research and Development, Paro.....	363
Appendix 26 Approval letter from ECB, Bhutan	364
Appendix 27 Approval letter from RCSC, Bhutan.....	365
Appendix 28 Approval letter from RAA, Bhutan.....	366
Appendix 29 Approval letter from ACC, Bhutan.....	367
Appendix 30 Approval letter from Speaker, National Assembly of Bhutan	368
Appendix 31 Approval from Commission for Religious Organisation.....	369

Appendix 32 Approval letter from Royal Court of Justice.....	370
Appendix 33 Approval Letter from Deputy Chair Person, National Council of Bhutan.....	371

List of Tables

Table 5.1:	Four worldviews	94
Table 5.2:	Overview of sampling process for stage 1	102
Table 5.3:	Details of the test	108
Table 5.4:	Students coding	121
Table 5.5:	Teacher participants	123
Table 5.6:	Teachers coding	124
Table 5.7:	Overview of sampling process for stage 2	126
Table 5.8:	Stakeholders coding	127
Table 5.9:	School-wise number of students scoring under different divisions in civics test	138
Table 6.2:	School raw scores by students in civics test under different mark bands	139
Table 6.3:	English average percentage marks from BCSEA for the past three years	141
Table 6.4:	Dzongkha average percentage marks from BBE for the past three years	142
Table 6.5:	Comparisons of average scores of civics with three-years averages of English and Dzongkha	143
Table 6.6:	Number of students scoring under different divisions in English for three years	145
Table 6.7:	Number of students scoring under different divisions in Dzongkha for three years	146
Table 6.8:	Comparative statement on number of students scoring under different Divisions in civics, English and Dzongkha	147
Table 6.9:	Total marks obtained by 30 students in each school under each topic	149
Table 6.10:	Number of students under different marks band (school category)	160
Table 6.11:	Number of students under different marks band (location)	161
Table 6.12:	Number of students under different marks band (region)	163
Table 6.13:	Number of students under different marks band (streams)	165
Table 6.14:	Number of students under different marks band (gender)	167
Table 6.15:	Number of students under different marks band (status)	168

List of Figures

Figure 2.1:	Traits expected from a GNH graduate	34
Figure 5.1:	Research Model: Sequential design with convergence feature	99
Figure 5.2:	Map of Bhutan	101
Figure 6.1:	Graphic representation of average percentage of school performance in civics test	137
Figure 6.2:	Aggregated number and percentage of students against different civics test mark bands	139
Figure 6.3:	Average percentage scores of civics test, English, and Dzongkha	144
Figure 6.4:	Comparative graphical presentation on the number of students scoring under different Divisions for civics, English and Dzongkha	148
Figure 6.5:	Mean score/performance of 30 students each in nine schools on Topic 1	150
Figure 6.6:	Mean score/performance of 30 students each in nine schools on Topic 2	151
Figure 6.7:	Mean score/performance of 30 students each in nine schools on Topic 3	152
Figure 6.8:	Mean score/performance of 30 students each in nine schools on Topic 4	153
Figure 6.9:	Mean score/performance of 30 students each in nine schools on Topic 5	154
Figure 6.10:	Mean score/performance of 30 students each in nine schools on Topic 6	155
Figure 6.11:	Mean score/performance of 30 students each in nine schools on Topic 7	156
Figure 6.12:	Mean score/performance of 30 students each in nine schools on Topic 8	157
Figure 6.13:	Mean score/performance of 30 students each in nine schools on Topic 9	158
Figure 6.14:	Mean score/performance of 30 students each in nine schools on Topic 10	159
Figure 6.15:	Government – Private performance	160
Figure 6.16:	Government – Private performance in ten topics	161

Figure 6.17:	Overall urban and semi-urban performance	162
Figure 6.18:	Comparison between urban and semi-urban in topic wise performance	162
Figure 6.19:	Overall regional performance	163
Figure 6.20:	Comparison among three regions in topic wise performance	164
Figure 6.21:	Stream comparison	165
Figure 6.22:	Comparison among different streams in topic wise performance	166
Figure 6.23:	Gender overall performance	167
Figure 6.24:	Gender comparison in topic wise performance	167
Figure 6.25:	Status (day scholar and boarder) comparison in topic wise performance	168
Figure 7.1:	Incidental factors that undermine the importance of civics subject	171
Figure 7.2:	Civics as difficult subject due to constricted teaching	173
Figure 7.3:	Additional learning materials beyond the thoughts of first civics writers	175
Figure 7.4:	Elements of textbooks that put away students from reading	177
Figure 7.5:	Generally expected traits of a civics teacher	178
Figure 7.6:	Numerous teaching-learning modes outside of mundane textbooks teaching	179
Figure 7.7:	Mixed views on civics subject for values education	181
Figure 7.8:	Civics as universal and timeless subject	183
Figure 7.9:	Civics expressed in different forms and levels	185
Figure 7.10:	Consequences of limitations on teaching-learning of civics due to low weighting	187
Figure 7.11:	Limitations on teaching-learning of civics due to time constraints	188
Figure 7.12:	Possible alternatives to raise the importance of civics	189
Figure 7.13:	Suggestions from teachers on enhancing their knowledge and skills	191
Figure 7.14:	Suggested tools to enhance teaching-learning effectiveness of civics	193
Figure 7.15:	Need for attractive textbooks to generate students' interest	194
Figure 7.16:	Need to mandate civics subject till Class 12	196
Figure 7.17:	Presence of citizenship as core in civics subject	197

Figure 7.18:	Teachers' perception on students' understanding of democracy	198
Figure 7.19:	Opinions of CO on civics curriculum	200
Figure 7.20:	References used by the first curriculum writers	203
Figure 7.21:	Factors leading to backsliding of civics education effectiveness	204
Figure 7.22:	Values education is more important than just fundamental rights and duties	206
Figure 7.23:	Reasons to improve civics textbooks	207
Figure 7.24:	Comprehensiveness of civics subject	210
Figure 7.25:	Low examination weighting and time constraint as the negative factor for learning civics	211
Figure 7.26:	Justification to update textbooks	213
Figure 7.27:	Expectation of stakeholders from constitutional organisations	216
Figure 8.1:	The main categories of democratic citizenship education curriculum	260
Figure 9.1:	Framework for updating civics curriculum	298

List of Abbreviations

ACARA	<i>Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority</i>
ACC	Anti-Corruption Commission
ACCC	Australian Curriculum: Civics and Citizenship
APPA	The Australian Primary Principals Association
BCSEA	Bhutan Council for School Examinations and Assessment
BOSTES	Board of Studies, Teaching and Educational Standards
CAPSD	Curriculum and Professional Support Division
CCE	Character and Citizenship Education
CIVED	Civics Education
CME	Civics and Moral Education
CTDD	Curriculum and Textbook Development Division
DCRD	Department Curriculum and Research Development
DEO	District Education Officer
DT	Dzongkhag Tshogde
DYT	Dzongkhag Yargye Tshogchung
ECB	The Election Commission of Bhutan
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GLMM	Generalized Linear Mixed Model
GNH	Gross National Happiness
GNHC	Gross National Happiness Commission
GT	Gewog Tshogde
GYT	Gewog Yargye Tshogchung
ICCS	International Civics and Citizenship Education Study
ICSE	Indian Certificate of Secondary Education
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
IRCAF	International Review of Curriculum and Assessment Framework
ISC	Indian School Certificate
MCEETYA	The Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs
MoE	<i>Ministry of Education</i>
NDP	<i>New Development Paradigm</i>

NEP	National Education Policy
OECD	Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development
RAA	Royal Audit Authority
RAF	Resources Allocation Framework
RCSC	Royal Civil Service Commission
REC	Royal Education Council

Glossary/Transliteration

Barmi (Barmi)	Negotiator/ Middle man
Chimi (sPyi mi)	Erstwhile Public Representative
Chiwog (sPyi 'og)	Sub Division of Gewogs
Dakyen (bDag rKyen)	Award of rank and responsibility
Dasho (Drag shos)	Similar to Knighthood
Desi (sDe Srid)	Secular head of the country
Drangpon (Drang dPon)	Judge/ Court Judge
Driglam Namzha (sGrig lam rNam gZHag)	Etiquette
Druk Gyalpo ('Brug rGyalpo)	Dragon King
Drukpa Kagyud ('Brugpa bKa' brgyud)	One of the Buddhist sects
Dungkhag (Drungkhag)	Sub-district
Dzongdag (rDzong bDag)	Head of Dzongkhag
Dzongkha (rDzongkha)	Bhutanese Language
Dzongkhag (rDzongkhag)	District
Dzongkhag Tshogdu (rDzongkhag Tshogs 'du)	District Committee
Dzongkhag Yargye Tshogchung (rDzongkhag Yargye Tshogs chung)	District Development Committee
Dzongpons (rDzong dPon)	District Officers
Dzongs (rDzong)	Fortress
Gaydrung (rGyed drung)	Gewog Clerk
Genja (Gan rGya)	Agreement
Gewog (rGed 'og)	Block
Gewog Tshogde (rGed 'og Tshogs sDe)	Block Council
Gewog Yargye Tshogchung (rGed 'og Yar rGyas Tshogs chung)	Block Development committee
Gup (rGapo)	Block Headman
Gyelwong Tshogde (rGyal yongs Tshogs sDe)	National Council
Gyelwong Tshogdu (rGyal yongs Tshogs 'du)	National Assembly
Jabmi (rGyab mi)	Lawyer/ Solicitor
Je Khenpo (rJe mKhanpo)	Head Abbot or Spiritual head of the country
Jog Yig (mGyogs yig)	Bhutanese script

Kabney (bKab ne)	Scarves
Karma (Karma)	Principle of cause and effect
Kasho (bKa' shog)	A written order
Kidu (sKyid sDug)	Benefits granted by the King or the Government of Bhutan
Ley Jumdrey (Las rGyu 'bras)	Cause and effect/karma
Lhengye Zhungtshog (Lhan rGyas gZhung Tshogs)	Cabinet of Ministers
Lodroe Tshogdue (Blo Gros Tshogs 'du)	Royal Advisory Council
Lyonchhen (Blonchen)	Prime Minister
Lyonpo (Blonpo)	Minister
Mangmi (dMangs mi)	Deputy Block Headman
Mangtso (dMangs gTso)	Community priority
Mi-Lue-Rimpoche (Mi lus rinpoche)	Precious human form of life
Penlops (dPon sLob)	Governor
Shedras (bShad Graw)	Monastic Institutes for Higher Studies
Tha Dam tshig (Tha dam tshig)	Sacred Commitment
Thrimkhang (Khrimkhang)	Court
Thrimkhang Gongma (Khrimkhang gongma)	High Court
Thrimpoens (Khrim dPon)	Judges
Thromde (Khrom sDe)	Municipal
Thromde Demkhong (Khrom sDe 'dems khong)	Municipal Constituency
Thromde thuemi (Khrom sDe 'thus mi)	Municipal Representative
Thrompon (Khrom dPon)	Mayor / Municipal Administrator
Thruenchhoe (Khrun chos)	Judgement
Tsawa Sum (rTsa wa gSum)	King, country and people
Tshogdu Chhenmo (Tshogs 'du chenmo)	The Legislature
Tshogpa (Tshogs pa)	Chiwog Representatives

Chapter 1: Overview

1.1 Introduction

Bhutan's recent transition in 2008 from an absolute monarchy to a democratic constitutional monarchy has been a very important event in its history. The change in the system of governance conferred crucial responsibilities upon the people of Bhutan. A democracy needs every individual to be able to take part in the governance of the country. The people of Bhutan have been fortunate for a century under the rule of benign kings, whereby everything was taken care of for them. Bhutan's monarchs carried the burden and worries of the kingdom with regard to internal as well as external affairs. Besides ensuring the security and sovereignty of the country, the kings steered the country by combining prosperity with progress. Today, Bhutan is primarily a welfare-based society, with free provisions for people in the three areas below but not limited to these:

- Free education where people do not have to worry about education of their children. The state is mandated to provide free education to all the children of school-going age up to class 10 ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008);
- Free health facilities are provided both within the country and for medical referrals in other countries. 'The State is mandated to provide free access to basic public health services in modern and traditional medicines' ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008, p. 21); and
- Agricultural subsidies to farmers ranging from seed to farm machinery. Bhutan is an agrarian society and 70% of the population lives an agrarian lifestyle (Tobgay, 2016).

The Bhutanese monarchs were an inspiration of unity for the people and the country. Being the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and the Militia, the kings could deploy the army when the country's security was under threat ("Constitution of the

Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008). There are many occasions when the monarchs made immeasurable contributions to the national survival and welfare of the Bhutanese people.

Having strengthened the security and sovereignty of the country, His Majesty the 4th King Jigme Singye Wangchuck decided that it was time for the people of Bhutan to become involved in the governance of the country's affairs. Starting from the people at the grassroots to ministerial level, through the policy of decentralisation and devolution of power for socio-economic development, citizens were gradually introduced to democratic governance and its underlying fundamentals and principles. The history of this and the process of democratisation are discussed in detail in Chapter 4. The 4th King believed that democracy was the best form of government for the people of Bhutan. Thus, after 100 years of absolute monarchy, the power to govern the country was transferred to the people of Bhutan.

The people of Bhutan, after being nurtured by benevolent monarchs for over a century, now have to accept responsibilities by actively participating in the decision-making processes of the country. Responsibility was thereby thrust upon the people for their active participation in understanding their roles and their government's roles and how they could actively involve themselves in deciding national matters.

For the people to participate actively, and more importantly for their effective participation in the process of democracy, it is expected that they must be equipped with the following:

- To know the basic principles of democracy;
- To have the skills to participate; and
- For such knowledge and skills to be based on sound morality, integrity and efficiency.

This mandates the state to ensure citizens are provided with a good education that provides a requisite level of knowledge and skills. Even more importantly, it ensures that our education system produces citizens informed with appropriate values. For such an education, a civics and citizenship element must be in place in the school curriculum to ensure all citizens possess the above qualities. Bhutan must have a school system promoting a broad and comprehensive civics and citizenship curriculum. The content of such curriculum has to be reflected, incorporated and manifested in the form of textbooks

for educational purposes in schools. In fact, textbooks are the major source of learning for our students in the Bhutanese education system. The content of the textbooks is currently the primary source for youth in schools to acquire knowledge, skills and values. Because textbooks play such an important role in Bhutanese education, they have to be prepared with much care and intelligence.

Democracy is a fairly new concept for Bhutanese. Textbooks in schools should convey a realistic view of democracy and impart a responsible idea of living in a democratic society. For instance, textbooks should teach that democracy is not only about freedom but freedom with responsibilities and duties. Further, the textbooks should carry the teaching of Bhutanese ethos and values, such as *Tha Damtshig* (sacred commitment), *Ley Jumdrej* (cause and effect), and *Driglam Namzha* (etiquette). Our students should learn from the textbooks that Bhutan is a highly cultured society endowed with a set of values with which people live their lives. *Tha Damtshig* is a commitment between individuals about acting with commitment to whatever an individual does. *Ley Jumdrej* refers to cause and effect. It stresses the general belief that present actions determine future outcomes. *Ley Jumdrej* emphasises belief that an individual will only bring positive actions by having expectations for good outcomes in future. *Driglam Namzha* plainly refers to ordered and cultured behaviour generally expected from an individual, including discipline within the self in whatever actions one performs. These human values have been the guiding values for the Bhutanese people for a very long time and can have a positive effect for those participating in democratic decision-making processes.

Although the content of curriculum subjects such as Dzongkha, the Bhutanese language, incorporates values, these values should be incorporated in all subjects and even more so with civics and citizenship education as it is an appropriate subject to impart these values. These values can enable all to exercise vigilance for every action performed by individuals. One can watch one's own actions to see whether one is doing the right thing that will not destroy the harmony of society. One can observe how committed one is to the people around one, such as one's partner, children, elders, youngsters, neighbours, fellow workers and extended family members. Finally, one should be mindful of one's action as to whether the action is performed with discipline or in a mannerless way. Society appreciates a well-mannered person.

The present Prime Minister Tshering Tobgay quoted His Majesty the 4th King as having said: ‘the future of our nation depends on the youth, the future is what we make of it, the future is what the youth make of it, not what is thrust on the youth’ (Tobgay, 2014, paragraph 17). The Prime Minister further said that if we are to achieve a good future, we need to have the best tool and that is a democratic system of governance. Therefore, our youth need to understand democracy in order to enjoy the benefits of democracy, which are conferred on all. On the other hand, they also need to fulfil their responsibilities to ensure that democracy functions meaningfully (Tobgay, 2014). The Ministry of Education has an obligation to heed to this message and make the curriculum meaningful for students to enable them to understand democracy.

In addition, Bhutan’s national aspiration envisages an education (Planning Commission, 1999) that:

- Promotes the nation’s unique cultural heritage and ethical values;
- Develops the capacity of the young people with universal values;
- Grooms the young minds to become knowledgeable, skillful, creative, enterprising, mindful, reflective and confident; and
- Equips the youth to respond to emerging national and global challenges.

The national aspiration is further supported by the Education Vision to produce an educated and enlightened society of Gross National Happiness (GNH), built and sustained on the unique Bhutanese values of *tha dam-tshig* [*Tha Damtshig*] *ley gyu-drey* [*Ley Jumdrey*] (Ministry of Education, 2016, p. 63).

Bearing in mind the national aspiration of Bhutan, the researcher notes that civics textbooks have an important role in providing children with the type of education that meets the nation’s current needs. As His Majesty the 5th Druk Gyalpo Jigme Khesar Namgyal Wangchuck in 2009, during His address to the 3rd Convocation Ceremony (Royal University of Bhutan, Paro College of Education, 7 February 2009) said: ‘praising what we have done already will not bring new rewards. It is better to see what our weaknesses are, where we have not done very well, and where we need to do better’ (Wangchuck, 2009, paragraph 2).

The teaching of Bhutanese civics is a relatively new area, and as in the case of any area of curriculum, regular professional reflection is needed to maintain high quality.

Those involved include students and teachers and other significant people, and their perspectives help create a rich understanding of the current situation in civics education. Ultimately, the aim of any professional reflection is to identify potential improvements so that quality enhancement is an ongoing process. To further quote His Majesty the 5th Druk Gyalpo: ‘our education system built and nurtured with your [teachers’] hard work and dedication has served us well. But we must understand that the times have changed here in Bhutan and all around us in the world. We cannot face new challenges with the same tool’ (Wangchuck, 2009, paragraph 5).

1.2 Problem statement

Although civics and citizenship education takes place in different contexts such as the family, community, and religious institutions, schools are considered the main place to impart learning of such education in Bhutan. Therefore, it is essential that periodic reviews must inform the Ministry of Education on the implementation of the curriculum and programs in schools in order to help make informed decisions and for ongoing quality improvement.

Formulation of the present civics curriculum was initiated in 2006 and it underwent rigorous refinement processes in 2007. The new civics textbooks, a product of this two-year civics curriculum development, was first introduced to the Bhutanese schools in 2008 academic year, coinciding with the introduction of the Parliamentary democracy in the country. The curriculum was for children from Class 7 to 12 and civics textbooks for these classes were first published in 2008. Hence, the first cohort of students would have completed a full 6-year cycle of studying the civics curriculum from Class 7 till Class 12 in 2013, i.e., after the introduction of the new textbooks in 2008 till the 2013 academic session.

The researcher, as an Education Monitoring Officer (EMO) in the Education Monitoring Division under the Department of School Education, was responsible for students’ performance in History, Civics and Geography (HCG) subjects. Therefore, the researcher as an EMO responsible to monitor students’ performance in HCG subjects by different schools in the country was personally keen to learn the overall impact of the new civics curriculum on students, teachers and the society at large. Further, the general prevailing good practices of educational institutes also suggest the curriculum to undergo major review or updates upon completion of a full cycle by one particular cohort (Royal

University of Bhutan, 2010). Therefore, the researcher opined it highly imperative to conduct an in-depth study on the civics curriculum to highlight gaps and deficiencies, if any, existing in civics textbooks in the light of concurrent socio-political changes that have direct consequences on the contents of the curriculum.

To this end, perceptions about the nature and implementation of civics education from various stakeholders need to be explored by querying:

- Students, concerning their learning experiences;
- Teachers' opinion on their teaching methods as well as their views on the curriculum provided by the Department of Curriculum and Research Development (DCRD), which is currently called the Royal Education Council (REC);
- Writers, who can recount the aims behind preparing textbooks, in order to compare these aims with their present implementation in schools; and
- Stakeholders, regarding their perceptions on civics teaching in schools.

1.3 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the teaching and learning experiences of the Bhutan Civics curriculum and textbooks for Classes 7 to 12 following their introduction in 2008. It would examine the perceptions of students, teachers and other significant stakeholders about the content of the Bhutan Civics curriculum and textbooks. Therefore, the study was intended to:

- Find out students' knowledge about the Bhutanese system of governance since 2008;
- Examine students' and teachers' perceptions and experiences of current civics education;
- Investigate stakeholders' expectations about civics education in schools;
- Explore students' and teachers' understanding of the concepts of civics and citizenship education;
- Explore perceptions of the ways in which universal democratic values, GNH values and Bhutanese ethos are being imparted through Bhutan civics courses;
- Explore challenges faced by both students and teachers while dealing with this subject;

- Gather opinions on whether students get more civics knowledge from school through textbooks or from outside sources such as home, village, town, and the media; and
- Consider other pertinent and emerging issues relating to civics education.

Further, there is also a practical necessity to review and look at the contents of the civics textbooks for appropriate and relevant updates and changes. This is in view of the new political landscape post-2008 and new legislations enacted by the new elected parliament. This aspect is elaborated in Chapter 4 (Refer 4.6)

1.4 Research questions

This study used focus group interviews with high school students about their learning experiences. Such interviews were also conducted with teachers to ascertain their teaching experiences of Bhutan Civics. The study also explored students' knowledge of Bhutan Civics by conducting an objective test. The focus of this research was not only in schools but moved beyond schools by conducting semi-structured interviews with curriculum writers, curriculum implementers, and other curriculum-based stakeholders to get their views about the students' test performance and of students and teacher and student perceptions of civics education.

The following questions were investigated through the test and interviews:

Overarching question:

What are Bhutanese stakeholders' experiences and perspectives of civics education in Bhutan?

1. What are the current circumstances of civics and citizenship education in Bhutan?
2. In the current situation of civics and citizenship education, what knowledge have Bhutanese students gained?
3. How do relevant stakeholders in Bhutan perceive the match between their intentions and the reality of student and teacher experiences in civics education?
4. What implications do these understandings have for the ongoing development of civics education in Bhutan?

The answers to these questions are explored in Chapters 6, 7 and 9.

1.5 Study population

For the purpose of this study, the country was divided into three regions, namely, eastern, western and central Bhutan. Three higher secondary schools from each region, comprising two government schools and one privately owned school were randomly selected. Further, the selected schools were observed to have varying provisions, such as boarding and day scholars, urban and semi-urban, different streams of subject, and gender.

Student participants were from classes 11 and 12. Thirty students from each school were randomly selected to participate in civics test. Further, six students were selected to participate in focus group interviews. Besides civics teachers from the selected schools, syllabus writers, curriculum implementers and other stakeholders related to Bhutan Civics education were also included as participants to acquire a wider perspective on civics education in Bhutan (Refer Table: 5.2 and 5.7 in chapter 5 for details).

1.6 Assumptions of the study

The study was carried out based on the following assumptions:

- Students would have a better knowledge of civics following the two rounds of elections in Bhutan.
- Textbooks introduced in 2008 should have helped students gain much knowledge needed to participate in a test concerning Bhutan's democratic process.
- A conceptualisation of civics education should be clear to students and teachers after studying for almost eight years.
- Aspects of citizenship education have been included in the textbooks even though they are called Bhutan Civics textbooks.

1.7 Limitations of the study

The study is confined to only three schools from each region due to the scattered location of schools in Bhutan and also due to the limitation of time. Owing to distance and terrain much time has been spent in travelling between schools, which is not an efficient use of data collection time. Coverage of three schools from each region translates into 20% of the total higher secondary schools. In addition, the data collection time happened during the monsoon season, which made travelling very difficult. Another limitation was the

inability of the researcher to get participants from religious institutions as initially planned. Participation was on a voluntary basis and the identified religious personnel did not wish to participate.

1.8 Significance of the study

The study is significant because it is the first such research conducted about the current civics curriculum in Bhutan. The study sought to identify if there was a potential civics knowledge gap. Further, the study was intended to inform policy makers, curriculum designers, educationists, teacher educators, and the public at large about the current state of the acquisition of civics knowledge. Such knowledge will support ongoing quality improvement in civics education. Additional details on the significance of this research are provided in Chapter 4 (Refer 4.6)

1.9 Summary

The need to estimate the effectiveness of civics education in Bhutan became apparent after the literature review on civics and citizenship education in other countries, considering the national importance of civics and citizenship education, and realising the low examination weighting accorded and less study-time allotted to students. Interviews were conducted to explore the teaching and learning experiences of teachers and students respectively and students' understanding of the subject. Other stakeholders' expectations of schools providing civics and citizenship education were explored to see the match or otherwise between those expectations and the reality of practices in schools. The study is expected to provide comprehensive information of overall Bhutan Civics education especially for the Ministry of Education. It is further anticipated that the research will provide input for ongoing quality improvement and appropriate decision-making by the government in future.

1.10 An overview of the thesis structure

Chapter 1 presents an overall introduction to the dissertation, which includes glimpses of the monarchs' role in maintaining Bhutan's sovereignty and the journey made toward becoming a democratic country. The monarch made a clear statement of expectation that the education system would produce responsible citizens, and this forms the focus for the problem of the study. The chapter further identifies the purpose of the study, research questions, study population, assumptions, limitation and significance of the study.

Chapter 2 presents a detailed conceptualisation of civics and citizenship education focusing on definition of civics and citizenship, the concept of civics and citizenship in the West and the East, the Bhutanese concept of civics and citizenship, the concept of Gross National Happiness in relation to the concept of civics and citizenship, the importance of civics and citizenship education, values promoted through civics education, and challenges with civics and citizenship education.

Chapter 3 presents international perspectives on civics and citizenship education encompassing range of perceptions on civics and citizenship education, involvement of citizens for success of democracy and governance, teaching morality through values-explicit or values-implicit approaches of civics education transmission, civics and citizenship education in five Asian International Civics and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) countries, international perspective outside ICCS countries, and how this international context relates to Bhutan.

Chapter 4 presents a brief history of the democratisation process and history of education in Bhutan. The chapter provides a historical background of Bhutan's democracy, contextual background of Bhutan's education system, introduction of Bhutan Civics textbooks, public perception of democracy, and research rationale.

Chapter 5 presents a detailed discussion of the research philosophy and methodology. This chapter discusses approaches of social behaviour research, historical development of different approaches and worldviews, selecting an appropriate research methodology, research purpose, research design, mixed method research design, research model, quantitative and qualitative data collection, analysis of data, ethical issues, credibility of data, and limitation of the data collection process.

Chapter 6 presents quantitative results. The areas covered are:

- Knowledge about Bhutan Civics;
- Description of the students' results in terms of school-wise performance; pattern of students' score in civics test under different divisions; and comparison of civics result with two common subjects, Dzongkha and English, to see the trend of civics performance;
- Topic-wise performance;

- Comparison between independent groups of respondents: private and public schools; urban and semi-urban; regional performance; stream-wise performance; gender-wise comparison; and boarder and day scholars.

Chapter 7 presents qualitative results based on thematic analysis covering focus group semi-structured interviews with students, semi-structured interviews with teachers and other curriculum-based stakeholders.

Chapter 8 presents commentaries made on Bhutan Civics with regard to objectives, activities and information provided in the textbooks.

Chapter 9 is the overall discussions on issues raised in the preceding chapters 1 to 8. It provides specific comments and recommendations on the observations noted from the literature reviews and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data from the research, and also acknowledges the limitations of the study. The chapter highlights the plausible implications and suggests a way forward to further enhance the quality of civics and citizenship education in Bhutan.

Chapter 2:

Conceptualisation of civics and citizenship education

2.1 Overview

Chapter 2 explores the context, circumstance and basis of how civics and citizenship are understood in different countries and in different regions of the world. Views on civics and citizenship are diverse depending on different religions, cultures, history and economic circumstances throughout the world. Civics and citizenship are different terms with slightly different meanings albeit with a common root to the terms. Civics is a body of knowledge and values, and citizenship is the skill people use to live out that knowledge. Such concepts warrant further exploration for a right understanding of the terminologies.

Generally, world cultures are conceived as ‘Eastern’, ‘Asian’ or ‘Oriental’ and ‘Western’, ‘European and North American’. Similarly, the Western idea of civics and citizenship has a different perspective from the views that are felt and expressed in Asia. Citizenship in the Western tradition under the influence of Christianity mostly revolves around being a good citizen through knowing the law of the land and assuming one’s rights and responsibilities in a world of legal settings: guided by civic and public values. By contrast, the Asian concept is built around being a moral and religious person: guided by moral virtues and personal values. Further, as Asia is a continent with extreme diversity of values, ethnicity, economies, religion and national histories, the study of civics and citizenship within Asia is correspondingly complex. Despite differences in beliefs, concepts and perceptions, there are similarities and commonalities in the overall understanding of civics and citizenship (Kennedy & Fairbrother, 2004; Lee, 2004a, 2009; Lee & Fouts, 2005).

This chapter consequently delves into various forms of concepts underlying educational approaches to civics and citizenship. It further explores the ultimate purpose of civics and citizenship education for the welfare of citizens and nations. Parallels are also drawn to the Bhutanese version of civics and citizenship education that is underpinned by the unique development philosophy of Gross National Happiness.

2.2 Background

Every country wishes to have a peaceful and harmonious society. Most people and communities desire to have a society where people live in close cooperation and understanding, demonstrate mutual respect for each other and where there is effective control of crime and violence. Ultimately, every government desires a society where enforcement of punitive laws is not necessary or not needed to any significant degree. Such a society, if there is one, will only be possible with citizens who share these ideals and behave accordingly. However, what constitutes a good citizen who would live in such a way? How can a society develop good citizens? Good citizens are made, not born. The question is how, by whom, to what end (Galston, 2001)? Are good citizens made through formal education, such as a civics and citizenship education? If so, what is the nature of such a civics and citizenship education that produces good citizens?

In the world today, many countries have adopted a form of democracy as the ideal form of government. Some countries were forced to adopt democratic principles as a result of constant pressure either from their own citizens or due to international influences. This adoption led to regimes undertaking institutional changes, for example, Myanmar (Suryanarayan, 1996). In contrast, there are many countries with undemocratic regimes holding on to their power despite civil unrest and prolonged civil war, for example, Syria (Al-Assad, 2011).

This pressure for change is underpinned by an assumption that people's participation in decision-making will enhance commitment to their country and its laws and that such participation informs expectations associated with citizenship. The question arises: does citizens' participation ensure the achievement of a successful democracy? According to O'Connor and Romer (2006) a healthy democracy depends on the participation of citizens, and the manner of participation is guided by learned behaviour. This form of political behaviour does not just happen. In other words, meaningful participation is learned. Meaningful participation is one that is supported by appropriate education to

provide citizens with the necessary knowledge and skills to participate effectively. It is thus important to examine the learned behaviour necessary for citizens to ensure effective participation and ultimately achieve a successful and vibrant form of democracy. Further, as questioned by Galston (2001), how would citizens obtain these learned behaviours? Experts, academicians and scholars suggest that such learned behaviour is obtained through civics and citizenship education.

But the notion of civics and citizenship education should not be restricted to formal learning in schools and colleges. In fact, there are multiple institutes, forums and platforms where citizens can obtain knowledge and skills to develop their civic character and commitments. For instance, family is one institution where a great deal of civics and citizenship edification can be transmitted from parents or elders to children and younger family members. Religious institutions are another source where civics and citizenship instructions may be bound with religious beliefs and faiths. Further, media and community groups increasingly exert important influences that could act as effective tutelage in the development of concepts of civics and citizenship in the minds of citizens.

Nonetheless, while acknowledging the significance of social institutions, one must not write off formal institutions, since schools conventionally assume a ‘special and historic responsibility for the development of civic competency and civic responsibility’. This special and historic responsibility is fulfilled ‘through both formal and informal education beginning in the earliest years and continuing through the entire educational process’ (Branson & Quigley, 1998, p. 11). The Dreyfuss Civics Initiative (2014, p. 1) also argues, ‘civic values such as civility, clarity of thought, and the importance of dissent are not inherited at birth. The ideas must be taught, and the younger the better.’

Branson and Quigley (1998) suggest that even in older and mature democratic countries like the USA, perhaps the world’s oldest constitutional democracy, citizens need civic education. American democracy has philosophical foundations underlying their political institutions, which are positioned as models for countries aspiring to adopt democracy. Yet, civics education is essential for the American polity to sustain its constitutional democracy.

Branson and Quigley (1998, p. 2) further support the need to have civics education policy by stating that ‘habits of the mind, as well as “habits of the heart”, the dispositions that inform the democratic ethos, are not inherited’ but are learned, fostered and nurtured

by circumstance, word and study. Each new generation must acquire the knowledge, learn the skills, and develop the dispositions for meaningful participation in democracy. It is further viewed by Dewey (1916) that democracy is not only a form of government but also a mode of living together, of conjoint communicated experience. Therefore, informed and effective citizenship in a democracy must be nurtured through civics and citizenship education. So, what **are** civics and citizenship education? Are these two concepts the same or different subjects of study? Before discussing civics and citizenship education, it is essential to understand how these ideas are similar or different from each other.

According to Mellor (2003) civics and citizenship are not the same. Civics relates to civic knowledge and citizenship is a disposition. Citizenship is the development of skills, attitudes, beliefs and values that will predispose a person to participate. Henderson (2013) further makes the concept of civics clear by stating that, for instance, in Australia, civics is the study of democracy, its history, traditions, structures and process, while citizenship is the development of skills, attitudes, beliefs and values that will support students to participate and become engaged in society. Provided below are definitions of civics and citizenship from different institutions, scholars and writers that illustrate how in some countries the concepts vary slightly.

ACARA (2012) and the Civics Expert Group (1994) define civics as an identifiable body of knowledge, skills and understandings relating to the organisation and working of society, including for example, Australia's federal system of government, political and social heritage, democratic processes, public administration and the judicial system, which includes local, state, national, regional and global perspectives. In contrast, ACARA (2012) defines citizenship:

as the legal relationship between an individual and a state. More broadly, citizenship is the condition of belonging to social, religious, political or community groups, locally, nationally and globally. Being part of a group carries with it a sense of belonging or identity which includes rights and responsibilities, duties and privileges. These are guided by the agreed values and mutual obligations required for active participation in the group. In the Australian Curriculum, citizenship incorporates three components – civil (rights and responsibilities), political (participation and representation) and social (social values, identity and community involvement).
(p. 2)

Drawing similarities from the above definitions by Mellor, Henderson and ACARA, the Bhutanese parallel of understanding civics, according to T.S. Powdyel, is ‘an examination of the way governments are formed and the manner in which they relate to and influence the life of citizens, including their rights and responsibilities as members of the state’ (DCRD, 2008a, p. v). Similarly, as inferred from the same Foreword Note by T. S. Powdyel, Bhutanese understanding of citizenship is aptly explained as ‘necessary to learn about how human beings organize their life and build institutions to guide and govern themselves’ (DCRD, 2008a, p. v). Therefore, in Bhutanese parlance, while civics is a study of how governments are formed, citizenship is a study of how the governments are run. Obviously, the operation of governments will involve people, or rather the citizens. Thus, it is the knowledge and skills (of civics) possessed by citizens that are being put to use by citizens through their dispositions. The manner in which citizens are disposed to perform their civic responsibility is the study of citizenship. It merits unravelling the different definitions and concepts of citizenship so that different perspectives of citizenship theory and ideology are comprehended.

To this end, the researcher’s review of the literature reveals different levels of understanding of the concept of citizenship by different people resulting in debates and intellectual tension between those holding different definitions and understandings. For instance, Althof and Berkowitz (2006) present tensions between a narrow definition of citizenship as a legal status, a middle definition of citizenship as knowledge of and skills for participation in the political sphere, and a broader definition of citizenship as a combination of knowledge about society as well as skills for participation in and dispositions to engage constructively in public efforts to promote the common good. Regardless of the different definitions of citizenship, the important issue is how to instill citizenship in successive generations.

It can be seen that the definitions of citizenship are varied, complex and multidimensional. According to Ichilov (2013), citizenship consists of legal, cultural, social, and political elements and provides citizens with defined rights and obligations, a sense of identity and social bonds. The classical definition of citizenship rests on the assertion that citizenship involves a balance or fusion between rights and obligations. Hence, citizenship is neither rights nor obligations but the fusion of the two, which every citizen should invariably possess. A citizen can exercise certain rights but should also

bear certain obligations. Such balancing of rights with obligations is essentially a study of civics and citizenship education.

Reinforcing Ichilov's understanding that citizenship as a fusion of rights and obligations, Wright (1962, p. 1) comments, 'over the centuries a large number of safeguards has been evolved to protect the privileges of citizenship. But for each privilege we have a responsibility. It is with the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship that a study of civics is concerned.' If we accept the privilege of, for instance, freedom of speech, then we must exercise a sense of responsibility in choosing what we speak about and when and how to speak and respect the same freedom for others. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civic and Political Rights identify freedom of expression rights but make it clear that in speaking out we must all respect the rights or reputations of others and our speaking out must not jeopardise national security, public order, public health and public morals. It is possible that careless and thoughtless speech may destroy freedom itself. Similarly, a person voting without care or thought is surely labelled as an irresponsible citizen because the person is not only appointing the lawmakers; they are also equally responsible for keeping and enforcing these laws. To sum up, Wright (1962) emphasises two issues: first, a citizen has an obligation to be responsible when accepting privileges of citizenship. Second, a citizen has a right to vote but bears equal responsibility for the actions or inactions of their elected representative (through abiding by laws enacted by their elected representatives). This necessitates a citizen electing a capable and competent representative enriched with sound morality and ethics.

Thus, voters are morally responsible for the actions or inactions of their elected representatives as voters in a democracy have responsibility to vote conscientiously. This is propounded by Hoy (1945, p. 2) that 'Citizenship means, first, that we share directly in the government of the country by helping to choose those persons who will look after our interests in all civic matters'. It is an additional dimension to a citizen's responsibility. In addition to the claim made by Wright (1962) that a citizen should be responsible for the laws enacted by their representatives, Hoy (1945) goes on to add that citizens should, in their own right, be responsible for the affairs of the state, to solve civic problems in the common interest of fellow citizens, and to extend their civic duty beyond borders for the good of humanity as a whole at the global level. Such ideals should begin from school age when children vote for their school games committee or school prefects. Hoy laments

that school children often think that their responsibility ends after voting for their school prefects. A school's interest should be the school child's interest and the concerns of the state should be the interest of citizens. By extension, a global issue, for example, climate change, should be regarded relevant to any particular country's affairs and thus an international problem, if any, should be a concern of all nations.

Therefore, the definition of civics and citizenship by Hoy (1945) stretches from individuals, families, communities and institutions such as school and its community, and from community to state, and eventually to the world. Further, Hoy (1945, pp. 290-291) proposes the idea that a good citizen will cause fewer civic problems, which will make it easier for the authorities to manage social order. Fewer civic problems will be easier for the state to solve and manage national responsibilities.

Civic problems may arise because of undesirable behaviour of the people, those involved in violations and abuse of laws. O'Connor and Romer (2006) refer to learned behaviour as essential for a healthy democracy, therefore, citizens who learn to be observant or law-abiding and faithful to the norms and good practices in society contribute towards making a healthy democracy. Law-abiding citizens make it easier for the authorities to govern in the best interest of all.

2.3 Civics and citizenship vs. civics education and citizenship education

As civics and citizenship are two separate areas for study, it is only logical that civics education be distinct from citizenship education. Taking this perspective into account, Schulz, Fraillon, and Ainley (2012) describe civics education as education that focuses on knowledge and understanding of formal institutions and processes of civic life, such as the structure of government and voting in elections. Civics education, when applied in typically democratic countries, is concerned with democratic processes and people's involvement with that process at all levels. It helps citizens make informed judgements about the nature of civic life and their involvement in civil life, politics, and government, and why politics and government are necessary, the purpose of government, and the nature and purpose of constitutions (Branson & Quigley, 1998). In addition, Dejaeghere and Tudball (2007) state that civics emphasises knowledge and understanding of civic institutions and processes.

Citizenship education is a wider concept and entails the development of civic knowledge, dispositions and skills. In fact many people are concerned about the ways in which youth are prepared for citizenship and how they learn to take part in civic life (Branson & Quigley, 1998). Citizenship addresses the levels of knowledge, dispositions and skills for participation according to Dejaeghere and Tudball (2007). Anderson (1993) claims that such statements indicate that citizenship education is not merely a political education but a more broadly based understanding of the local and international issues that face all societies today and in the future.

Learning about civic behaviour is essential for all citizens; therefore, there is a greater need for citizenship education to promote learned behaviour in citizens. Mellor (2003, p. 1) says, ‘a rich and complex set of understanding, based on civics knowledge and attitudes or values, plus the opportunity to experience, to practice civic competencies, is required for effective citizenship education. Without civic knowledge and a disposition to engage, a person cannot effectively practice citizenship.’ In addition, a survey conducted by Dynneson (1992) on the concept of ‘Good Citizenship’ according to senior students in one Texan high school revealed that civics learning is an essential aspect of broader citizenship education tradition. Furthermore, Cogan and Derricott (2014) state that schools have considerable responsibilities to develop in young citizens a sense of identity and often national pride in the process of teaching students the rights and duties of citizenship.

Statements by Mellor (2003) and the survey findings of Dynneson expressly suggest that civics education and citizenship education are inextricably interwoven and undeniably intimately related to each other. Neither is possible without the other. Hence, this research study considers civics and citizenship educations together as inseparable. It is on the basis of this rationale that concepts, beliefs and contexts of civics and citizenship education expressed by different scholars and writers will be explored in order to identify countries that have civics knowledge and dispositions adequately provided for citizens to learn. Furthermore, do these systems provide requisite opportunities for citizens to use civics knowledge through appropriate citizenship education or ‘learned behaviour’? Specifically, do Bhutanese have the required level and content of civics knowledge based on certain concepts of civics and citizenship education? Even if Bhutan does have this knowledge, is it similar to the concepts and principles of civics and citizenship education

generally understood and practised in other countries? These issues are further discussed in Chapter 3.

Citizenship education enables citizens to understand civics clearly and appropriately. According to the Civics Expert Group (1994) in Australia, civics education will only create confusion and resistance without an active citizenship education. In other words, civics education depends on specific courses while citizenship education is a broader undertaking that encompasses all aspects of school life. Therefore, civics education is important not only for schools students but also for the creation of a future informed citizenry.

Critics have questioned many of the existing civics education programmes for their narrow focus on institutions of government. They argue that such a narrowly focused civics education provides a limited notion of citizenship. A good citizen should not only understand the structure and function of government but should also be aware of the social dynamics and their role within that formal structure. This view further supports the notion that citizenship education actualises formal knowledge of how government works and the possibilities and limitations of political participation (Krinks, 1999).

Thus, the preceding paragraphs suggest the interlinkages and inter-relatedness of civics and citizenship education in a situation where conceptual definitions of ‘civics’ and ‘citizenship’ are different. A deeper analysis of various definitions reveals that civics and citizenship education are either supplementary or complementary to each other. Nonetheless, the differences and similarities can be identified in both Western and Eastern cultures. These details are explored below.

2.4 Western concept vs. Eastern concept of civics and citizenship education

The researcher has attempted to understand a common idea of citizenship education. A review of literature, for this purpose, exposes difficulty in understanding one common idea of citizenship. An understanding of the good citizen also differs from country to country (Lee & Fouts, 2005). For instance, in the USA, (Dynneson, 1992, pp. 56-57) graduating senior students from four states were asked to respond using a Likert scale against a list of descriptors of a good citizen. The list was as follows:

- Knowledge of current affairs;

- Participation in community or school affairs;
- Acceptance of an assigned responsibility;
- Concern for welfare of others;
- Moral and ethical behaviour;
- Acceptance of authority of those in supervisory roles;
- Ability to make wise decisions;
- Knowledge of government; and
- Patriotism.

The responses revealed that an ability to make wise decisions and a concern for the welfare of others were the most important characteristics of a citizen according to these students. Acceptance of an assigned responsibility, ability to question ideas and moral and ethical behavior were the next most important characteristics. Knowledge of current affairs, patriotism and acceptance of authority of those in supervisory roles were rated as least important, while knowledge of government and participation in community and school affairs were considered not important.

A conceptualisation of citizenship applicable to Europe and North America, according to Cogan (2014), contains a sense of the knowledge, skills, values and disposition that, ideally, citizens should possess. Cogan (2014) classified these attributes into five categories:

- A sense of identity;
- The enjoyment of certain rights;
- The fulfilment of corresponding obligations;
- A degree of interest and involvement in public affairs; and
- An acceptance of basic societal values.

Cogan (2014) further observes that the five attributes are found acceptable in two Asian nations, that is, Japan and Thailand. In addition to the five attributes mentioned above, a Japanese conception of a good citizen includes maintaining harmonious family and social relationships. Furthermore, the citizenship programme in Japan tends to emphasise the concept of nation more than that of citizen. Moral aspects of citizenship in Japan are always included in the concept of being a good citizen. In Thailand, the concepts of citizenship, besides family and human relationships, includes a religious

definition of the good citizen. Hence, spiritual and moral developments are seen as important elements of citizenship. In this predominantly Buddhist society, these are very important and are made explicit in curricula and implicit in educational policies and the preparation of teachers (Cogan, 2014).

Many writers and scholars, such as Lee (2009), have studied the difference between Asian and Western concepts of citizenship. Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004, pp. 290-291) examine whether there is a contradiction between Asian and Western concepts of citizenship or 'whether rather than being distinct and exclusive, Asian and Western conceptions of citizenship are compatible and share commonalities'. One of their findings is that due to colonial legacies in some Asian countries, Western ideas have taken root, but the underlying values are local values that have developed in the specific historical context.

In order to understand the difference between Asian and Western conceptions of citizenship, Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004) and Lee (2004a) studied more closely the idea of the self and the individual in the Asian context. They noted the differences between individualism (as in the West) and individuality (emphasising the quality of inner being and the development of individual character as in the East) and between individual interest (in the West) and individual development (in the East). In China, patriotic education is seen as important in terms of fighting selfishness, individualism and individual interest. Hong Kong and Chinese teachers consider self-cultivation an important quality for the development of future citizens (Grossman, 2004). Similarly in the Muslim tradition, especially in the Malaysian education system, a focus on personal well-being and morality is seen as preparation for contributing to the society (Kennedy & Fairbrother, 2004).

According to Lee (2009), the Anglo-American and the Western concepts revolve around people's participation in the governance of the country, mainly through democracy, assuming rights and responsibilities of citizens in a world of legal settings. By contrast, the Asian or Eastern concept is built around moral and religious sentiments. Further, Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004) state that Asian citizenship education is defined more by conceptions of moral virtues and personal values than by civic and public values.

Asia comprises countries with an extreme diversity of values, thereby rendering an understanding of the concept of citizenship more complex. Lee (2004a, p. 277) comments that there is difficulty in studying Asia because of its diversities, including:

- Economics, for example, the rapid economic performance of Japan;
- Population size, for example, the large Chinese population;
- Political system, for example, Cambodia and Mongolia, which have shifted from communism to capitalism;
- Religion, for example, Confucianism in East Asian countries, Christianity in the Philippines, Islam in Malaysia and Indonesia, and Buddhism in Thailand and Bhutan with minorities of such religious adherent in most countries, and
- Colonial history, for example, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Korea have been under foreign domination.

Furthermore, there is an element of geographic diversity in Asia, for example, India with great diversity of physical features, such as deserts, evergreen forests, snowy Himalayas, extensive coastal areas and fertile plains (Tiru, 2015). There is also diversity in ethnic groups, economic systems and cultures. Nonetheless, there are some commonalities in the 'Asian' context of understanding citizenship education. Lee (2004a, p. 280) reveals that despite the difficulties in conceptualising citizenship there are three common features in the Asian context, which can be briefly stated as: an emphasis on harmony; a focus on spirituality and individuality as self-cultivation.

Lee (2004a, p. 280) writes that maintaining harmony with the universe and in relations with one another in society is considered a fundamental philosophy of life across the Asian region. This is exemplified even in the perception of work. Asian educational leaders place higher value on 'habits of loyalty, obedience, hard work, and punctuality' rather than on 'individual competitiveness and creativity'. For instance, the term 'ethics', in the Chinese language, is translated as 'human relationships'. 'Maintaining good human relations, which is often characterised by harmony, is a priori agenda of Chinese culture' (Lee, 2004a, p. 280).

Khader (2012) writes that primary school children in Malaysia are taught values relating to self-development: self and family, self and society, self and environment, and self and country. By the time children reach middle school, the values are dedicated to

peace and harmony. Education in Malaysia provides spiritual and moral education through expressing daily the virtues of Malaysian society found in religion, traditions and cultural rites. Hoon (2010) argues that this focuses on the instillation, inculcation and internalisation of the noble values of Malaysian society that were based on various religions, traditions and cultures of different communities and which are also consistent with universal values. Hamzah, Isa, and Janor (2010, p. 1) observe that education in Malaysia aims ‘to produce a balance and a holistic individual from physical, emotional, spiritual, and intellectual potential based on a firm belief and devotion to God’.

Lee (2009) mentions citizenship rights and responsibilities and the relationship between the state and the individual as common features between the East and the West cultures. However, citizenship curriculum in Asia is concerned with how one relates to self, others, such as family and friends, the state, and nature. One often finds significant emphasis on self-cultivation as well as harmonious relationships between self and others. The West focuses on individualism in terms of individual rights and responsibilities in the political sphere while citizenship in the East is primarily concerned with morality and moral education (Lee, 2009).

Summarising, the Asian concept of a good citizen is someone who is a good person with an emphasis on self-awareness, which then acts as a significant starting point for citizenship education. This involves beginning with learning about one’s relationship with self and to the universe and then to other spheres of human society. This is reflected in Bhutanese discourses, for example, according to T. S. Powdyel, the former Minister of Education, Royal Government of Bhutan, ‘children should learn that culture is the cultivation of sweetness and light’, and should comprehend the environment as an extension of one’s self. ‘When we talk of governance, we would like to begin from self-governance to governance in the family, in the class, in school, in organisations, in societies, at the national level and link it to world-governance’ (MoE, 2013, p. ix).

However, there is one caveat on this observation about a stark divide between Eastern and Western concepts suggested by Lee (2004a) when he states that one major difficulty in pursuing a study of Asia with respect to citizenship education and politics is to distinguish between Western and Asian ideas. The world is dynamic in its interaction and the flow of ideas. Although some thoughts originated in the West that are typically Western, after some time following the indigenisation of foreign ideas, it becomes

difficult to identify what are indigenous and what are foreign. Therefore, the concept of citizenship has developed in Asia as a hybrid combination of Western and Eastern concepts.

2.5 The Bhutanese concept

Bhutanese civics education encompasses much the same meaning of values, principles and knowledge of democracy, provisions of the Constitution, politics, and the roles and responsibilities of citizens, laws of the country, voting and other related content.

Citizenship in Bhutan is based on universal values, such as respect, responsibility, fairness, freedom, honesty, integrity, and human dignity (Kirschenbaum, 2000). It also incorporates the Bhutanese concepts of *Ley Jumdrey*, *Tha Damtshig*, and *Driglam Namzha*.

Ley Jumdrey shows that an individual's present actions determine the future outcome: the belief that you reap what you sow. *Tha Damtshig* refers to sacred commitment (Wangyel, 2001), and *Driglam Namzha* is the traditional etiquette or code of conduct and manners of deportment, introduced in the seventeenth century by the founder of Bhutan, the Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyal (Whitecross, 2010).

The concept of *Ley Jumdrey*, or the law of karma, is the principle of Cause and Effect, which was originally drawn from Buddhism. *Ley* refers to actions or deeds and *Jumdrey* refers to consequent outcomes of these actions and deeds. Therefore, the eventual outcome will only be good or positive if the preceding actions were good or positive. In other words, if one performs good deeds, one reaps good results. In Buddhism, good and bad karma are not defined by physical appearance or verbal speech but by intention. There are virtuous, non-virtuous or neutral intentions that determine whether actions are virtuous, non-virtuous or neutral. These three kinds of actions then bring, respectively happiness, suffering or no result (Phuntsho, 2004). The 'law of karma' or *Ley Jumdrey* or just *Ley* is regarded as a very popular religious concept. People view it as an infallible law where virtuous actions lead to happiness and happy rebirth while non-virtuous actions lead to suffering and unhappy rebirth. To be a moral person is to abide by *Ley Jumdrey* through engaging in virtuous actions and eschewing non-virtuous actions. Phuntsho (2004) argues that to have no regard for *Ley Jumdrey* is to be morally unconscientious, irresponsible and reckless.

The concept of *Tha Damtshig* refers to moral values that pervade and shape Bhutanese society and provide a moral framework and vocabulary that permeates everyday life. From a Bhutanese perspective the concept of *Tha Damtshig* seeks not only to promote social harmony, it also seeks to establish and maintain social justice (Whitecross, 2010). It reinforces the values of truthfulness, honesty and trust between self and others. By the same token, it is not wrong to assert that democracy is all about trust amongst citizens. This desired trust between citizens is expected to be inculcated in Bhutanese citizens through civics education.

There is a convergence between the Bhutanese perspective and the Western views associated with moral development. Halstead and Pike (2006, p. 1) state that ‘moral education is a vital and unavoidable aspect of citizenship education because disposition and values, as well as skills and knowledge, are to be fostered’. Further, Althof and Berkowitz (2006) claim that character education contains moral reasoning and also includes moral reflection and its application to democratic citizenship. In other words, the connection between morality and civics is that it is necessary to have a strong and clear legal system that proscribes immorality and prescribes moral behaviour. Althof and Berkowitz (2006, p. 496) provide a dictum: ‘you can’t legislate morality,’ since no law is people-proof and ill-intentioned people will find a way around the law. Therefore, for a society to truly thrive and endure, it needs citizens who are intrinsically and actively prosocial. Morally enriched citizens are those who are prosocial actively and intrinsically.

In Bhutan, the conduct of a person is generally judged by a concept called *Driglam Namzha*, which can be viewed as incorporating the values and ethos normally considered part of modern civics and citizenship. The concept deals with more mundane issues of physical and verbal comportment, identifying what is determined as crude or courteous behaviour based on the specific social and cultural contexts in which the person is participating. Thus, as a concept of orderly good manners and uniform behaviour, it is a concept supposedly universal to all societies and ages (Phuntsho, 2004). *Drig* denotes order, conformity and uniformity and *lam* means way or path. *Driglam* literally means the way or path having order and uniformity, while *namzha* refers to concept or system. *Driglam namzha* is thus a system of ordered and cultured behaviour and, by extension, explicit standards and rules to this effect (Phuntsho, 2004). The precepts in *Driglam Namzha* can be as specific as table manners and as broad as formal conduct in offices or etiquette to be followed in the presence of elders, senior officials, ministers and the royal

family. It also requires officials of a senior rank to treat people below their social standing with a certain comportment. As Phuntsho (2004) states, good manners are shown by superiors and older people to inspire and impress the lower and younger ones. Comparable traditions in countries such as Britain could be, for example, standards of gentlemanly or lady-like behaviour.

In the words of His Majesty the 5th Druk Gyalpo, Jigme Khesar Namgyal Wangchuck:

In talking of our age-old values let me say a few words on one aspect of it – our Driglam Chhoesum [*Driglam Namzha*] – our cultural traditions of etiquette. Many educated Bhutanese today might say that these are the little things we do such as lowering our heads, or our kabneys and standing in the presence of higher authorities. That is not true. It is neither subservience nor the currying of favour that some people have reduced it to be. As you go forward in life, you will, as individuals, need two things more than anything else – education and character. There is a Bhutanese saying that one can make a living from having good character. How do you speak to and treat others? Are you easy for your colleagues to work with? Do your supervisors find it convenient to place responsibilities on you? Do your friends and family place their faith and trust in you? These are very important things to consider. If you place all your hopes for your future in the education you have, it is not enough. You must also know the difference between good and evil, between right and wrong, between compassion and self-interest. You must know how to live a life of moderation and balance. No matter how well educated or capable you think you are, you must also make it easy for others to appreciate you, to offer you work, or to place important responsibilities on your shoulders. In the west, they sometimes refer to it as emotional intelligence. Our Driglam Chhoesum simply applies our age-old values to our daily lives and ensures that as we pursue individual goals and ambitions, we do so in harmony with others – that our individual successes will build a strong, united and harmonious nation. (Wangchuck, 2011, paragraph 8)

Driglam Namzha also prescribes what constitutes the national dress for Bhutanese men and women. The concept extends to an individual's thoughts and opinions in terms of social values of respect and due consideration for others. Often, the former Prime Minister, Jigmi Y Thinley, in his public meetings would explain the concept of *Driglam Namzha* as being an individual's continuous pursuit of harmonious living in society. Thus, it is through *Driglam Namzha* that one cultivates good habits, develops respect for others, understands and responds appropriately to the formal hierarchical structure of organisations, understands the rule of law, and maintains self-discipline at all times

(Jigmi Y. Thinley, personal communication, January 22, 2012). In essence, *Driglam Namzha* requires that an individual live in a manner that always emphasises respect and due consideration for others. According to the Bhutanese NDP Steering Committee and Secretariat (2013, p. 29), *Driglam Namzha* is ‘a uniquely Bhutanese dimension referring to the role of dress, consumption habits, attitudes and body language in expressing and generating social harmony.’ Pommaret (2000) informs us that *Driglam Namzha* was originally only in the form of oral transmission but now there are books or manuals being written with the intention to teach modern Bhutanese people the traditional and proper code of conduct in all circumstances of life.

The concepts of *Ley Jumdrey*, *Tha Damtshig*, and *Driglam Namzha* are inextricably interwoven into the concepts of civics and citizenship education in Bhutan, particularly as the country’s guiding philosophy of Gross National Happiness (GNH) covers similar aspects, ranging from how an individual lives to how the government governs. Such an ethos and etiquettes can be taught, especially through subjects such as civics, and students can display appropriate etiquette during classroom activities.

Ley Jumdrey, *Tha Damtshig* and *Driglam Namzha* play a very important role in shaping Bhutan’s citizens. To impart citizenship education, teachers need not only to model these values as they teach students how to be good mathematicians, biologists, physicists, chemists, historians, architects, and other professions.

It is in this context that the Royal Government of Bhutan launched ‘Educating for GNH’ in 2009 to address both the issues of citizenship and personal character development, beginning particularly with school students (MoE, 2013). The former Prime Minister of Bhutan, Jigmi Y. Thinley, informed the participants during the launch of ‘Educating for Gross National Happiness’ that education has been identified (Hayward & Colman, 2010) as:

the glue that holds the whole enterprise together. If we are ignorant of the natural world, how can we effectively protect it? If we don’t know that smoking, junk food and physical inactivity are unhealthy, how can we have a healthy citizenry? If we are ignorant of politics and of national issues, how can we cast an informed vote? If we are ignorant of the extraordinary teachings of Guru Rimpoche, Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyal, and the other great masters who taught and practised right here in Bhutan, how can we appreciate our legacy, embody our own culture, and serve the world? (p. 14)

T. S. Powdyel, former Minister of Education, said that Educating for Gross National Happiness is ‘Essentially an invitation to Education, to all of us educators, to look for and to discover the soul behind our role’ (MoE, 2013, p. ix). ‘Educating for GNH’ attempts to enrich all learning processes and to give genuine context, purpose, and meaning that will make curriculum and learning more enjoyable, more pleasurable, and more relevant. Infusing GNH into curriculum gives both teachers and students a sense of meaning and makes it relevant to their lives. Jigmi Y. Thinley said that through ‘Educating for GNH’ teachers can discover how they can bring GNH principles, practices, and values into civics textbooks and other disciplines like maths, science, languages, sports, and other subjects taught in schools (MoE, 2013).

2.6 What is Gross National Happiness (GNH)?

His Majesty, the 5th King of Bhutan, said, ‘Gross National Happiness has come to mean so many things to many people, but to me it signifies simply development with values’ (GNH Centre Bhutan, 2016, p. 1). Similarly His Majesty the 4th Druk Gyalpo Jigme Singye Wangchuck expressed his view of the goals of development as making people prosperous and happy. Further, Druk Gyalpo Jigme Singye Wangchuck said that the rich are not always happy while the happy generally considered themselves rich. The concept of Gross National Happiness is based on the premise that true development of human society takes place when material and spiritual development occur side by side. They complement and reinforce each other (Tourism Council of Bhutan, n.d). GNH is a holistic and sustainable approach to development that seeks to balance material and non-material values with the conviction that humans want both material and spiritual fulfillment. The objective of GNH is to achieve a balanced development of all facets of life, which will contribute to our personal happiness and social progress (GNH Centre Bhutan, 2016).

The MoE released a document ‘Educating for GNH’ incorporating the principles of GNH, as expounded by The Gross National Happiness Commission (GNHC). Broadly, the concept of Gross National Happiness is comprehended through four pillars (MoE, 2013, p. 9):

1. Sustainable and equitable socio-economic development;
2. Preservation and promotion of cultural and spiritual heritage;
3. Conservation of environment; and
4. Good governance.

The four pillars are further elaborated in nine domains (MoE, 2013, p. 9):

- Psychological wellbeing;
- Time use and balance;
- Cultural diversity and resilience;
- Community vitality;
- Ecological diversity and resilience;
- Good governance;
- Health;
- Education; and
- Living standard.

Under the pillar ‘Sustainable and equitable socio-economic development’, the fruits of economic development have reached the remote corners of the kingdom in the form of roads, electricity, schools, hospitals and telecommunication services. Remote and isolated villages perched on the mountain slopes, and hamlets sprouting on valley bottoms and by the banks of streams and gullies, are all accessible by mobile phone. Electricity poles stand on the ridges and in the woods, carrying power to far-flung villages to light up houses, schools and public service centres. National resources are equitably distributed amongst all the districts based on the Resources Allocation Framework (RAF). The objective of RAF is, in terms of capital grants, to strengthen transparent, equitable and objective resource allocation mechanisms so that intergovernmental fiscal transfers are effective and well-functioning (Gross National Happiness Commission, 2012).

The national goals are envisioned through the development philosophy of GNH, so that the achievement of socio-economic development does not compromise the non-material and spiritual needs of Bhutanese people and society. Bhutan’s development policies, plans, and programmes are tempered with equally competing national goals under the next two pillars, viz. preservation and promotion of our culture and spiritual heritage, and conservation of the environment. For instance, notwithstanding the national revenue from the tourism sector, our tourism policy of ‘high value, low impact tourism’ has actually facilitated the promotion and preservation of our age-old cultural values (Tourism Council of Bhutan, n.d).

All economic development policies, plans and programmes have to undergo a GNH Policy Screening test. Any proposal that fails the GNH Policy Screening test and demonstrates serious risks to the ecology, culture or local communities is sent back to relevant agencies for amendments to ensure they harmonise with GNH principles (NDP Steering Committee and Secretariat, 2013).

GNH is based more on a national philosophy and values rather than merely measured by numerical scores. It instils a sense of social responsibility. GNH emphasises the importance for citizens to assume fundamental rights and duties in our day-to-day lives, thereby empowering people underpinned by the state's good governance structures. In fact, good governance is a precondition to the functioning of the other three pillars (Royal Government of Bhutan, 2011). For the government, the GNH development paradigm has facilitated the drive towards economic self-sufficiency and self-reliance, reduction in the gap between rich and poor, and ensuring good governance and empowerment of people (Bhutan-Bhutan Travel: sustainable tourism, 2015). Implementation of good governance principles enhances features of transparency and accountability, which in turn promotes concepts of social accountability. Through such measures citizens are empowered to hold governments and its agencies to justify their actions. Therefore, it is important that citizens are equipped with appropriate skills and knowledge if they are fully to utilise their rights. So, it is through civics and citizenship education that they can absorb the requisite skills and knowledge (NDP Steering Committee and Secretariat, 2013).

GNH philosophy is based on the question: If happiness is the ultimate goal for every individual, then why not make happiness the clearly stated goal for the nation? GNH is provided as an alternative to Gross Domestic Product (GDP). It is about adopting a less materialistic national goal; a goal of happiness that is based on the notion that the quality of life matters more than the material goods that one acquires (Dorji, 2004). Human desires are insatiable; yet having wealth does not necessarily guarantee happiness. Buddhism is not just a religion but a philosophy that transcends the culture and daily lives of Bhutanese citizens and households. Many Bhutanese, through modern education and exposure to Western cultures, are inclined to place a high value on scientific knowledge at the cost of spiritual faith, rituals and religious ceremonies. Bhutanese leaders urge citizens not to forget that faith is a uniting factor in Bhutan (Dorji, 2004). Reddy (2014) further asserts that despite the focus on contemporary multinational and multipurpose projects as a development strategy, most people remain unsatisfied with what they have.

There is no contentment in a world in which people are absorbed in material gains when craving, grasping, arising and perishing become the main features of life.

The concept of GNH aims to combine economic development with spiritual contentment. This holistic theory of providing economic prosperity along with spiritual enrichment has international validation. A researcher such as Kagan (1998) states that if the new democracies of our time are to succeed, then they too must offer more than economic prosperity. The task of their leaders will not be easy, for their people have become cynical about idealism of any kind.

More than three decades before the introduction of parliamentary democracy, Bhutan began addressing the importance of GNH values and principles in its successive national development plans. The objectives of these development plans, as stated earlier, extended beyond exclusive effort towards economic prosperity of the people towards preservation of Bhutanese age-old culture in order to protect the country's rich natural environment. The emphasis on GNH gained more support from the government after Bhutan became a democratic constitutional monarchy.

2.7 Importance of civics and citizenship education

This chapter has provided the reader with an account of the importance of the citizenship principles of GNH. Many scholars have stated that civics and citizenship education is the foundation to build a happy and harmonious society. According to Halstead and Pike (2006), citizenship is thought of as providing a unifying force that enables people from different backgrounds to live together. It is argued that a country needs to develop an effective indigenous citizenship education system in its education curriculum. Schools and teachers are tasked with the responsibility of implementing civics and citizenship education in order that young people develop the knowledge, understanding and dispositions that prepare them to comprehend the world, engage in productive employment, and become informed and active citizens (Schulz et al., 2010a).

However, students generally perceive social studies as irrelevant subject. The study by schug, Todd and Berry (1982) revealed in their presentation made in Boston at the annual meeting of the national council for the social studies that subject was least favourite of students when compared to mathematics, English and reading. The reason provided by students was that social studies did not provide the skills needed for their future career.

Further chiodo and Byford (2004) had also found that both middle and high school students preferred mathamatics, science and english over social studies based on their value in future career.

In addition, civics is often taught as a remote and disconnected set of facts with no relevance to the current world of the student or society. Teaching tends to be too didactic and critical thinking is not encouraged (Lee, 2004b; Obenchain & Pennington, 2015). Civics has long been burdened with an unfairly negative reputation. Therefore, it is a moral responsibility of the state, the government, and all responsible stakeholders to instil interest, excitement and curiosity in the minds of our children so that the study of civics is actually all about the discovery of self, about discovering one's identity as a citizen of a nation, about determining foundational values and beliefs, and about finding one's place in society (Tokumoto, 2006).

Branson and Quigley (1998) suggest that if the children are to become the leaders of tomorrow, they must be inspired with the history, ideals, lifestyles and awareness of civic matters. The goals are clear. Schools must prepare students to take an active role as citizens in a contemporary constitutional democracy. To do this, students must develop a foundational knowledge of subjects such as the basic tenets of the Constitution and its impact today (Tokumoto, 2006).

Education in Bhutan is intended to ensure that Bhutanese youth mature to become successful, kind and compassionate citizens. GNH and its four pillars are identified as the way to achieving this goal and interact with the contemporary world. That world is filled with economic and social challenges, where a great deal of materialistic and consumerist ideologies are being entrenched in the minds of youth. However, to ensure that GNH continues to guide developmental philosophy for generations and that it is taught to youth, it is essential that it is embedded in the school curriculum (Hayward, Pannozzo, & Colman, 2009).

Therefore, ultimate aspiration of 'Educating for GNH' is to produce 'GNH graduates', as Figure 2.1 shows. Such graduates according to the former Prime Minister, Jigmi Y. Thinley, will be genuine human beings, realising their full and true potential; caring for others; ecologically literate; contemplative as well as analytical in their understanding of the world; free of greed and without excessive desire, knowing, understanding, and

appreciating completely that they are not separate from the natural world and from others (MoE, 2013).



Figure 2.1: Traits expected from a GNH graduate
Source: Ministry of Education (MoE, 2013, p. 12)

From the perspective of GNH, education is seen as making vital contribution to, and investment in, both the quality of life and wellbeing of the populace and the conservation of the entire natural environment upon which that populace depends for its survival and prosperity. Nurturing sustainable societies with economic, cultural and physical environments will enhance wellbeing but also requires knowledge and wisdom. The fundamental goal of GNH-based education, therefore, is to develop educated people that become wiser and more knowledgeable (Hayward, Panno, & Colman, 2009).

Globally, the organisation of the school curriculum mostly highlights subjects that, according to Kennedy (2012), provide valued knowledge to young people. Subjects such as mathematics, science and the mother tongue are accorded separate subjects status with specific time allocations. Subjects such as history, geography and social studies are also provided with similar places in the curriculum. Physical education, art, music and health

education are allocated places in the curriculum. The question arises, where does civics education fit in the school curriculum alongside these formal subjects? It appears that civics and citizenship education has been accorded less importance in overall curriculum organisation. Kennedy's view has been further supported by findings reported by Losito and Mintrop (2001, p. 162) that 'civic education content is often less codified and less formalized compared to other subjects'. The Bhutanese government too has recognised this challenge, particularly when more students opt for technical disciplines, such as engineering, medicine, business studies and accountancy. This selection by students is mainly due to the globalisation of a market economy and population growth, technological development, contacts with a global perspective via travel, trade and modern media which accentuates the practical relevance of these technical disciplines. The government produced separate Bhutan textbooks for schools. However, civics education needs to be taught beyond the chapters in the Bhutanese Civics textbooks to make it more relevant to students' lives. Guilfoile and Delander (2014, p. 3) mention the challenge faced by America with regard to implementation of civic education. They say: 'Civic education in country has been diluted over the years, pushed to the back burner in deference to more intense accountability systems in subject areas like math, science, and English language arts.' However, O'Connor and Romer (2006, p. 2) write, 'We need more students proficient in math, science and engineering. We also need them to be prepared for their role as citizens. Only then can self-government work. Only then will we not only be more competitive but also remain the beacon of liberty in a tumultuous world.'

Australia's Senate Standing Committee on Employment Education and Training (1989) states that it should not be forgotten that there is an important vocational reason why education for active citizenship is an important part of the school curriculum. In many areas of employment, knowledge of how politics and government work – at all levels – is now a useful, and sometimes indispensable, asset. Obvious examples are the public service, commerce and industry, the media, and the social welfare sector. If young people entering fields such as these are not aware of how government operates, then they will be at a disadvantage and will need to remedy the deficiency fairly quickly. In a world in which the influence of government is ubiquitous – whether this be in terms of major national decisions, or the effect of local government by-laws – it is unrealistic to regard this area of knowledge as irrelevant to employment requirements.

It is therefore essential to provide civics education for future citizens so that they will know how governmental institutions operate. A danger arises to the state when citizens' ignorance of civic ethos is coupled with mistrust of politics. The Bhutan system of government depends for its efficacy and legitimacy on an informed and attentive citizenry. Without active and knowledgeable citizens, the forms of democratic representation remain empty, and without vigilant and informed citizens there is no checks or balance (Civics Expert Group, 1994). In addition, Hoy (1945) states that civics also imparts knowledge of the machinery of government in order to understand how public and private agencies promote public welfare and public interest.

Research has led to an understanding that one of the premises for a successful and vibrant democracy is a knowledge-based society with an informed citizenry. It is necessary for an informed citizen to provide checks and balances in a representative form of parliamentary democracy (Branson & Quigley, 1998). Therefore, establishing a knowledgeable citizenship through civics and citizenship education is fundamental. Hence, education for good citizenship should be a top priority in schools. This responsibility for the development of civic competency and civic responsibility is more than a curriculum matter (Branson & Quigley, 1998). Teachers play an essential role when it comes to the implementation of civics along with citizenship education. In fact, many people are concerned about the ways in which youth are prepared for citizenship and in how they learn to take part in civic life as part of their basic education (Branson & Quigley, 1998).

A sound grounding in civics and citizenship education helps citizens to have more knowledge of how the government operates and how public officials should perform their duties. As Popkin and Dimock (1999) argue, more knowledgeable citizens tend to judge the behaviour of public officials as they make judgements about their own conduct. By contrast, less knowledgeable citizens are more likely to view public officials' blunders as signs of bad character or poor performance.

The importance of civics and citizenship education in schools and colleges is reiterated by Branson and Quigley (1998):

It is essential that the development of participatory skills begins in the earliest grades and that it continues throughout the course of schooling. The youngest pupils can learn to interact in small groups or committees, to pool information, exchange

opinions or formulate plans of action commensurate with their maturity. They can learn to listen attentively, to question effectively, and to manage conflicts through mediation, compromise, or consensus-building. Older students can and should be expected to develop the skills of monitoring and influencing public policy. They should learn to research public issues using electronic resources, libraries, the telephone, personal contacts, and the media. Attendance at public meetings ranging from student councils to school boards, city councils, zoning commissions, and legislative hearings ought to be a required part of every high school student's experience. Observation of the courts and exposure to the workings of the judicial system also ought to be a required part of their civic education. Observation in and of itself is not sufficient, however. Students not only need to be prepared for such experiences, they need well-planned, structured opportunities to reflect on their experiences under the guidance of knowledgeable and skillful mentors. (p. 9)

Branson and Quigley (1998) suggest that in schools and colleges the civics and citizenship curriculum should be comprehensive and dynamic, introspective, practical and vigorous. Equally, Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, and Schulz (2001) express the view that civics-related courses should be participative, interactive, related to life in school and community, conducted in a non-authoritarian environment, cognisant of diversity and co-constructed with parents and the community. In addition to textbooks, what may be needed is professional in-service courses for teachers to advise and give them experiences of such teaching-learning methods.

2.8 Values promoted through civics education

Cogan and Morris (2001) have researched the values in Asia focusing on society's cultural values and aspirations of state policies. They found that there has been little evidence of a relationship between these values and civics education as taught in schools. However, when they analysed textbooks for civics education's values orientation in six countries (Australia, Hong Kong, Japan, Taiwan, Thailand, and United States), it was observed that, except for the US, which had a highly decentralised system of education that necessitated a different approach to gathering data, the other five countries had values that could be clustered into eight groups:

- Democratic values (e.g., equity, majority rules, rule of law, freedom);
- Civic life and community values (e.g., individual rights, local needs, common good);
- Fair government (e.g., participation, service, fairness, checks and balances);
- National identity (e.g., unity in difference, independence, national pride);

- Social cohesion/diversity (e.g., tolerance, social justice, acceptance, common good);
- Self-cultivation (e.g., truth, law-abiding, honesty, civility, helping others); and
- Economic life (e.g., competition, capitalism, wealth, free markets).

2.9 Challenges with civics and citizenship education

Arising from this research, the researcher opines that while other disciplines have external objects of study, either real or imagined that are examined and experimented with, civics and citizenship education does not have the luxury of picking external objects for any form of analysis. Studying science, for example, involves studying materials and objects, while studying business involves studying organisations but not individuals. In comparison, civics and citizenship education entails understanding values, human beings' mindsets, aptitudes, perceptions, hopes and aspirations, as well as expectations of past, present and future life. In sum, it is about human behaviour and its associated outcomes. Citizenship education prepares children for life and not just for work. Therefore, Halstead and Pike (2006, p. 2) write that 'preparing someone for *living* rather than *working* is a weighty responsibility.' Thus, the subject of civics and citizenship education involves addressing what is in every human's thought, either consciously or subconsciously. This makes civics and citizenship and its concerns a sensitive area, so that content must be dealt with intelligently and subtly. This makes the subject challenging for schools and institutes and equally for individual teachers involved in teaching the subject. As Halstead and Pike (2006) remark:

Citizenship and Moral Education are areas where many teachers may experience fairly high level of anxiety and there may be several reasons for this. Perhaps above all there is a feeling that in approaching these topics teachers are treading on dangerous ground. They do not want to give offence, and are aware that the values of the home may not be values of the school. Indeed, there may be widely divergent expectations relating to moral and civic education on the part of all those with a legitimate interest in what goes on in schools. (p. 2)

As challenging and difficult as it is, the importance of the subject obligates the state to accord high priority in requiring education and learning institutes to focus on civics and citizenship education. This is a moral responsibility for teachers, in particular, to promote values in our youth who are our future citizens. Halstead and Pike (2006) in writing about this obligation as it relates to teachers in English schools, comment:

But teachers also realise that they cannot wash their hands of these matters either. Society expects schools to contribute to the moral and civic education of the young, and the teaching of citizenship is now a legal requirement. Teaching citizenship entails the promotion of values as well as specific forms of activity and deals with highly sensitive and deeply provocative issues. It addresses the very heart of what education is about and how it should be accomplished. (p. 2)

Schools in Bhutan have had the new Bhutanese Civics textbooks since 2008. Until 2008, students learnt civics using the Indian Civics textbooks and Bhutan Civics based mainly on studying the previous system of government. However, there was a general perception that a focus on values was missing from the textbooks used at this time. In this context, Ura (2009) comments that the education system in Bhutan needed to pay attention to values that are central to Bhutan's cultural perspective and that these values are influenced by Buddhism. Buddhism in Bhutan is not only seen as a religion but as a way of life. Chogam Trungpa Rinpoche comments that Buddhism is 'spiritual philosophy, psychology, and way of life' (Prebish, 2010). Therefore, even cultural and developmental policies for Bhutan are greatly influenced by Buddhism (Wangmo & Valk, 2012). Reddy (2014) remarks that what the Buddha taught is not only for the 6th century B.C., but it is a timeless teaching; it can be practised by people in the of 21st century and for centuries to come.

Ura (2009) proposed that values education should be an integral part of students' learning. In line with Ura's views, Lee and Fouts (2005) observed that religious belief is often integral in defining the role and behaviour of the good citizen. Religious beliefs are instrumental in the minds of many people for directing individual behaviour, for defining the responsibility of the individual to others, for defining the nature and authority of the state and, most importantly, for determining the ultimate allegiance of the individual. For instance, the influence of Christianity in Western tradition, Confucian influence on a country like China, and the influence of Islam on many Muslim countries.

Wangyel (2001) states that by reading the editorials and letters to the editor in *Kuensel*, the national newspaper, and by speaking to people, he had observed there was a general concern expressed by Bhutanese about the decline of traditional values in Bhutan. This general public perception of declining values has provoked a reinforcement of the positioning of education as the most powerful tool to propagate such traditional values through a revised, refined and improvised civics curriculum.

Ura (2009) points out that Bhutan is not the only country grappling with values education. In fact, values education is taught in one way or another in all countries, either overtly or by default, while the language and vocabularies used may be different. According to Ura (2009), it is referred to as ‘moral education’ in Japan, Korea, and in some European countries. In the USA, it is referred to as ‘character education’, ‘civic education’, ‘citizenship education’, and even as ‘ethics education’. Values education is sometimes treated as a matter of great urgency to fulfil a shared aspiration for a humane and happy society. Lovat and Toomey (2007) further point out that values education is also referred to internationally by a number of names. Each variant has a slightly different meaning, pointing to one or other distinctive emphasis.

There is a common theme born of a growing belief that exploring personal and societal values is a legitimate and increasingly important role for teachers and schools to play. The general consensus is to teach values, both personal and societal, to our children in schools. But how should this be done and which teachers should take up this subject?

Citizenship education is usually tied to subjects like history and civics, but character education can be taught through any subject that focuses on private morality and personal action. Osborne (2010) opines that character education is about people who help and respect others, obey the law, and who are patriotic, but citizenship education demands more than this.

Citizenship needs people’s willingness and ability to play an active part in public life; for instance, by casting an informed vote during elections and engaging actively in public affairs. Osborne states that democratic countries need both aspects of citizenship (that is, both a good person and a politically alert citizen). Reinforcing Osborne’s statement, Lee (2009) states that being a good person is the foundation for being a good citizen.

Both experts and laypersons think that to build a good society, one needs moral reforms both at the individual level and the social level. Thus, the Curriculum Corporation of Australia (Curriculum Corporation, 2003) highlights the following points:

- Education is as much about building character as it is about equipping students with specific skills.

- Values-based education can strengthen students' self-esteem, optimism and commitment to personal fulfilment; and help students exercise ethical judgement and social responsibility.
- Parents expect schools to help students understand and develop personal and social responsibilities.

Hence, the moral responsibility of teachers to impart a holistic values education is once again reinforced by Curriculum Corporation of Australia. The role of teachers becomes more obvious especially in a world where principles of democracy are gaining popularity with universal applicability. Democratic societies need children to develop into moral adults, those who will care about general welfare. For a society to grow it needs citizens who are fundamentally and actively pro-social, and schools are critical for this process.

Citizenship entails character training and moral education (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006). As T. S. Powdyel mentions, subjects such as civics should not be imparted as mere facts but should also address how to prepare the youth to live as good citizens in a democratic society (DCRD, 2008a). Teaching is not only about providing knowledge but imparting values to students who are going to take up responsibilities in the future as citizens. Citizens should understand that in a democracy, they are endowed with fundamental rights and entrusted with responsibilities. Citizens also should acquire social skills such as interacting, monitoring, and influencing others. To interact, one needs to communicate and to work cooperatively with others, be responsive, to question, to answer, and to deliberate with civility, as well as to build coalitions and to manage conflict in a fair and peaceful manner. Monitoring politics and the government needs the skill of tracking the issues handled by government in the sense that citizens can act as 'watch dogs' and this increasingly involves access to modern media. Finally, citizens can influence the processes of politics and governance, both formally and informally, in the community. Often voting is seen as an important means of exerting this influence. All these skills should be systematically developed (Branson & Quigley, 1998). To conclude, a holistic civics and citizenship education with a comprehensive curriculum is unarguably an important answer to the questions raised in this chapter.

2.10 Conclusion

To conclude, the utopian society that all nations desire to have with cooperative members and avoidance of conflict can be best achieved through an education system incorporating civic knowledge and practices of good citizenship. An education for citizenship is not limited to formal institutions such as schools, but includes informal institutions such as the media, religious institutions and particularly the family environment. These are all important in shaping people to become morally responsible and conscientious citizens.

Another important note for consideration in teaching is to identify the differences between civics and citizenship. They are similar concepts and are highly dependent on each other. For instance, citizenship education enables people to learn civic values, and the knowledge of civic values contributes to practicing citizenship and shaping the attitudes of individual citizens. However, the differences are significant, as civics is the knowledge of the governmental structures and processes while citizenship involves the attitudes, the morals and the application of good citizenship practices based on civic knowledge.

It has been further identified that civics and citizenship education in the East varies somewhat from the West. While Western civics and citizenship education emphasises knowledge of democracy, rights and responsibilities, Eastern civics and citizenship education is moulded by the history and culture of these nations, including aspects like colonisation, religious traditions and cultural values. This means that in Eastern societies, there is more focus on moral and personal values and development instead of public aspects. Nevertheless, modern Asian civics and citizenship education is increasingly seen to be a balanced fusion of both Eastern and Western civics and citizenship education.

To reiterate, Bhutanese civics and citizenship is highly influenced by values such as *Ley Jumdrey*, *Tha Damtshig*, and *Driglam Namzha*. These values are not only instructions based on ideas such as *karma* and nationalistic values, they inform the Bhutanese of desirable ways to live and act both at an individual level as well as a member of society. GNH is also a major factor in shaping these contexts in Bhutan as programmes such as 'Educating for GNH', combined with existing values that inform GNH, allow citizens to actively interact with the state and take responsibility for acting as good citizens. GNH is also noted to be a factor that can counteract the problem of the lack of interest in civics and citizenship education in the younger generation. It should not only create more

awareness by providing a more engaging approach to teaching and learning but also produce GNH-minded graduates.

Despite the problem of an apparent lack of interest in the younger generation, there is also the conflict formed when a citizen's ignorance of a civic ethos is fused with a mistrust of politics. However, this is seen to be resolvable, especially through raising awareness and creating an informed citizenry, arising from an education about values such as fair government, citizenship values, and the importance of exercising morality. Such values should be inculcated into the education system so that moral reforms are practiced both at the individual and the social level.

To restate, the idea of individual responsibility is one of the most significant aspects in working towards a better society. As the conduct of good schools is in part the responsibility of a school child, then the affairs and procedures of the state are the responsibility and concern of every individual citizen. Citizenship practices such as voting allow individuals to participate actively in the affairs of the state.

This chapter concludes by restating the significance of self-realisation as one crucial aspect of the Asian concept of a good citizen. Self-cultivation or self-realisation is, in this view, assumed to have a ripple effect through the entire society. If every family consisted of well-informed and good citizens, the community would naturally be formed by morally upright families, and the state would be formed of ethically responsible and educated communities. In a similar vein, the world will then have nations with moral and ethical citizens. The research identifies this ripple effect and this individual enlightenment to be essential and to be a complement of the values of GNH and other Bhutanese cultural values. This as an essential factor for informing civics and citizenship education as a means towards achieving a peaceful and progressive world.

Chapter 3:

International perspectives on civics and citizenship education

3.1 Overview

A broad and relatively comprehensive understanding on the concepts and genesis of civics and citizenship education was explored in Chapter 2. There are different levels and forms of civics and citizenship education around the world, and there are similarities and differences prevailing across societies, regions, countries and continents. Such different forms and concepts need to be understood in perspective.

This chapter describes international perspectives on civics and citizenship education in general. Different perspectives and understandings in different countries are evident through different education systems, policies and curriculum. Notwithstanding the difficulty of covering every aspect of civics and citizenship education practised in different continents, regions, countries and even within states of the same country, this chapter attempts to cover some of the key elements in different histories of civics and citizenship education in some countries, the approaches taken in teaching this subject, the content that is taught, the values considered worthy of imparting to students, and perceptions of students and teachers in different countries towards civics and citizenship education.

According to Han, Janmaat, May, and Morris (2013) countries are interested in the political education of their young people, and it is mainly through citizenship education that they attempt directly to familiarise youngsters with the norms, values, and conduct expected of citizens. Different countries vary in their conception of the ideal citizen and consequently citizenship education can be quite different between countries.

There has been a growing interest in citizenship education over recent years. Leenders, Veugelers, and Kat (2012) have observed that citizenship development is considered a vital topic in current political proposals and public debates, and education has an important role to play. The report on civic education study by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) also pointed out, ‘All societies have a continuing interest in the way their young people are prepared for citizenship and learn to take part in public affairs’ (Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999, p. 12). Naval, Print, and Veldhuis (2002) too said that the need for the practice of active citizenship and the type of education that supports effective citizenship have become the main concerns. It not only is reflected in the profusion of current literature on the subject but also raised as issues in the ongoing debates in many educational, political and academic fora. The interest has been reflected in different countries, such as Spain, Australia, Korea, the US, Taiwan, and England. These countries have taken initiatives formally to introduce civics and citizenship education in the school curriculum. The Minister of Education in the Netherlands submitted a legislative proposal in 2006 asking schools to promote citizenship and social integration actively, where social integration was considered to be both participation in society and familiarity with and knowledge of Dutch culture (Leenders et al., 2012). In the UK, the government wants schools and colleges not just to teach citizenship but to demonstrate citizenship through the way they operate because they believe that citizenship education is an ideal tool for exploring British values (Citizenship Foundation, 2016).

Cogan and Morris (2001) observed that states have increasingly involved themselves in developing policies to orient the school curriculum to inculcate students with civic values. For instance, the US Center for Civic Education published the National Standards for Civics and Government in 1994. England followed up with the Crick Report that mandated the teaching of citizenship in secondary schools, while the Council of Europe initiated project ‘democratization’ where the curriculum focused around what it means to be European as well as the citizen of a specific country. In Australia, citizenship education was strengthened after the Civics Expert Group issued a report in 1994. In addition, the decision-making with regard to civics education broadly reflects the prevailing system of governance or policies in each of the societies. For instance, in Thailand, Japan, and Taiwan, curricular decisions are made nationally by the central

government. In the USA and Australia it is up to each of the states to decide whether to promote civics and how to deliver it.

3.2 Array of perceptions on civics and citizenship education

Citizenship education is different from other subjects in many ways. As pointed out by Kerr (1999a), its curriculum is broader than the curriculum often found in other subjects areas. In many countries, the curriculum for citizenship education crosses a range of boundaries and includes extra-curricular activities involving pupils' everyday experiences of life. It is a school-wide affair and not simply confined to classrooms. Kerr provides some examples, such as Singapore's community involvement programme and learning journeys incorporating key institutions. As well, there is service learning in US schools that acts as a co-curricular dimension of civics education. The aim of community service-learning is to connect community involvement with what is learned in classrooms. The example provided of service-learning is where students study environmentalism to help preserve the natural habitat of animals living in that locality by cleaning up the place and providing information to the public using signposts and so on. Schools can either implement service-learning school-wide or grade-wide. School-wide can involve all the students in the school and grade-wide can involve students from one or more grades (Skinner & Chapman, 1999).

Civics and citizenship education is a fluid, abstract and subjective subject. This is evident from the findings observed in Eurydice (2012) and Schulz et al. (2010a): that there were notable differences across the participating countries in teachers' perceptions of the most important aims of civics and citizenship education. In countries as diverse as Bulgaria, Chile, the Czech Republic, the Dominican Republic, Estonia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Malta, Mexico, Paraguay, Poland, the Republic of Korea, the Russian Federation, the Slovak Republic, and Thailand, teachers rated 'promoting knowledge of citizens' rights and responsibilities' as one of the three most important aims of civics and citizenship education. Conversely, in Cyprus, Finland, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Slovenia, Spain, and Sweden, teachers rated 'promoting students' critical and independent thinking' as more important. Elsewhere, in Chinese Taipei and Colombia, most teachers preferred developing students' skills and competencies in conflict resolution.

The International Civics and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) Schulz et al. (2010b) conducted under the aegis of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) gathered information across 38 countries about students' knowledge and understanding, attitudes, perceptions and activities with regard to civics and citizenship education. The study group collected data from more than 140,000 Grade 8 students and 62,000 teachers from 5,300 schools. These 38 countries consisted of New Zealand, five Asian countries, 26 from Europe, and six from Latin America.

From this study, Schulz et al. (2010b) found a commonality in all 38 ICCS countries even when civics and citizenship education was viewed as incorporating a variety of processes. Civics and citizenship education was mainly designed to develop knowledge and understanding as well as skills of communication, analysis, observation, and reflection. It was aimed at providing opportunities for students to be actively involved, be it in school or elsewhere. It was also found that one overarching objective of civics and citizenship education in ICCS countries was to develop positive attitudes towards national identity and promote future participation in civil society. The discourse on national identity and community participation found commonly entailed content such as knowledge and understanding of political institutions, human rights, social and community cohesion, diversity, environment and sustainability, communication, and global society.

Therefore, there are different facets of civics and citizenship education. The subject of civics and citizenship education is not simply confined to two aspects of civics and citizenship. Rather, it encompasses social sciences, social studies, world studies, studies of society, life skills, character training and moral education. In addition, it is usually linked to subjects such as history, geography, economics, law, politics, environmental studies, values education, religious studies, languages and science. Kerr (1999) reported that this range of content was typical in the 16 countries comprising his study: England, France, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Korea, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Australia, Canada, Germany, Switzerland and the USA.

In this regard, it is mentioned in Eurydice (2012, p. 12) that the broad constituents of citizenship education vary across Europe, but there was a common subject area including:

- Political literacy;
- Critical thinking and analytical skills;

- Attitudes and values, and
- Active participation.

In addition to the analysis of content, Schulz et al. (2010a) study across 38 countries observed inconsistencies in the emphasis that different teachers placed on different areas while teaching the subject. The data from the study divulged that some teachers gave importance to the development of knowledge and skills, such as promoting knowledge of social, political and civic institution, developing students' skill and competencies in conflict resolution, promoting knowledge of rights and responsibilities, and promoting students' critical and independent thinking. At the same time, many teachers seem to have ignored the development of active participation.

It is mentioned in Eurydice (2012) that it was primarily the influence of decision-makers in the education sector that eventually mattered in determining the importance of areas taught under civics and citizenship education. Thus, the formulation and development of the citizenship curriculum are vastly influenced by prevailing education policies and developments in teaching and learning, which for all practical reasons are in the hands of decision-makers.

3.3 Involvement of citizens for success of democracy and governance

Althof and Berkowitz (2006) argued that any democratic society must concern itself with the socialisation of its citizens. This begins in childhood, and schools are critical to this process. The role of schools in fostering the development of moral citizens in democratic societies necessitates focus on moral development, broader moral and related character development, teaching of civics and development of citizenship skills and dispositions. Therefore, citizenship education necessarily entails character and moral formation. Colby, Ehrlich, Beaumont, and Stephens (2003) provide justification for this:

The problems that confront civically engaged citizen always include moral themes. These include fair access to resources such as housing, the obligation to consider future generations and making environmental policy, and the need to take into account the conflicting claims of multiple stake holders in community decision making. No issue involving these themes can be adequately resolved without consideration of moral questions and values. A person can become civically and politically active without good judgement and a strong moral compass, but it is hardly wise to promote that kind of involvement. (pp. 15-16)

Justifications provided by Colby, Ehrlich, Beaumont , and Stephens (2003) corroborate the expressions of Althof and Berkowitz (2006): that socialisation of citizens, if guided by conduct of strong moral values and character shaped to match the desired traits, would bring about a harmonious atmosphere in communities and societies.

But the question is – how would citizens acquire an acceptable level of citizenship skills and character disposition? As an answer, Hoskins, Abs, Han, Kerr, and Veugelers, (2012) report that aspects of values strengthen participatory forms of citizenship such as political participation, community activities, and political civil society activities. The moral values influence the aims of participation and form the criteria to judge different types of participation. So the next question is – what are moral values and how can they be learnt effectively by the youth in schools?

3.4 Teaching morality: Values-explicit versus values-implicit teaching

Kerr (1999a) explores the features that constitute an understanding of moral values. There are values that are nationally accepted as systems of public values and beliefs, which can be further explored as distinct values. Countries such as Japan, Korea, Singapore and Sweden have expressed detailed aims and clear educational and social values to be incorporated in citizenship education. Kerr concurs that these values, be they distinct and explicit or a broad system of public values and beliefs, have to be effectively instilled in the minds of students in schools. But what would be the best modus operandi? Kerr suggests two alternatives, which are that either teaching of values should be explicit to promote distinct values, or that teaching values should be values-neutral, that is, offering a neutral stance on values and controversial issues, leaving the decision to the individual students.

In any case, both the alternatives have their own share of flip sides. Teaching explicit values can create the danger of bias and ultimate indoctrination of students. On the other hand, values-neutral approaches could be criticised for their failure to help students deal adequately with real life issues. On a practical note, countries using a values-explicit approach have much clearer aims and goals of citizenship education as opposed to those countries using a values-neutral background. This was identified during the conference attended by participants from 16 countries for the International Review of Curriculum and Assessment Framework (Kerr, 1999). Schools, teachers, students, parents,

community representatives and public figures would understand their roles and responsibilities in achieving goals, as a values-explicit approach provided a strong framework for programmes. Participants believed that a values-explicit approach could be much clearer on what citizenship education is and consequently the role of schools, teachers, and curriculum.

Even Colby, Ehrlich, Beaumont, and Stephens (2003) note that in real-life situations too, it is always desirable for teachers to examine the values they stand for and make conscious and careful choices about what they convey to students. They suggest that it is not possible to create a values-neutral setting in schools. In fact, when they examined the practices of moral and civic education at many colleges and universities around the USA, it was observed that many colleges and universities take the moral and civic education of their students very seriously. Some colleges had an intentional and holistic approach to moral and civic education as well as academic education. By intentional, they mean being explicit about their goals. This illustrates the power of serious institutional commitment to moral and civic education. In contrast, some of the other colleges and universities focused on programmes or activities that had a strong influence on some students but had failed to reach all students.

3.5 National identity: An explicit focus for civic education

Another feature that emerged from the formal civic education curriculum, according to Parmenter (2004), is the focus placed on education for national identity. Education for national identity is present in most countries, according to the civics education study conducted in 1999 by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) (Torney-Purta et al., 1999). As part of the report prepared on 24 national case studies, Zaleskiene, (1999, p. 425) discusses Lithuania's curriculum to foster national identity. The textbooks in Lithuania contained documents that they believed to be important for all citizens to know about, such as Lithuania's independence, national leaders and national liberators. In addition, courses in religion or ethics gave great focus to the 'founding of the state, fighting for the country's freedom and the dignity of national pride' in order to foster national identity. Similarly, Papanastasiou and Koutselini-Ioannidou (1999) in their report for the IEA mention that a country like Cyprus appears to give importance to national identity. One of the aims of education in Cyprus is to foster student development with regard to ideas affecting the nation, spiritual

development, and strengthening of national identity and a feeling of belonging to the state and the nation. The concept of state and nation are taught in an effort to make students understand how the independent state entity of Cyprus relates to Greek national identity. Parmenter (2004) noted that although it is present in many countries, it is more prominent in countries where the education system and policies are highly centralised. For instance, Japan has the most centralised education system, which is strongly underpinned by the use of standardised textbooks. It is indicated that programmes such as ‘Loving the Country’ and ‘Working towards its prosperity’ foster national identity.

Likewise, different countries have different areas of focus to promote national identity. Perhaps such areas of focus adopted by different countries are dictated by the overall strategic needs of the country. For instance, Mathou (2000) observed that Bhutan’s need for promotion of national identity is dictated by the reality of the geopolitical situation of the Himalayan and surrounding South Asian landscape. Bhutan is a tiny country nestled in the mighty Himalayas. It is strategically perched between two giant neighbours, China to the north and India to the south, the most populous countries in the world. Owing to the geopolitical situation, a priority then is a consideration for national survival, security and sovereignty. This is always to the forefront of the thinking of the country’s highest decision-makers. As a country with a very small population, Bhutan is neither bestowed with military might nor endowed with significant economic power. Yet, Bhutan has never been colonised. On the contrary, when the world witnessed annexations, colonisations, breakaways and integrations of nations and states, Bhutan survived several invasion attempts. In fact, Bhutan not only remained an independent country through centuries, it flourished and experienced enormous prosperity, particularly from the beginning of the 20th century.

According to Wangmo and Choden (2010), Bhutan’s past national successes were mainly due to many wise and long-term development policies that had clarity about national aspirations, and our unique and independent national identity. The Bhutanese national identity is built on rich cultural traditions and values. Buddhism is the bedrock of our age-old traditions, culture, values and even the Bhutanese psyche. Drawing from the Buddhist perspective, the essence of Bhutanese education is to enhance and build moral fibre in our youth, besides conventional literacy and numerical skills. Our youth should be bequeathed with basic human values, such as *Tha-Damtshig* (trust and commitment), *Ley-Jumdrey* (actions have consequence) and the preciousness of *Mi-Lue-Rimpoché*

(precious human form of life). These Buddhist values are meant to develop self-discipline and better interpersonal relationships, besides outlining the respective responsibilities of all sentient beings. Lessons on values should cultivate intelligent minds for noble thoughts and beneficial action for others. Therefore, the Bhutanese way of fostering national identity has become through civics education where it is imperative to transmit cultural traditions and the values of society to future generations.

The trend and pattern of subject areas for promotion of national identity through civics education are similar in other countries too. Schulz et al. (2012) focus on five Asian countries: Hong Kong, Republic of Korea, Chinese Taipei, Thailand and Indonesia. These were involved in the ICCS's study of 38 countries. Schulz et al. (2012) showed that students gave a high level of support to the preservation of traditional cultures, held positive beliefs about the importance of morality and spirituality for good citizenship, and had a strong sense of Asian identity. Students further supported the notion that good citizenship should be linked to morality and spirituality.

The national genesis for these perspectives and issues regarding civics and citizenship education in these five Asian countries will be elucidated under each respective country later in the chapter.

3.6 Civics education: Approaches to transmission

Data from the ICCS's study of 38 countries reveal three different approaches used in different countries to impart civics and citizenship education. These are:

- Having specific civics and citizenship unit(s) of study;
- Integrating civics and citizenship content into a small number of other subjects; and
- Integrating civics and citizenship content into all subjects studied.

These approaches are not mutually exclusive. There are some countries where two or three approaches are used simultaneously. Shulz, Fraillon and Ainley's observation is further corroborated by Kerr (1999) that different countries have different ways of imparting citizenship education. Kerr points out that in France, civics and citizenship education is integrated with science, technology, history and geography under the heading 'Discovering the World', while Hungary's curriculum area is 'People and Society', and Spain uses the term 'Knowledge of the natural, social and cultural environment' to teach

the integrated subject. Further, Hungary also has citizenship education incorporated in social studies, civics and economics, while in the Netherlands citizenship is part of history and civics. Kerr (1999) states that the integrated or partially integrated approach is used deliberately in primary education across many countries, as it is thought to enhance children's understanding of themselves with respect to varying topics and aspects.

Some examples of countries having civics and citizenship as a specific subject are Chinese Taipei, the Czech Republic, Indonesia, Ireland, Malta, Poland, and the Slovak Republic. In these countries where civics and citizenship education is delivered as a separate subject, the content is taught by teachers with a background in subjects related to civic and citizenship education (Schulz et al., 2010a). It was observed in the ICCS countries that teaching civics and citizenship education is often delegated to teachers of subjects related to human and social sciences. More than 90 percent of students in the ICCS countries received this type of education where teachers are not specifically trained for teaching civics and citizenship education (p. 64).

Further, Kerr (1999) comments that there are two categories of teachers teaching citizenship education in primary, lower secondary and upper secondary schools: generalists and specialists. Generalists usually teach in primary while specialists mostly teach in lower secondary and upper secondary schools. He further tries to qualify the term 'specialist teacher' in the context of citizenship education. Teachers are specialists when they are specialised or trained in a number of citizenship-education related subjects, such as social sciences, social studies, history or geography.

Therefore, these authors suggest that there is no one common approach to teaching civics and citizenship education in the world. This is not unexpected given the content of the curriculum itself being fluid globally while at the same time being culturally specific to different countries and states and even differing between a country's regions. Civics is by nature an interdisciplinary subject based on political science, sociology and economics along with other science and humanity disciplines (Lindström, 2013). To ensure that the subject remains fluid and culturally specific, there needs to be degrees of flexibility available to schools and teachers as to how to approach citizenship education (Kerr, 1999).

Such a situation is evident in the United States, where even though the National Standards suggest content that ought to be covered, there is no national policy for civics

(Morris & Cogan, 2001). Each state and local district defines its own curriculum. Civics is traditionally infused within the social studies curriculum and it is customary in the secondary schools in the US to allocate at least one year to a formal civics course. Informal civics training occurs in service-learning projects and through extracurricular activities. By contrast, in Germany, teachers are legally obliged to teach values but they are free to choose their own methods (Kerr, 1999).

In the case of Europe, while acknowledging that detailed objectives and the content of citizenship education varies between countries, active participation as one of the aims of imparting citizenship education is a commonality Europe-wide. This is generally to ensure that young people become active citizens capable of contributing to the development and wellbeing of the society in which they live.

3.7 Civics and citizenship education in five Asian ICCS countries

The ICCS study of five Asian countries (Chinese Taipei, Republic of Korea, Hong Kong, Indonesia and Thailand) provides further insights into civics and citizenship education and students' perspectives on the subject (Schulz et al., 2012). This is presented in more detail below.

3.7.1 Chinese Taipei

In Chinese Taipei, civics and citizenship education is greatly influenced by the Confucian tradition, which gives importance to humanity, filial piety, benevolence, and good social relations. Therefore, its focus is ultimately the empowerment of citizens with a sense of national identity and international perspectives. At the same time, it seeks to foster the development of a wholesome personality, democratic literacy, an understanding of the rule of law, humanistic virtues, patriotism, environmental awareness, and informational literacy (Schulz et al., 2012). It is a compulsory subject and the stages of learning civics and citizenship education by students in Chinese Taipei, as observed by Cogan and Morris (2001, p. 110), are:

- Class 7 - Understanding Taiwan. The study focused on history, political, economic, and society with time allocation of one hour in a week.
- Classes 8 and 9 - Civics and Morality with focus on civic morality and civic knowledge with time allocation of two hours per week for the study.

Cogan and Morris (2001) further comment that the emergence of democracy in Taiwan has directly influenced curriculum reforms. The social studies curriculum now puts more emphasis on Taiwan than Mainland China and the subject ‘Civics and Morality’ was changed to ‘Understanding Taiwan’ in 1996. When it had previously been China-centred, subjects such as history and geography had more content on Chinese history and geography (Liu, 2013). Teacher lectures and discussions are commonly used as instructional methods and standardised textbooks are provided.

In addition, classroom experience and ethos are included as approaches in Chinese Taipei similar to the Republic of Korea and Thailand. Chinese Taipei, Indonesia, Thailand and the Republic of Korea have formal assessments of civics and citizenship education, such as written examinations and classroom-based tasks. However, Chinese Taipei accords only a medium priority to the subject, while Indonesia and Thailand give a high priority to citizenship education (Schulz et al., 2012).

3.7.2 Republic of Korea

In a similar manner to that of Chinese Taipei, civics and citizenship education in the Republic of Korea is highly influenced by the country’s history: independence from Japan, the Korean war, ideological conflict between communism and capitalism after the World War II, the return of democracy after 1987, multiculturalism and westernisation. Interestingly, the Republic of Korea has a Lifelong Learning law, which provides all people with competencies to become democratic citizens (Schulz et al., 2012). This competency to become democratic citizens, according to Branson and Quigley (1998), is to have civic knowledge, which is concerned with the subject matter of what citizens should know. Next is civic skills, which allow citizens to have not only knowledge, but to obtain knowledge using intellectual and participatory skills and a civic disposition, which may take time to develop since traits are learned and experienced at home, school, and in communities. This approach helps understand that democracy requires the responsible self-governance of each individual. Further, Audigier (2000, p. 21) elaborates the competencies needed for citizenship in democratic societies into three categories: ‘cognitive competences, affective competences and those connected with the choice of values, those connected with action’. Civics and citizenship education is a compulsory subject in the Republic of Korea as it is in Chinese Taipei and Indonesia (Schulz et al., 2012).

The concept of character education in Korea was introduced in 1995 and presently it is covered within moral education (OECD, 2015). It is a component of citizenship education similar to other Asian countries, such as Singapore, and Japan (Schulz et al., 2012). Cases of Singapore and Japan are elaborated in the later pages of this chapter. Classroom experience and ethos are included as approaches in the Republic of Korea and they have formal assessment of civics and citizenship knowledge, which includes written examinations and classroom-based tasks. The Republic of Korea accords only medium priority to the subject (p. 29).

3.7.3 Hong Kong SAR

Hong Kong has five essential learning experiences in their curriculum and ethics is one of the five. Ethics is elaborated under civics and moral education. This encompasses the development of personal character and interpersonal skills, respect for others, perseverance, and national identity.

Hong Kong, however, did not have explicit teaching of civics and citizenship education at the time of the ICCS survey, nor did it have specific assessment tasks for this subject. As a result, it has difficulty competing with examination-oriented subjects such as English, mathematics and Chinese (Lee, 2004b; Schulz et al., 2012). Nevertheless, in order to promote civics education, schools in Hong Kong focus on a variety of associated activities, such as formal classroom lectures, viewing video programmes, role plays, mock elections, group discussions and projects. Elections to the students union and clubs, as well as erecting a Wall of Democracy to allow students to give their viewpoints and opinions, are the few examples of extracurricular activities that are used to provide civic engagement opportunities for students (Lee, 2004b). Morris and Cogan (2001) state that in Hong Kong, civics education was practised as a whole school approach from 1985, and from 1996 further options were provided to schools to either approach the area as a single subject or address it in an integrated or semi-integrated way. From 1998, civics was introduced as an optional school subject, but other subjects included aspects of civics education. Schools were encouraged to use the non-formal curriculum as the main forum for civics education, for example, extracurricular activities, display boards and school-wide talks. However, Schulz et al. (2012) claim that Hong Kong accords only medium priority to the subject.

3.7.4 Indonesia

Indonesia has values-based education in which civics education is the core element (Schulz et al., 2012). Similar to other countries, the aim of civics and citizenship education in Indonesia is also to develop awareness and knowledge of the rights and obligations of citizens to improve their sense of citizenship as defined by the Indonesian constitution (Schulz et al., 2012). Schulz et al. (2012) also observed that the national education policies in Indonesia accord high priority to civics and citizenship education (Schulz et al., 2012). It is a compulsory subject in Indonesia. Indonesia has formal assessments of civics and citizenship education, such as written examinations and classroom-based tasks.

3.7.5 Thailand

In Thailand, civics and citizenship education is strongly influenced by Buddhism and the role of the monarchy. It promotes three national values: nation, religion and the King (Cogan, Morris, & Print, 2013). The area of study encompasses awareness of the political and democratic system under the constitutional monarchy. Curricular goals focus on the historical development of Thai society, politics, and democratic government under the constitutional monarchy. In addition, civics and citizenship education aims to educate students to enhance morality, integrity, ethics, desirable values and good characteristics of Thai society. The Thai national educational policy gives high priority to civics and citizenship education (Schulz et al., 2012). Further, Cogan and Morris (2001) state that civics is incorporated into the social studies core courses in Thailand and is a compulsory subject. They have an integrated approach across all the curriculum. Buddhist Studies is compulsory in Thailand, where one period per week in all grades is dedicated to this subject. In addition, classroom experience and ethos are included as approaches in Thailand, and they have formal assessment of civics and citizenship knowledge, such as written examinations and classroom-based tasks. Cogan et al. (2013) comment that Thailand's lecture-based method is used, along with cooperative and hands-on learning. There are very few qualified teachers who have documented expertise in civics and values education.

3.8 International perspectives outside ICCS countries

In an attempt to reinforce an understanding of international perspectives on civics and citizenship education beyond the ICCS's study of 38 countries, the similarities and

differences that exist in a few other countries, such as Japan, Australia, and Singapore, are explored below.

3.8.1 Civics and citizenship education in Japan

The government of Japan borrowed the modern ideas of citizenship education from Europe and other parts of the world. However, citizenship education underwent changes with regard to names and forms according to the government of the time. Citizenship education at times became the vehicle for nationalist and patriotic education (Parmenter, Mizuyama, & Taniguchi, 2008). In Japan until the 19th century, education was for the elite based on learning of the Confucian classics. It was during the 19th century that education was extended to the common people through the system of schools run in temples. In 1972 the first national education reforms were declared where a subject dealing with civics education was introduced into both the primary and secondary school curriculums. Simultaneously, moral or ethical studies were provided space in the curriculum.

However, in 1886 the civics education subjects were actually banned from the curriculum in order to reduce political influence on students (Parmenter, 2004). In 1889, civics education was brought back as an optional subject. Since then, the role of citizenship education in promoting patriotism continued through to the end of World War II in 1945. Again, it became a forbidden subject under the occupation authorities (Parmenter et al., 2008).

The first post war course of study was published in 1947 with the introduction of a new social studies curriculum. It had three sections; namely, geography; history; and politics, economics and society.

In addition, moral education was reintroduced to the curriculum, after being banned from the curriculum immediately after the war. In 1969, the social studies curriculum underwent another reformation process where the politics, economics and society section for junior high schools came to be known as civics education. There were subject reforms in social studies for senior high schools too. The subject was divided into geography, history and civics education. Civics education, on its own, consisted of three parts: contemporary society; politics/economics, and ethics.

Later, moral education gained attention when the Minister of Education issued guidelines for moral education, which was implemented from 2002 (Parmenter, 2004). Moral education is still part of the school system in Japan (Bolton, 2015). It exists in other Asian countries as well, such as the Republic of Korea (see Section 3.7.2) and Singapore as explained in the later pages of this chapter.

As regards the mode of teaching, schools in Japan teach citizenship education in the form of 'Life Studies' in the first two years of elementary school. The content, together with the teaching methods specified in the aims, emphasises attitudes related to citizenship education rather than knowledge (Davies, Mizuyama, & Thompson, 2010; Parmenter, 2004). Furthermore, one lesson each week is allocated for moral education, which provides a strong emphasis on social and moral responsibilities, keeping laws and rules, respect for parents and grandparents, respect for teachers and school staff and self-awareness in a Japanese patriotic spirit (Davies et al., 2010).

There is a similar observation by Morris and Cogan (2001), who report that Japan has moral education, or compulsory religious education with one period per week across Grades 1–9. Social studies is a compulsory subject across Grades 3–9. Three periods per week are allotted to social studies, which includes civics. Civics in social studies is studied as compulsory subject in Grade 9 with three periods per week allotted.

As discussed earlier, teaching and learning of civics and citizenship are possible through three approaches, that is, through a specific subject about civics and citizenship, through integration of civics and citizenship content with a small number of relevant subjects, or integrating civics and citizenship across all subjects' curriculums. In Japan, teaching and learning of this subject is innovatively integrated with subjects such as national language, foreign languages, music and art. For instance, Japanese traditions and culture as aspects of civic knowledge are taught while learning the Japanese language. Even subtle and elusive issues such as self-contemplation and self-awareness are dealt with through the Japanese language curriculum. Foreign language learning is largely limited to English, through which students learn about daily life, customs, stories, geography, and the history of the world and Japanese people (Parmenter et al., 2008).

Citizenship education in Japan, like other nations, is concerned with the development of responsible citizens who will contribute to the common good of their society (Parmenter, 2004). It is an offshoot of the national education policy that was formulated

after the birth of the modern nation of Japan through the Meiji restoration of 1868 (Parmenter et al., 2008), but has waxed and waned in terms of the degree of emphasis on strong patriotism.

Japan, like most Asian countries, has a centralised education system supported by authorised textbooks, rigorous teacher employment and promotion procedures, and usually teacher-centred and textbook-based teaching (Parmenter, 2004). This centralised system of curriculum development, assured with stringent textbook authorisation backed by scrupulous teacher management practices, promotes an enhanced national identity. Citizenship education in Japan appears to involve much more than explicit curriculum and policy. Beliefs about education and human relations, attitudes towards learning, school ethos, and entrenched practices and societal context play great roles in students' experience of citizenship education (Parmenter et al., 2008).

3.8.2 Australia: The context of civics and citizenship education

The nation of Australia, after a decade of healthy and vigorous debate, was voted into existence in 1901. At the time there were issues around who would be the citizens of this new country and what constituted citizenship. Civics was given priority as it served as a unifying factor especially during the first two decades following the formation of the new nation (Print & Gray, 2000).

Roughly a century later, education ministers of the various states/territories of Australia emphasised the importance of the role played by youth in building the nation's social and economic prosperity when in 2008 they all signed the Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians (MCEETYA, 2008). The declaration primarily indicated their agreement on two main goals:

- Australian schooling promotes equity and excellence; and
- All young Australians become successful learners, confident and creative individuals, and active and informed citizens.

The Melbourne Declaration was basically aimed at improving educational outcomes so that all young Australians were positioned to live fulfilling, productive and responsible lives (MCEETYA, 2008).

As in Japan, Australian civics education was considered a very important subject, one necessary for sustaining democracy. However, civics education has never experienced

smooth sailing in the education system in Australia. The first primary syllabus in NSW was published in 1904, where a civics and morals course was included in the syllabus. Students, besides learning the history of England, focused on lessons related to respect for property, industriousness, punctuality and patriotism (Civics Expert Group, 1994). Australia approached the imparting of civics and citizenship education in a didactic way where students were passive recipients of information delivered by teachers. There was no space provided to either teachers or students for self-contemplation or to internalise issues arising from the subject matter. Civics was an established subject until the 1930s. As a result, with an objective of making citizenship teaching more dynamic, educators integrated history, geography and citizenship education to form social studies. However, within social studies, citizenship education became simply a range of information about political structures and processes, citizens' rights and responsibilities and civic participation. This was observed by many to be a weakening of citizenship education within the system (Print & Gray, 2000).

Nonetheless, civics education was moderately prominent until the 1960s. However, after the 1960s, Australians witnessed the demise of citizenship education with the introduction of integrated social studies. At the same time, there was a widespread community fear of communism, which resulted in the prohibition of the teaching of politics. Civics and citizenship education was caught up in this and not taught. Where remnants remained, these were focused on legislative structures and institutions, which failed to arouse the interest of students and teachers (Print, Moroz, & Reynolds, 2001). A report by the Civics Expert Group (1994) stated that by the 1990s young Australians were ignorant of their political and government systems and their roles as citizens in a democratic country. Further, there were concerns indicating that young people lacked knowledge of, and were cynical about, the political and bureaucratic system and had inadequate knowledge of their rights and responsibilities as citizens (Senate Standing Committee on Employment Education and Training, 1989). The revival of civics education began in Australia when preparations began for the celebration of the centenary of Federation in 2001 under the leadership of the Keating government (1991–1996). Prime Minister Keating argued that Australians needed to be knowledgeable about the system of government, the Constitution, and their rights and responsibilities as citizens. The Australian system of government created by its constitution makers had resulted in a robust, stable and successful constitutional democracy. This needed support through the

development of civics and citizenship education in school. Therefore, schools received support from government policy to launch a new round of civics education (Print & Gray, 2000). Cogan and Morris (2001) point out that in Australia, the Commonwealth Ministry of Education endorsed 'Discovering Democracy' as a national programme, but it was left up to each state to have the final say as to what would be taught. At this time civics became integrated in most states with studies of society/history/geography. It was part of a compulsory core subject from classes 7–10. With the recommendation of the Civics Expert Group to produce national, comprehensive and engaging curriculum materials, civics education was strengthened in the system. May 1997 was when the Howard government decided that civics education would form an important component for Australian schools (Print & Gray, 2000). In addition, it was decided under the Commonwealth government's new national Civics Education policy that classes 4 to 10 would have compulsory lessons in civics and citizenship from 1999 (Australian Law Reform Commission, 2016). In 2012, the draft shape of Australian Curriculum: Civics and Citizenship (ACCC) was published. The curriculum has been now implemented in the ACT, Northern Territory, Queensland and South Australia, while Western Australia and Victoria plan to implement it in 2016 and 2017 respectively. However, it is not taught in NSW as it has been integrated into history and geography (Print, 2015). Civics and citizenship under Australian curriculum have been implemented in Tasmania in classes 7 and 8 (Department of Education Tasmania 2016).

Broadly, the contents covered in ACCC are government and democracy, laws and citizens, and citizenship, diversity and identity. Students are expected to acquire skills such as questioning and analysing, synthesising and interpreting, problem-solving and decision-making, and communication and reflection. The level of understanding and acquiring skills increases as students advance in grades (ACARA, 2013).

Currently in Australia, considering the current debate about citizenship flowing from immigration, it is not simple to have a specific curriculum about democracy taught in Australian schools. Being a federated nation with states having their own policies, laws and regulations especially with regard to school education, there is a debate amongst states and a similar debate amongst citizenship educators.

Citizenship education is a salient attribute of democracy. Learning citizenship education means learning about democracy. Print (2015) claims that democracy is not a

natural condition. It has to be learnt. And where, how much, when and in what ways it is learnt helps determine a person's understanding and practice of democracy. So it is vital to know the situation of education for democracy in Australian schools. Do the students learn about democracy? Are they able to acquire the skills and values needed to be democratic citizens and be resilient against extremism? The truth is that it depends on individual schools as well as individual teachers.

Further, the type of citizenship education school children are provided with varies greatly from state to state or from territory to territory. Print (2015) acknowledges that the ACCC is not taught in its pure form in NSW schools, nor is it likely to be taught as such in the foreseeable future, because the NSW Board of Studies, Teaching and Educational Standards (BOSTES) has not approved it for NSW schools. It was not approved for NSW schools when the NSW stakeholders did not provide favourable feedback on the draft shape of the ACCC. The consultation with teachers, an online survey on the Board's website and NSW Department of Education and Communities, which was conducted by the Board of Studies, exposed about fifteen issues that counted against having a separate civics and citizenship curriculum.

One issue prominent amongst all feedback in NSW was that civics and citizenship as a separate subject would add yet another subject to an already crowded curriculum. The stakeholders of NSW instead considered it best that civics and citizenship be a cross-curriculum priority. Therefore, currently in NSW, civics and citizenship learning in K–6 is embedded in the content of the *Human Society and its Environment (Social Studies)* syllabus and addresses areas such as social justice, civic participation, democratic processes and beliefs and moral codes. In addition, the NSW syllabuses that comply with the Australian curriculums in English, mathematics, science and history, which have been implemented from 2014, include civics and citizenship content as part of each curriculum area (Board of Studies, 2012).

However, Print (2015) argues that in reality a school subject that is 'integrated' into another generally means that it can be, and usually is, ignored. This is due to a lack of ownership of the subject. Further, due to pressing demands of the history and geography curricula, contents of civic and citizenship education could easily be missed. As a counter to this risk, there is a specific curriculum for civics and citizenship education prepared

and available as a standalone subject for schools, which other states and territories largely have adopted (sometimes in modified form) but that is not taught in NSW.

3.8.3 Civics and citizenship education in Singapore

Oon Ai (1998) states that the Singaporean government is one of the few to pursue civics and moral education with much vigour and enthusiasm. Soon after its independence from Britain in 1959, there was a growing focus amongst educational policy makers to design citizenship training packages for Singaporeans. For Singapore, the school system was the best setting for delivering a formal values education programme and schools were considered the most appropriate place for nation-building. In fact, moral education is a component of citizenship education, as in other Asian countries such as Korea and Japan (Schulz, Fraillon, & Ainley, 2012). In Singaporean schools, citizenship is a component of the compulsory civics and moral education programme.

The first civics syllabus for all Singapore schools was published in December 1957 (Chia, 2016) with the aim of motivating an interest in contemporary civic problems and providing opportunities to discuss them fully without any prejudice. Along with civics, citizenship education was also taught as ethics with an objective of instilling ethical values such as politeness, honesty, perseverance and kindness. Ethics was also called ‘rules of conduct’.

Oon Ai (1998) provides a brief history of civics and citizenship education in Singapore. Singapore initially introduced a subject called ethics in 1959, which was later replaced by civics in 1963 at the secondary level. Singapore further decided to make an interdisciplinary programme for values education in primary schools in 1973 called *Education for Living*. However, this did not materialise as the policy makers found this initiative to be a weak attempt for creating an effective moral education programme. Therefore, there was a major review of moral education in 1978 resulting in revamping and starting fresh work on a new programme. A textbook, titled *Good Citizen*, was produced by the Good Citizen Project Team while the Moral Education Programme for Singapore produced materials for *Being and Becoming* (Oon Ai, 1998). In addition to the two texts, there were religious knowledge and Confucian ethics, which were compulsory subjects. The text *Good Citizen* was implemented in 1981. It reflected the government’s stance on moral education and had a vast coverage of citizenship components. The text

Good Citizen had different focuses and emphases for different levels of primary school students:

- Self and family for primary one and two;
- School and society for primary three and four; and
- Nation and the world for primary five and six (Chia, 2016).

Among many topics in primary grades five and six, there was a component about polling day, which discussed the importance of electing good governments rather than just exercising a citizen's right to vote.

In 1990, there was an announcement from the government that removed religious knowledge and Confucian ethics from the school curriculum, and this remains the case today (Oon Ai, 1998; Tan, 1997). Kerr (1999a) remarks that teachers in Singapore teach moral education within a tightly controlled framework. Civics and moral education are compulsory throughout primary and secondary education, based on a structured syllabus and prescribed textbooks. This learning is further reinforced through service programmes such as voluntary work in welfare homes. Mr. Goh Chok Tong, as the Prime Minister at that time, announced the need for 'National Education' as a form of citizenship training for all levels of schools. This programme aimed to teach students their country's constraints and explore solutions for the country to continue to succeed. National Education was a subject for values education, which emphasised that Singaporeans had to meet new challenges in a highly competitive and integrated global environment (Oon Ai, 1998).

A Civics and Moral Education (CME) programme was introduced in 1991 with an aim for individuals to put society before themselves, live harmoniously with others and to contribute effectively to Singapore's multicultural society (HistorySG, 1991; Oon Ai, 1998). Boey (2011) reports that Singapore merged moral education with other subjects for building character in an interactive way. 'Civics and Morals' will be taught when students learn other subjects. Boey further added that the Ministry of Education introduced Character and Citizenship Education (CCE) to look after the teaching of moral education, national education and co-curricular activities.

While an English-medium education was introduced to ensure the country's economic development, at the same time political leaders in Singapore seem to have concluded that

it was most effective to deliver civics and moral education to students in their mother tongue in order to allow cultural continuity and to transmit values. However, for secondary schools, CME is delivered using English as the medium of instruction for two reasons: non-availability of teachers who can teach in some mother-tongues and the difficulty of preparing CME curriculum in English and three other mother-tongues.

Singapore has consistently emphasised the duties and responsibilities of citizens, patriotism, national identity and moral values. These are understood explicitly as goals for nation-building (Chia, 2016). The Ministry of Education in 2014 launched a new 'Character and Citizenship Education' programme aiming to emphasise students' character development (Low, 2014; Tan, 2012). There are eight learning outcomes of Character and Citizenship Education according to MoE, (2016, p. 10):

1. Acquire self-awareness and apply self-management skills to achieve personal well-being and effectiveness;
2. Act with integrity and make responsible decisions that uphold moral principles;
3. Acquire social awareness and apply interpersonal skills to build and maintain positive relationships based on mutual respect;
4. Be resilient and have the ability to turn challenges into opportunities;
5. Take pride in national identity, have a sense of belonging to Singapore and be committed to nation-building;
6. Value Singapore's socio-cultural diversity, and promote social cohesion and harmony;
7. Care for others and contribute actively to the progress of community and nation;
and
8. Reflect on and respond to community, national and global issues, as an informed and responsible citizen.

This curriculum illustrates a values-explicit model for the delivery of moral education.

3.9 Inferences for Bhutan

This chapter can sum up the apparent diversity of approaches to civics and citizenship education in the following way: inculcating values and attitudes into students is the common characteristic of civics and citizenship education in the countries surveyed. While the underpinning features of values and attitudes differ subtly from country to

country, the overriding premise mainly revolves around political literacy, citizens' rights and responsibilities, social skills and societal concerns, and national identity, all geared towards the ultimate empowerment of citizens and the development of a wholesome personality.

In Bhutan, the Ministry of Education aims to ensure that civics education enables students to develop a broad historical perspective and understand the basic principles of how governments are formed and how they operate (CAPSD, 2008a). According to the then Education Minister, T. S. Powdyel, 'As a powerful nation-building discipline, Civics should inspire an appreciation of the need to develop the necessary qualities of head and heart that help young men and women to live as good fellow-citizens in a democratic society that is based on the principle of mutual respect and trust. Civics, as indeed with any discipline, should help develop insight, and not content itself with a mere collection of information and facts' (p.v).

There are specific civics textbooks for Bhutanese school students from classes 7–12, but these textbooks form a part of an overall history subject. For classes below 7, there is a general social studies textbooks instead of a civics textbooks. At this level, social studies contains elements of civics and citizenship education. Therefore, if it were to be grouped under an appropriate approach under the overall ICCS's three approaches, then Bhutan would be classified as 'having specific civics and citizenship unit(s) of study' for students from classes 7 to 12. The curriculum department of the Bhutanese government has prepared textbooks exclusively for civics education. However, for classes below 7 where elements of both civics and citizenship education are included in social studies (CAPSD, 1989), Bhutan demonstrates the second approach, that is, 'integrating civics and citizenship content into a small number of other subjects'. Teachers who teach civics in Bhutan may not necessarily have an educational background in civic and citizenship education, but they do have overall skills for teaching social studies subjects. In all the schools in Bhutan, history teachers teach the civics subject.

'Educating for GNH' aims to incorporate elements of civics and citizenship education (or, wholesome-values education) in all disciplines of study, it is thus integrated across all subjects, be science, commerce, or humanities. Therefore, in this manner, Bhutan aspires towards the ICCS's third approach, that is, integrating civics and citizenship content into all subjects. The infusion of GNH values is not restricted to classroom teaching but goes

beyond, to extracurricular activities, family, and community. Teachers are expected to help students identify values explicitly in their teaching subjects, topics, and activities and then contextualise these values to the lives of their family and community members (MoE, 2013).

As identified above, civics and moral education (CME) in Singapore for secondary schools is delivered in English due to the non-availability of teachers to teach in mother-tongues (Oon Ai, 1998). Similarly in Bhutan, the Education Ministry attempted to teach history in Dzongkha. History in Dzongkha for Classes 7 and 8 was introduced in 2006. This initiative had to be discontinued after the study conducted by the Royal University of Bhutan revealed numerous difficulties. It was found that the nation did not have enough Dzongkha teachers to teach history, and teachers without a background in Dzongkha were not confident or competent to teach history in Dzongkha (Wangchuk, 2012). Plans to teach history in Dzongkha could not take off because either history teachers were not conversant with Dzongkha or the Dzongkha speakers lacked history knowledge.

The emphasis on national identity found in civics education in most other countries anticipates one of the top priorities that the Royal Government had long recognised in the pages of Bhutan's official national vision. One of the four pillars of Bhutan's development philosophy of gross national happiness is preservation and promotion of culture and tradition. Culture and tradition in turn enhance Bhutan's national identity, which is of paramount relevance to a tiny country with a small population wedged between the two most populous countries in the world (Planning Commission of Bhutan, 1999).

Bhutan appears to be following the footsteps of Hong Kong by promoting civics education beyond formal classroom settings. The erstwhile Department of Curriculum and Research Division, now merged with the Royal Education Council (REC), recommended introducing a variety of activities to teach civics education, such as role plays and mock elections in schools alongside the formal written civics curriculum (Election Commission of Bhutan, 2012). Complementing the efforts of REC, the Election Commission of Bhutan (ECB) also identified a host of activities for students. For instance, the Children's Parliament of Bhutan is an initiative of ECB through the support of UNICEF-Bhutan where children have their own mini Parliament. Schools have

Democracy Clubs who field candidates to stand for elections to become Members of Parliament in the Children's Parliament of Bhutan. These activities are geared towards ensuring involvement of citizens for a successful democracy (UNDP, 2015).

To conclude, this review of international perspectives on civics and citizenship education sheds light on similarities between the international and the Bhutanese experiences. There are many salient features of civics and citizenship education practised elsewhere that can inform the ongoing development of Bhutan's infant civics and citizenship education. At the same time, there are areas where Bhutan can learn from the pitfalls experienced by other countries. Lessons learnt and positive experiences are elaborated in Chapter 9.

Chapter 4:

The democratisation processes and a brief history of education in Bhutan

4.1 Overview

This chapter describes briefly the emergence of Bhutan as a nation state and the genesis of the country's education vision, goals, strategies, and plans and programmes.

Introduction of parliamentary democracy in the country in 2008 was a historic national milestone and an ultimate outcome of a gradual democratisation process that began since the 1950s. Bhutan has experienced and endured through fluctuating periods of trials and tribulations from the 17th to the 19th century.

As necessitated by the need to maintain pace with economic development and a shift of governance structure that requires more public participation in the decision-making, there were corresponding changes in the education goals, strategies, and plans of actions by the government. Citizens needed to be educated for better participation in the decision-making processes. To this effect, a revised civics curriculum with new civics textbooks were introduced from 2008. However, public perception tells a different story. Our citizens, particularly the youth, have become more dependent on the government for easy living. Some quarters of the populace feel that democracy has resulted more crime and encouraged our rural electorates to demand more share of the state resources. There is also a public perception that our children's level of civics and citizenship knowledge is below the general expectations. Perhaps, our teachers must be underperforming. Or even worse, our civics curriculum is not right or content-deficient.

In this context, this chapter attempts to set the context that articulates a need to conduct research and an expected outcome from such research. At the end of the research, it is expected to reveal the gap between civics and citizenship learning in our schools and

the stakeholder perceptions on our students' civics and citizenship knowledge and an overall educational impact.

4.2 Historical background of democratisation in Bhutan

His Majesty the King of Bhutan, Jigme Khesar Namgyal Wangchuck said during the 105th National Day of Bhutan in 2012, 'The powers offered by our People to the King in 1907 were, after hundred years of Nation building, returned in 2008 to our People by the Druk Gyalpo [King of Bhutan]' (Wangchuck, 2012, para 2). After 100 years of absolute monarchy under the benign and farsighted leadership of the Wangchuck dynasty, the country became a parliamentary democracy.

Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyal, the founder of Bhutan, came to Bhutan in 1616 from Tibet, united the local lords and brought them under centralised control, and strengthened the country against external invasions. The political system has then evolved over time with its tradition and culture. Up until 1907, Bhutan was an independent country under a theocratic system. Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyal was the first ruler and promulgated a code of law in the country. He brought stability in the country with systematic governance. Bhutan under him had the dual system of government with Je Khenpo (Head Abbot) as the spiritual head of Bhutan and Desi the secular head of the country (Tourism Council of Bhutan, n.d). Zhabdrung was the head of state and the ultimate authority in both religious and civil matters.

The kingdom under him was divided into three regions: east, central and west. *Penlops*, governors holding seats in *dzongs* (fortresses) and the *dzongpons* (district officers) were appointed to the districts. Dzongpons had their headquarters in lesser dzong (Savada, 1991). Dorje (1990) states that Zhabdrung not only guarded the country from invasion but also built dzongs to create centers of religious and civil authority for the united Bhutan. He is responsible for bringing peace and stability to the country by establishing a strong and dynamic administrative system and by codifying a set of strict but fair and just laws based on the Buddhist tradition, which is the framework for the present judicial system of Bhutan.

However, after the death of Zhabdrung in 1651, his successors failed to keep the glory of his reign. The political system of 17th century changed significantly by the 20th century. Although the Zhabdrung figure still exists in people's religious consciousness, the strong

political leadership of the Zhabdrung institutions became irrelevant and by the beginning of the 20th century was no longer a fundamental point of Bhutan's political structure (Phuntsho, 2013).

The theocratic system founded by Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyal came to an end in 1907 with the crowning of Ugyen Wangchuck as the first hereditary king of Bhutan. He was enthroned by popular consensus and unanimous political support. Phuntsho (2013) claims that the introduction of a hereditary monarchy in Bhutan with the crowning of the first King Ugyen Wangchuck in the early 20th century was a unique political event in the world as it was the complete opposite to prevalent trends existing in that era of ending the rules of monarchies in other parts of the world. Druk Gyalpo Ugyen Wangchuck ascended the throne when the Bhutanese were in great need of a unifying authority because of the theocratic republican rule and the continual fighting amongst factions (warring penlops and dzongpons). The first Druk Gyalpo, Ugyen Wangchuck, was responsible for bringing together the dzongpons and penlops, ending the long strife, and restoring peace in the country.

The Second King, His Majesty Jigme Wangchuck, ascended the throne after the passing away of the First Druk Gyalpo Ugyen Wangchuck in 1926. His Majesty the second King continued his father's efforts at modernisation, built more schools, and consolidated the sovereignty of Bhutan.

Tobgay (2015) mentions that the process of democratisation in the country actually started in the 1950s during the reign of the third King, His Majesty Jigme Dorji Wangchuck (1953–72). The third king further modernised Bhutanese society by abolishing slavery, serfdom and the caste system. He initiated prominent political reforms that included establishment of the National Assembly (Tshogdu Chhenmo or the Legislature) in 1953, instituted a Royal Advisory Council (Lodroe Tshogdue) in 1965, and established the High Court (Thrimkhang Gongma) in 1967, separating the judiciary and legislature from the executive.

The political transition to a parliamentary democracy in Bhutan was unique. The fourth king of Bhutan, His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck, initiated and guided the democratisation process, even with resistance from the people. This is again in contrast to many countries around the world where democracy was pursued as a result of popular movements (National Environment Commission, 2012). Lyonchhen Tshering Tobgay, the

present Prime Minister of Bhutan in his speech on 15 September 2014 during International Democracy Day said that Bhutan's democracy is unique since His Majesty the Fourth Druk Gyalpo 'forced us to accept democracy ... it is also unique because it didn't happen overnight. His Majesty the fourth King started very early on his dream to prepare us for democracy' (Tobgay, 2014, para 4). The fourth king assumed the throne at a very young age of sixteen in 1972 after the premature passing away of his father the third king His Majesty Jigme Dorji Wangchuck.

It was under the guidance of the fourth king that the process of decentralisation and devolution of power to the people occurred in a very gradual, planned and calculated manner. A process of democracy, directly involving the people, was first initiated by establishing and institutionalising local governments. In 1981 a District Development Committee, known as *Dzongkhag Yargey Tshogchung* (DYT) was instituted. Governance and development planning, which previously were supervised and managed by the Centre, were decentralised to the districts in 1981. The DYT's were entrusted with the responsibilities of managing budgets and implementing economic planning. Ten years later in 1991, the same responsibilities were further decentralised to the block level, known as Block Development Committees or *Gewog Yargey Tshogchung* (GYT). The institutions of DYT's and GYT's, at the district and block levels respectively, strengthened the foundation of local governance. Seven years later in July 1998, the King announced the dissolution of his cabinet and he voluntarily devolved all executive authority from the throne to an elected Council of Ministers. This royal decision came as a shock to the nation and it was beyond the competency of the Bhutanese psyche in general to accept the King's decision (Tobgay, 2015).

Following this, the cabinet ministers resigned and the King became head of state. The rein of government was handed over to the newly elected cabinet ministers, chosen by the members of the National Assembly. In 2001, the King commanded the drafting of a Constitution and in 2008 a full-fledged parliamentary democracy, formally known as a Democratic Constitutional Monarchy, was introduced (CAPSD, 2008a).

Before the 2008 political change, that is, from July 1998 until 2008, the King would nominate ministerial candidates to be elected by the National Assembly. These elected ministers would form the Cabinet. The ministers would serve in the post of prime minister on a rotating basis (Masaki, n.d). So in essence, the system designed by the

fourth King allowed two batches of cabinet ministers of five-year terms each, from 1998 to 2003 and from 2003 to 2008, to prepare for roles in the subsequent administration of a fully-fledged democratically elected government.

As commanded by the King, the Constitution Drafting Committee was formed in September 2001 made up of 39 members with the country's Chief Justice serving as the Committee Chair. After four years of the drafting process, the draft Constitution was distributed to the public in March 2005 for consultation. The public consultation entailed meticulous deliberations on every Article and Clause of the Constitution. Public consultations, conducted in all twenty districts, were attended by at least one member from every household in the country. The last public consultation was held in May 2006 (Tobgay, 2015). Lyonchhen Tshering Tobgay states that the fourth King taught the nation to elect representatives to the National Assembly and taught the representatives to elect members to the Council of Ministers. He further ensured that the Constitution was firmly in place. 'In 2007, His Majesty the King conducted mock elections, the first in the world to train our people, to prepare our people for the eventual first and historic elections in 2008' (Tobgay, 2014, para 5-7). Thus, there was a national effort to make the general public understand the significance of the political change, and to accord them opportunities to comment on the draft constitution (Masaki, n.d). The Constitution, consisting of 35 Articles and 4 Schedules, was formally adopted by the first democratically elected Parliament in its first historic sitting in the summer of 2008.

The fourth Druk Gyalpo, Jigme Singye Wangchuck, handed over his reign of governance to the elected Council of Ministers in 1998. Previously the Druk Gyalpo had been the head of both the state and government. After the devolution of power, he became the head of state and the prime minister became the head of government. The fourth Druk Gyalpo in the 76th Session said:

It has been my endeavour to encourage and prepare our people to participate actively and fully in the decision making process of our country. The time has now come to further promote the people's participation in the decision making process. Our country must have a system of government, which enjoys the mandate of the people, provides clean and efficient government and has an in-built mechanism of checks and balances to safeguard our national interests and security. As an important step towards achieving this goal, the *Lhengye Zhungtshog*, should now be restructured into an elected council of ministers that is vested with full executive powers to provide efficient and effective governance of our country (CAPSD, 2008a, p. 3).

Therefore, while democracy was introduced as late as 2008, the initiation of decentralisation and devolution of power was a gradual phenomenon giving citizens opportunities to learn and embrace the changes. Bhutanese democracy is unique: different from other forms of democracy existing in other countries. It is unique because it was initiated from the throne when the people actually pleaded with the King not to step down. It was the King's wish that Bhutan should have a Constitution laden with time-tested values and principles of the Bhutanese polity. There are unique Articles and Clauses of provisions not found in the constitutions of any other nation. The Constitution in Bhutan is the outcome of citizen involvement and conscientious study of the following elements, provided by (Tobgay, 2015, pp. 20-21):

- Royal decrees and edicts, laws of Bhutan, speeches of His Majesties and policies of the Kingdom;
- Religious, cultural, philosophical and political basis of the country;
- History of the evolution of the democratic process;
- Meaning, objectives and nature of the Constitution;
- Constitutional values, principles and judicial process;
- Salutary provisions of the Constitution;
- Types of rights, liberties and freedoms;
- Universal democratic traditions and practices;
- Emerging legal paradigms, social and ethical control mechanism;
- Concept of sovereignty;
- Interest theories and theories on social, political and public moralities;
- Lessons from numerous constitutional crisis around the world;
- Buddhist and Western philosophies;
- Human rights conventions, treaties, protocol, covenants and other international and regional instruments;
- Comments on the draft Constitution from international agencies, individuals and the Ministries of the Royal Government;
- Clauses, sentences, provisions, dicta of other constitutions, constitutional reforms documents, landmarks judgements and constitutional writings; and
- Hundred other constitutions out of which twenty were studied in detail.

All of these elements have been combined to create a unique Bhutanese Constitution. Some examples of unique clauses in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008) are:

- Article 2.6 states, ‘Upon reaching the age of sixty-five years, the Druk Gyalpo (the King) shall step down and hand over the Throne to the Crown Prince or Crown Princess provided the Royal Heir has come of age’ (p. 6-7). Further, Article 2.7 (a) provides establishment of the Council of Regency in case the Royal Heir has not attained the age of twenty-one (p. 7).
- Article 5.3 is also considered unique where ‘the Government shall ensure that, in order to conserve the country’s natural resources and to prevent degradation of the ecosystem, a minimum of sixty percent of Bhutan’s total land shall be maintained under forest cover for all time’ (pp. 21-22).
- Article 14.6 mentions that ‘the Government shall ensure that the cost of recurrent expenditures is met from internal resources of the country’ (p. 52).
- Article 14.7 comments that ‘a minimum foreign currency reserve that is adequate to meet the cost of not less than one year’s essential import must be maintained’ (p. 52).
- Article 16.1 spells that ‘Parliament shall, by law, establish a Public Election Fund into which shall be paid every year such amounts as the Election Commission may consider appropriate to fund registered political parties and their candidates during elections to the National Assembly and candidates to the National Council’ (pp. 61-62).
- As enshrined under Article 16.1, the Election Commission of Bhutan fixes the amount of campaign fund for each contesting political parties and candidates during the parliamentary election. The campaign fund amount shall be disbursed from the state fund and regulated by ECB in pursuance to the provisions of the Election Act of the Kingdom of Bhutan 2008. This is mainly to provide a level playing field to all the candidates, regardless of their own financial status (Royal Government of Bhutan, 2008).
- Article 23.3 states that ‘a candidate for an elective office under this Constitution shall:

23.3.c) Be a minimum of twenty-five years and maximum of sixty-five years

of age at the time of filing the nomination;

23.3.e) Fulfil the necessary educational and other qualifications prescribed in the Electoral Laws' (pp. 84-85).

The Election Act of the Kingdom of Bhutan, 2008, states that a person shall be qualified to be a candidate for a Member of Parliament, referring to both the National Assembly and the National Council, if he/she possesses a formal university degree. (Section 176(d) and Section 177 (d)) (pp. 62-63).

4.3 Contextual background of Bhutan's education system

Ministry of Education (2012, p. 5) in the National Education Policy (NEP) of Bhutan provides the context of education in Bhutan as follows:

- **His Majesty the Druk Gyalpo's address at Paro College of Education, 17 Feb. 2009** - 'Our nation's Vision can only be fulfilled if the scope of our dreams and aspirations are matched by the reality of our commitment to nurturing our future citizens.'
- **Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan: Article 9.15** –'The State shall endeavour to provide education for the purpose of improving and increasing knowledge, values and skills of the entire population with education being directed towards the full development of the human personality.'
- **Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan: Article 9.16** –'The State shall provide free education to all children of school going age up to tenth standard and ensure that technical and professional education shall be made generally available and that higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.'
- **Educating for Gross National Happiness (GNH):** Bhutan's vision of development is based on the principles of Gross National Happiness. As education is the cornerstone of all progress in a society, this vision has been incorporated into the education system through Educating for GNH, an initiative that promotes holistic, contemplative, eco-sensitive, and culturally responsive educational approaches that are both taught and put into practice.
- **Democratic Foundations:** The advent of democratic constitutional monarchy in 2008 has provided an impetus to the education system to build strong foundations

for democracy in Bhutan by educating citizens to meaningfully participate in the political process.

- **Knowledge Society:** One of Bhutan's development goals is to create a knowledge society. Towards this, the NEP shall direct and define new avenues for students, both Bhutanese and international, to pursue quality education in Bhutan.
- **Quality Education:** The quality of education is of critical importance and must be enhanced. The policy provisions shall strive to ensure the development of a Bhutanese learning system based on GNH principles: creating a performance-based culture in schools; ensuring targeted professional development of educators; and utilising innovative ICT-based teacher support mechanisms.

Dorji (2005) summarises the history of Bhutan's education system. He states that in Bhutan, a small landlocked kingdom in the Himalayan Mountains without a record of colonial rule, it is popularly believed that early monastic education is linked to the visit of Guru Padmasambhava, who visited Bhutan in 746 AD. Guru Padmasambhava is believed to have had the biggest influence on the cultural and social life of the Bhutanese through his teaching of Buddhism. Further, in the 12th Century, the founder of the Drukpa Kagyud School of Buddhism, Tsangpa Gyarey, sent some of his principal disciples to Bhutan from Tibet to preach the Dharma. The disciples built temples and continued the spiritual lineage. Today, Drukpa Kagyud remains the principal school of Buddhism in Bhutan. Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyal established the first body of monks in the Monastery of Chari in 1622, starting the first formal monastic education. The system was established and the first Je Khenpo, Pekar Jungney, headed the monastery, ordaining thirty monks.

Monastic education focused on the art of liturgy and ritual, and grew in the course of time to extend throughout the country. Today, monastic institutes for higher studies called Shedras have been established so monks of higher stature can resume tertiary level education in literature, philosophy, arts and language and dedicate themselves to long periods of meditation. Monastic education in Bhutan had its roots as early as the 8th century AD and was practiced through informal relationships between the master and the disciples. The monastic system of education has maintained the spiritual aspects of Bhutanese society for many centuries.

It is obvious that the monastic education system predates modern or Western education in Bhutan (Tobgay, n.d). Monasteries were traditionally not only the focus of

religious practices but were also educational centres providing schools for learning language, arts, literature, and philosophy. It is claimed that the present Bhutanese script, known as *Jog Yig*, was developed by Demang Tsemang in the 8th Century and was the product of monastic education. Demang Tsemang was in the retinue of Guru Padmasambhava and was a popular Sanskrit translator and Tibetan calligrapher who invented a new style of calligraphy, including the Bhutanese script. Demang Tsemang, as legends claim, could write innumerable texts in a moment (Nado, 1982).

Tobgay (n.d) said that the first Druk Gyalpo, Ugyen Wangchuck, introduced a modern education system in 1914 by sending 46 boys to India to receive a Western education. Initially, the purposes of getting a modern education were for administrative purposes and to gain access to the world. According to Dorji (2005), in 1914 the first Western school was established in Ha. Subjects such as arithmetic, Hindi, English and Dzongkha were taught in this school. The second King Jigme Wangchuck set up secular schools in the 1950s, borrowing both the curriculum and the medium of instruction, Hindi, from India. This was the beginning of our present Bhutanese education system. However, the major developments in the education system took place in 1962 during the reign of the Third King of Bhutan, Jigme Dorji Wangchuck. English became the medium of instruction in Bhutanese schools, as it was considered the most useful world language. The King believed that English was the language that would enable Bhutanese citizens to communicate with the world (Ministry of Education, 2014). In addition, the third Druk Gyalpo realized that Bhutan could no longer prosper if it maintained its old traditions (Dorji, 2005). Thus his enthusiasm and will power focused on the development of a modern education system in Bhutan, and because of this, he is called the Father of Modern Bhutan. Since there were not enough teachers at this time, Bhutan had to recruit from neighbouring India. In addition to school education in Bhutan, some students were sent to missionary schools in Darjeeling, India. The Ministry of Education (2014) records that His Majesty was highly impressed by the quality of education in these schools, which made him invite a Canadian Jesuit, Father William Mackey SJ to Bhutan to help set up a high school system. The Jesuits were at the time teaching in one of the missionary schools in Darjeeling. The Jesuits along with nuns worked to set up ‘a fully Bhutanese school system that would strengthen the country’s indigenous cultural and religious traditions while helping its people to modernize’ (Ministry of Education, 2014, p. 1).

Today, there are 12,389 students studying in monastic schools across the country, and 551 modern schools in the country with 173,594 students (National Statistics Bureau, 2015). Over the time of the national educational transformation from the age-old monastic education system to a modern education system, the government and the leadership acknowledged the importance that education needed to play in a range of areas, such as civic duties and social development, character building of citizens, and cultural and values transmission. Tobgay (n.d) defines this sort of wholesome education as providing

a holistic approach through critical education thinking and innovative approaches to develop the mind and body. It includes all aspects of human existence and not only academics. In the world of disparities, education should also be inclusive with different abilities, skills, backgrounds and cultures. Bhutan provided chances and opportunities to her citizen to get educated together. (p. 5)

In addition Tobgay (n.d) argues that if ‘wholesome education’ is construed as a framework of holistic education, then ‘values education’ can be understood as the details and specificities, which flesh out this framework. Values education can be thought of as the moral aspects of education that contribute towards making the individual a good citizen who is conscious of their innate strength. Such education must involve core, structural and institutional values, including cultural, moral, ethical, cardinal and spiritual values to form normative values. These values were built into the Bhutanese civics syllabus. The Ministry of Education (DCRD, 2011) identifies the aims of studying civics as providing information and imparting values to students. The rationale of the syllabus states that it is intended to develop in students an understanding of the basic principles of civics, such as the duties and responsibilities of citizens and the structure and function of various organs of government. This is in order to help students grow up as informed, dedicated and responsible citizens able to participate in a democratic society.

Furthermore, one of the aims of studying civics is to gain an understanding and appreciation of the rights and responsibilities of citizens and of loyalty and dedication to the *Tsawa Sum* (King, country and people), including a commitment to working to their capacity for the wellbeing of the nation (DCRD, 2011). Therefore, the objective of civics education in Bhutan is seen as not just providing information about government functions, but also aiming to infuse particular values to produce better human beings. Thus, the DCRD has designed the content areas to range from citizen to nation.

4.4 Introduction of new civics textbooks

As the country prepared to become a parliamentary democracy, the government felt that there was a need to educate students about democracy and provide the necessary political literacy. It was in 2006 that the Ministry of Education started developing new Bhutanese Civics textbooks for Class 7 to Class 12. The content of the textbooks was based on what was at that time the current Bhutanese democratic system of government. After two years of formulation and improvement, these textbooks were introduced into the curriculum from academic year 2008. These textbooks basically aimed at educating the youth about the government system and about necessary civic and citizenship knowledge, skills and dispositions. The textbooks, in their introductory pages, state that in order to contribute to the democratic process, it is fundamental that Bhutanese youth understand, from their early stages of education, democracy and its elements in the Bhutanese context (CAPSD, 2008). The development of the civics curriculum of 2006 was primarily aimed at building strong foundations for democracy by educating citizens to participate meaningfully in the political process (Ministry of Education, 2012).

It has been suggested by Torney-Purta et al. (2001) that in countries establishing or reestablishing democracies after a period of non-democratic rule, the general public as well as leaders usually realise that major changes in formal and informal civics education is required to prepare young people for the new social, political and economic order. Rightly, in Bhutan too, the study of civics was made compulsory from classes 7 to 10 and as an optional subject for classes 11 and 12. The introduction of Bhutan's new civics textbooks was planned to coincide with the shift in the political system of the country.

However, it may be stated that the civics curriculum was not totally new to the schools and students of Bhutan. Just as the third Druk Gyalpo, Jigme Dorji Wangchuck, and the fourth Druk Gyalpo, Jigme Singye Wangchuck, gradually introduced the people of Bhutan to democratic processes way before 2008, youth were also prepared by the Ministry of Education. In an email communication on 9 August 2016, Thukten Jamtsho, the present chief curriculum officer, gave a brief historical background of the History and Civics Curriculum in Bhutan (Jamtsho, personal communication, 9 August 2016). He said that until the mid-1980s Bhutan followed the Indian syllabus for all subjects including history. At the end of Classes 10 and 12 all our students sat for the Indian Certificate of Secondary Education (ICSE) and Indian School Certificate (ISC) respectively. History as

a subject was integrated in the form of social science from Kindergarten to Class 3. History was a separate subject from Classes 4–12.

From the mid-1980s, the then Education Department started Bhutanising the education system. At that time the Curriculum and Textbook Development Division (CTDD) decided to include Bhutanese history in the school curriculum. CTDD later became the Curriculum and Professional Support Section (CAPSS). CAPSS came up with the first edition of the course textbooks entitled, *A History of Bhutan - 15th to 19th Century* for Class 7 in 1990 and *A History of Bhutan - 19th to 20th Century* for Class 8 in 1991. These were the prescribed textbooks written and taught in English, as part of the history subject along with world history, Indian history and Indian civics.

The first *Bhutan Civics* textbooks for Classes 9 and 10 were developed and delivered in 1999 and these replaced the Indian Civics textbooks. Bhutan Civics, introduced in 1999, was based on the system of government before 2008; integral aspects of democracy were included as it was inherently a part of the Bhutanese polity despite the government being headed by successive kings.

The present Bhutan Civics textbooks were prepared in 2006 to be implemented from Class 7–12 when Bhutan became a parliamentary democracy. However, some content about features of democracy were still part of social studies for primary schools. Therefore, Bhutanese youth was already equipped with general ideas about the fundamentals of democracy, human rights and human values prior to the establishment of parliamentary democracy.

4.5 Public perception of democracy

His Majesty the King Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck said,

The power of the individual has never been greater than at this time in history and yet, the helplessness of the less fortunate may never have been as distressing either – in an age of plenty. Modernisation and political change have raised the individual's freedom, but it has also led to a less desirable and unconscious freeing of the individual from his obligations to society and the greater good. An inherent sense of values has gone missing. While young people leaving university must be armed with degrees, it is more important that they be endowed with a strong sense of values that bring meaning and purpose in their lives as well as stable, bright future ahead for society and the world (The Anti-Corruption Commission, 2012).

Even after decades of meticulous institutionalisation of a Bhutanese polity prior to the eventual introduction of a parliamentary democracy, there were frailties and ambiguities in the mindset of our population. It is a common public perception that the people need education on the fundamentals, principles and nuances of democracy. The Bureau of International Information Programs (2005, pp. 3, 5 and 9) also mentions that education is essential in democracy as literacy enables people to stay informed, and informed citizens are in a better position to improve democracy. Education helps citizens make informed decisions. ‘Democratic norms and practices should be taught in order for people to understand and appreciate their opportunities and responsibilities as free citizens’. Many citizens understand their personal freedom and fundamental rights, but many do not link these with associated fundamental duties. For some, simply voting to elect a representative is considered the full enactment of their duty as citizens.

For instance, in one of the panel discussions on the title ‘Democracy Education’, organised by UNDP to mark the International Democracy Day on 15th September 2012 in Thimphu, one panellist shared that Bhutanese people are keenly aware of their rights and entitlements. One of the panellists, National Council member Dr. Sonam Kinga, who is currently the Chairman of the House, said, ‘At the rural level, I see that democracy has been perceived and articulated in the form of demand and respect for resource allocation and competition for entitlements while in the urban society, the discourse has been more shaped by call for transparency and accountability. However, the issue of fundamental rights for citizens appeared to be more pronounced and emphasized in Bhutan's more urban middle and upper-class society’ (UNDP, 2012, p. 1).

There is also a public perception that democracy erodes important Bhutanese values, morals and ethics. Youth in particular are perceived as following traditional Bhutanese values and practices less closely, and this is seen to be linked to the advent of democracy. Youth behaviour in public and general youth temperament are seen to be increasingly problematic. For example, in the months of June and July 2016, people witnessed youths taking each other’s lives. A few stabbing cases stole the headlines of national newspapers (Kuensel Editorial, 2016; Tshomo, 2016). There is also a general perception that there is a decline in respect for Bhutanese culture and tradition amongst the youth. They indulge more in drugs, smoking and consuming alcohol especially in place such as Thimphu, the capital city (Ueda, 2004). All of these issues add to the identification of young people as a growing problem.

In addition, there is a general observation that introduction of parliamentary democracy in Bhutan has resulted in an attitudinal change, especially people's perceptions regarding the role of government vis-à-vis citizens' rights and duties. This is exemplified in a growing belief that it is the government's responsibility to look after them, not their own responsibility to look after themselves. While people in the community await government officials to come along with handouts, youth in general have started to demand jobs from the government. This way of thinking unfortunately gets reinforced after every round of elections. Candidates make electoral pledges in an effort to be elected and the promises subsequently fuel such public expectations.

The first elected government, which assumed office in 2008, took cognisance of the issues and concerns around these unintended consequences arising as a result of people's general misconceptions about democracy. 'Educating for GNH' was introduced as a preventive counter to such inadvertent effects, particularly with youths who are vulnerable to these undesirable influences. This programme drew huge public acclaim. It was claimed by former Prime Minister of Bhutan, Lyonchhen Jigmi Y. Thinley, that Bhutan was embarking on this unprecedented initiative where education was set up as a platform to realise Gross National Happiness (MoE, 2013).

Basically, 'Educating for GNH' aspires to produce citizens with the desired level of civics and citizenship understanding. Bhutan's dream is to nurture youths and citizens with GNH values and having their consciousness embedded with GNH principles (MoE, 2013). Therefore, if Bhutan's educational system is to cultivate GNH values and principles in students, there is a need for GNH-inspired schools with GNH-infused learning environments. Further, there is a need for a curriculum with appropriate infusion of GNH values and principles. The given curriculum must require both teachers and students to exert conscious efforts to provide avenues and opportunities to interact with GNH values so that the students grow up as GNH-graduates.

While 'Educating for GNH' ensured that all learning was to become GNH-infused, it should not compromise academic rigour. On the contrary, reasoning and critical thinking would be elevated to top priorities in a genuine GNH curriculum (Hayward, Pannozzo, & Colman, 2009).

The Ministry of Education initiated a nationwide workshop for district education officers (DEOs), principals and teachers. This initiative was to prepare educators to foster

GNH values in young people. During the workshop, the then Prime Minister of Bhutan, Jigmi Yoezer Thinley, said that teachers are critical in making ‘Educating for GNH’ happen and consequently realising the vision of Bhutan’s architects of GNH philosophy. Therefore, the workshop on GNH carried the aspirations of the nation (MoE, 2013). Since then, efforts have been made to impart GNH principles through different subject areas following the five pathways: meditation and mind training, infusing GNH into the curriculum, broader learning environment, holistic assessment, and media literacy and critical thinking.

GNH is based on the principles that the beneficial development of human society takes place when material and spiritual development occur side by side, complementing and reinforcing each other (Tourism Council of Bhutan, n.d). Under these principles, the happiness of the people was made the guiding goal of development in Bhutan.

It is not clear if the existing civics education provides the necessary conditions and environments as deemed required under ‘Educating for GNH.’ Does the existing civics curriculum provide space for infusion of GNH values and principles? On the whole, do our civics textbooks, which were formulated in 2006 and introduced into schools in 2008, have content that would provide a desired level of civics and citizenship education for our students in schools? The answers to these questions are important for guiding the ongoing development of civics education in Bhutan.

Therefore, this study aims to explore the kind of values that teachers impart through the current civics subject. With the introduction of ‘Educating for GNH’, teachers across the country were directed to put efforts into consciously infusing those values into existing content, even when teaching subjects with textbooks that contained mostly factual information. Furthermore, this study will explore whether students display knowledge of the Bhutanese ethos, of ideas such as *Ley Jumdrey*, *Tha Damtshig* and *Driglam Namzha*, and therefore whether teachers have found or can find avenues in the civics curriculum to impart this ethos.

Civics and citizenship education is a general concept on how Bhutanese relate to this ethos. The concepts of *Ley Jumdrey*, *Tha damtshig*, and *Driglam Namzha* are related here with civics and citizenship education based on a personal experience. Based on researcher’s personal recount of having lived in such society, these concepts have existed in an oral form facilitating harmonious living in family and society. They have been the

guiding factors in Bhutan even before the introduction of a formal civics education system. Individuals living a life compliant with these concepts in Bhutanese society are generally considered good human beings or ‘active’ citizens in the formal citizenship parlance. As mentioned in Chapter 2 individuals found deficient of these concepts are generally considered irresponsible and reckless people. As these concepts are believed to be an inherent quality in every Bhutanese, one would argue about the need to integrate them in the formal curriculum. However, in today’s globalised world of contemporary ideals with inundations of various competing disciplines as well as other modern media distractions, there is an assumed fear that such intangible guiding ethos would be overlooked by younger generations. Therefore, it is essential to ensure that the study of these concepts is incorporated in the formal civics curriculum. Moreover, the objective of ‘Educating for GNH’ is to ensure that all these values are consciously imparted to younger generation. Hence, it became imperative for this study to find out whether these ethos are also taken care of by ‘Educating for GNH’. In addition, just as Dzongkha subject imparts national values to students, civics education too appeared to be the appropriate subject to keep these concepts alive so that it continues from generation to generation. Hence, this study attempts to explore whether there is an avenue to incorporate the ethos in civics lessons.

Another personal concern that prompted the launch of this study arose from witnessing the conducts of public figures from around the world. For instance, one often sees on television unruly behaviours of elected representatives in august chambers, with some of them even resorting to physical force. As Bhutan is fairly at infancy in the democratic setup, it must not let such untoward behaviour seep into the culture of Parliament Houses where present leaders follow *Driglam Namzha* (etiquette) to the utmost. Bhutanese parliamentarians too debate and argue but no untoward scenes are observed thus far. This is due to inherent possession of the three ethos and other qualities. Civics education should ensure the continuity of such public decorum.

To this effect, the same aspiration is expressed by T.S. Powdyel, the then Minister of Education, in his foreword to the current civics text. He wrote that civics should inspire an appreciation of the need to develop the necessary qualities which will enable them to live as good fellow-citizens in a democratic society based on the principles of mutual respect and trust. Civics, like any discipline, should help develop insight and not content itself with a mere collection of information and facts (CAPSD, 2008a). Griffith (1984)

cautions that in recent years the school systems of the nation (American) have produced graduates who think cleverness is more important than character and income is more important than integrity. This statement can be a grave reminder to the Bhutanese system of education as well.

It is true that our society requires civic engagement to realise the potential of its citizens and its communities, and education is seen generally as the key to that engagement. Furthermore, democracies need active, informed and responsible citizens who are willing and able to take responsibility for themselves and their communities and contribute to the political process.

4.6 Research rationale

When the present civics textbooks were formulated in 2006, the basis for the content of the textbooks was the laws then existing in 2006. In 2008, the first elected Parliament was formed with a new democratically elected government. The new Parliament ratified key Bills from 2006, which then were used as the basis for the new civics textbooks. This process of ratification witnessed many provisions of those Bills either being deleted or altered. Therefore, in a way, some of the basis of the civics textbooks became immediately redundant with this enactment of new laws by the new Parliament. For instance, the tenure of an elected Local Government Office was three years prior to 2008. The new Local Government Act prescribed the terms of all elected posts, including the Local Government post, as five years. Further, the Constitution of the country, which was a draft in 2006, was deliberated at length by the new Parliament in 2008. This also resulted in changes in some of the clauses of the Constitution when it was eventually ratified as the law of the land. So the year 2008 witnessed amendments to many laws, ratification of Bills from earlier years, and the creation of many new laws. This merits a review and revision of the existing civics textbooks.

Further, by the time this research study was developed, the nation had already witnessed two rounds of parliamentary elections. During the last eight years of transition from an absolute monarchy to a democratic constitutional monarchy, many additional new laws have been enacted and many amended. These new laws and amended provisions necessitate a corresponding change and update in the civics textbooks.

The Ministry of Education's 'Educating for GNH' also demands space and attention in the civics textbooks. This increases the need for a review of the civics textbooks. Thus, the researcher believes that this situation justifies this research into existing civics education curriculum and the civics textbooks, which form the basis for all civics education in the country. Therefore, this research is an attempt to study civics Education in Bhutan in relation to student knowledge and stakeholder perspectives (Refer chapter 1 for research questions).

Bhutan's current civics textbooks have been taught in schools since 2008. They now merit understanding on how this education is faring. There is a need to find the perceptions of young people on civics as well as citizenship. So far, no one has undertaken research into civics education in Bhutan, nor has there been regular centralised testing of students' civics knowledge other than school-based examinations conducted at the end of the year. In these school examinations, civics content is given a weighting of 15–20%. Therefore, this research will assist not only teachers in teaching the subject, but also the policy-makers and other stakeholders who are either concerned with or involved in framing education policy. This study also is an attempt to provide an empirical foundation for policy-makers, curriculum designers, teacher educators, as well as teachers and the public, to understand the current state of civics knowledge in Bhutan.

As Torney-Purta et al. (2001) have said, educational policy-makers often operate with many aspirations but little up-to-date information about civics knowledge, attitudes, and behaviours in their own countries. Further Schulz et al. (2010a) also suggest that countries and education systems worldwide can use such findings to inform and improve policy and practice in civics and citizenship education.

However, since this will be the first study in Bhutan of the relatively new civics curriculum, this means that the research does not have a baseline. In fact, it hopes to provide the baseline for future research in Bhutan on civics education and its impacts. Like the research carried out by Torney-Purta et al. (2001) on civics and citizenship education in 28 countries, this study also is designed to explore the gap between civics learning and stakeholder perceptions of preferences for civics knowledge and educational impact. Mixed methods will be employed to determine students' civics knowledge by conducting an objective style test and then through semi-structured interviews with students, teachers and other stakeholders.

It is anticipated that this study will inform relevant stakeholders on:

- Ministry of Education's plans and programmes related to civics curriculum;
- Relevance of 'Educating for GNH' in the modern post-democracy Bhutan;
- Infusing GNH values in classrooms;
- People's expectations – youth's level of learning and societal issues; and
- Issues in civics textbooks highlighting on the gap, if any, of values between textbooks/classes and general expectations.

4.7 Conclusion

People's expectations about the role of schools have risen. Many have expressed feeling that classroom teaching needs to be more dynamic and vibrant. Particularly, subjects like civics can be taught through real life situations, such as class captain elections. Bedford and Lukio (2010) said that in the implementation of GNH, rather than simply lecturing to the students, teachers need to be actively engaged in developing the capacity to enact GNH, and be able to formulate their own plans for transforming their practice and schools.

Similarly, Ura (2009) expressed his views on textbook teaching in Bhutan. He said that information in the textbooks emphasises details about high post holders such as *dzongda* (district administrators), *thrimpoens* (judges), ministers and their ceremonial attire like *kabneys* (scarves). He says discussion of values remains poor and underdeveloped. However, one can argue that textbooks may contain facts and figures but teachers are expected to use effective pedagogy acquired during their training at teacher colleges to facilitate students' learning. The relevant training module from the teachers' training college in Paro, Bhutan, contains more than sixty different strategies ranging from traditional lecturing to inquiry learning. Teachers in Bhutan should thus be well equipped with the latest student-centred teaching methods and should be using these in their day-to-day classroom teaching.

The Election Commission of Bhutan (2012) states that civics education in Bhutan has evolved with the transition of the system of governance. Civics has been taught as a subject in the school curriculum for some years with a focus on learning about the different institutions of governance, the power and roles of state institutions, and the roles and responsibilities of individual citizens. However, civics education should now

encompass active learning and engagement of the future Bhutanese citizenry who will take part in the democratic governance of the country.

There is an all-out effort from different players to strengthen civics education in schools. For instance, the Election Commission of Bhutan has started Democracy Clubs in schools and educational institutions. A Democracy Club is encouraged in all educational institutions with the aim to foster civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic dispositions (Election Commission of Bhutan, 2012).

While civics education is an area of interest internationally, in this study the focus is the Bhutanese context. This context was outlined in some detail in this chapter in order to identify the unique elements of the Bhutanese context when compared to research on civics education in other countries. Having set the context, the next chapter will discuss methods used to explore student knowledge and stakeholders' perspective on civics education in Bhutan.

Chapter 5:

Research methodology

5.1 Overview

This chapter presents a detailed discussion of the methodology that was used to answer the research questions presented in Chapter 1. Owing to the type of the research questions, it was decided that the issue could be best answered through mixed methods following sequential design with convergence features (Creswell, 2014; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). Data were collected in two stages. Stage 1 involved students sitting a test to determine their knowledge of civics. This was followed by qualitative focus group interviews with students and face-to-face interviews with civics teachers to further explore learning and teaching experience of civics in Bhutan. Partial analysis of data from Stage 1 was then taken to a range of stakeholders to get their views on civics education in Bhutan in Stage 2. The chapter includes research design, sampling, data gathering, gaining access and ethical issues, approaches to data analysis, credibility of stages of data collection and limitations of the study. The results from this study are intended to contribute to the improvement of civics education in Bhutan.

5.2 Approaches of social behavioural research

The methodology of social behavioural research has undergone several dramatic changes over the past thirty years. These changes have impacted the purpose, worldviews, and methods of studying behaviour, programmes, and social interactions (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). Different methodological approaches for social behavioural research, namely, quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods, all have their own developmental history but before going into the historical aspects of these approaches, it is essential first to understand the approaches.

Qualitative research emphasises the value-laden nature of inquiry. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data (Creswell, 2014; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). According to the Qualitative Research Consultants Association (2016, paragraph 1)

‘Qualitative research is designed to reveal a target audience’s range of behavior and the perceptions that drive it with reference to specific topics or issues. It uses in-depth studies of small groups of people to guide and support the construction of hypotheses. The results of qualitative research are descriptive rather than predictive’.

Quantitative research is an approach for testing objective theories by examining the relationship among variables. These variables, in turn, can be measured or experimentally examined, typically on instruments, so that numbered data can be analysed using statistical procedures (Creswell, 2014; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). The aim of the quantitative approach is to test predetermined hypotheses and produce generalisable results. Such studies are useful for answering more mechanistic ‘what?’ questions. On the other hand, qualitative studies aim to provide understanding of complex psychological issues and are most useful for answering humanistic ‘why?’ and ‘how?’ questions (Marshall, 1996, p. 522).

Creswell (2014) states that mixed methods research is an approach to inquiry involving collecting both quantitative and qualitative data, integrating the two forms of data, and using distinct designs that may involve philosophical assumptions and theoretical frameworks. The core assumption of this form of inquiry is that the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches provides a more complete understanding of a research problem than either approach alone. According to Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) the researcher collects and analyses both quantitative and qualitative data, then mixes the two forms of data concurrently by combining them, sequentially by having one build on the other, or embedding one within the other. The researcher can give priority to one or to both depending on the emphasis of research and uses the procedures in a single study or in multiple phases of a programme of study. The investigator frames the procedure within a philosophical worldview and theoretical lens and combines the procedures into a specific research design that directs the plan for conducting the project. Out of the three methods, mixed methods research resides in the

middle because it incorporates elements of both qualitative and quantitative approaches (Creswell, 2014).

5.3 Historical development of different approaches and worldviews

Quantitative approaches dominated most of the 20th century and are associated with positivism. This was a relatively unquestioned methodological orientation in the social and behavioural sciences of the time. Quantitative research involves techniques associated with the gathering, analysis, interpretation, and presentation of numerical information (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). However, during the latter part of the 20th century, there was emergence of qualitative approaches with a worldview associated with the variant known as constructivism. Qualitative research was seen as a reaction against the lone, dominating quantitative approach (Creswell, 2014; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003).

The difference between quantitative and qualitative approaches is described in terms of using numbers (quantitative) rather than words (qualitative), or using open-ended questions (qualitative interview questions) rather than closed-ended questions (quantitative hypothesis) (Creswell, 2014). This distinction, however, is somewhat simplistic, as methods of data collection used in each approach are underpinned by very different epistemologies, ontologies and methodologies. Positivism, associated with quantitative research, is underpinned by an assumption that truth exists, and that the goal of research is to peel away errors of perception in order to uncover the truth. Qualitative research tends to operate within the frame of an interpretive or critical paradigm where truth is positioned as individual perception; in other words there is not one truth but rather multiple truths, each created by humans either individually or jointly by those in power. The aim of research is thus to share multiple truths, perhaps develop an understanding of where truths are shared or different, and potentially to identify oppression (where one person's truth is imposed on another) in order to change.

Amongst these multiple perspectives of research has developed a third methodology, which evolved as a result of discussions and controversies and as a pragmatic way of using strengths of both approaches (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). A mixed methods approach was initially used by researchers who were more interested in engaging with their research questions than in getting involved in the complex philosophical orientations

that underlie the application of research (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) position mixed methods research as neutral; an approach which complements both quantitative and qualitative research. In this they argue that there is no need to identify an underpinning epistemological and ontological position when using mixed method approach as what is more important is the practical outcome of the research being undertaken. In this context, they present mixed methods with pragmatism as a philosophical partner (Maxcy, 2003). Pragmatism derives from the works of Peirce, Dewey, James, Mead, and Bentley. Pragmatism as a worldview arises out of actions, situations, and consequences rather than antecedent conditions. Researchers focus on research problems instead of methods or rather they argue that finding answers to research questions should be of primary importance, more important than the methods used or the philosophical worldview that underlies the method. Researchers should use all approaches available to understand the problem (Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

A summary of four worldviews with associated major elements relevant to qualitative methodology according to Creswell (2014, p. 8) is shown in the table below:

Table 5.1: Four worldviews

Postpositivism	Constructivism	Transformative	Pragmatism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Determination • Reductionism • Empirical observation and measurement • Theory Verification 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding multiple participant meanings • Social and historical construction • Theory generation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political • Power and justice oriented • Collaborative • Change-oriented 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consequences of actions • Problem-centred • Pluralistic • Real-world practice oriented

Source: Adapted from Creswell (2014)

While pragmatism and mixed methods are presented as linked, there is still considerable disagreement as to the nature of this association. According to Hall (2012), only a transformative worldview and pragmatism are seen as compatible with mixed methods. However, Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) believe that multiple paradigms can be used in a mixed methods study. However, in the case of the research presented in this thesis, a pragmatist focus has been taken.

5.4 Selecting an appropriate research methodology

Research approaches are the plans and procedures for research that span the steps from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation. The plan involves decisions about the selection of suitable approaches for studying a topic (Creswell, 2014). The selection of an appropriate research method depends upon the aim of the study. Whether to choose quantitative or qualitative research methods should be determined by the research questions and not by the preference of the researcher (Marshall, 1996).

5.5 Research purpose

The purpose of this study entitled ‘Civics Education in Bhutan: Student knowledge and stakeholder perspectives’ is to examine empirically students’ knowledge of the content provided by the current Bhutan Civics textbooks and the overall perceptions of students and teachers of current practices in civics learning in the classroom. Further, the study also attempts to explore the perceptions of relevant stakeholders in relation to students’ and teachers’ experiences in civics education in schools.

5.6 Research design

The overarching question for this study is:

What are Bhutanese stakeholders’ experiences and perspectives of civics education in Bhutan?

Under the overarching question, there are four further research questions to be used for studying current civics education in Bhutan:

1. What are the current circumstances of civics and citizenship education in Bhutan?
2. In the current situation of civics and citizenship education, what level of knowledge have Bhutanese students gained from the present textbooks?
3. How do relevant stakeholders in Bhutan perceive the match between their intentions for civics education and the reality of student knowledge and teacher experiences in civics education?
4. What implications do these understandings have for the ongoing development of civics education in Bhutan?

The researcher determined that a combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods would be the most useful approach for this study to take. As Lieber (2016) argues, life is more complicated than can be adequately represented by the numbers and categories common to more quantitative methods, but, at the same time, life has important patterns that can be impossible to represent without rich stories and observations common to qualitative methods. However, as stated by Creswell (2009), there are laws or theories which govern the world. They need to be tested and refined so that we can understand the world better. Therefore, to understand the complexities and patterns of life that surface as public problems, research teams today are crossing disciplinary boundaries.

Further, Creswell (2009) also reiterates that mixed methods research, employing the combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches, has gained popularity as the isolated use of either qualitative or quantitative approach fails to adequately address the complex problems faced. Mixed methods can utilise the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) instruct that researchers need to provide justification for their choice of methods. One can deduce that choosing methods or approaches depends on the objective of the study or the research problem. They further suggest that instead of thinking about fitting different methods to specific content topics, researchers should be thinking about matching methods to different types of research problems. Since one of the aims of the present study is to explore how much the students have learnt from the current textbooks, it was clear that a quantitative method was needed to provide empirical evidence of the students' knowledge. Therefore, their performance in a test-based approach to the content provided in the textbooks was chosen. The current textbooks were written in 2006 and implemented in 2008, coinciding with the introduction of parliamentary democracy in Bhutan. This is a suitable method to provide precise, quantitative, numerical data; it is also useful for studying large numbers of people (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

However, a quantitative examination of student performance is not sufficient to answer the research questions. The researcher determined that the research objectives could be best addressed with multiple phases. Bradt, Burns, and Creswell (2013) remind that mixed methods are not merely about adding a database into a study; it needs an

appropriate rationale for the mixing of qualitative and quantitative data so that readers can comprehend the intent and advantages of multiple sources of data. Mixed methods design is a means to balance the weaknesses inherent within one method with the strengths of the other method. However, it requires great effort and expertise to study adequately the phenomenon with two separate methods (Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003). The complementary nature of qualitative and quantitative methods will bring a wide range of evidence to strengthen and expand the understanding of a phenomenon. Further, triangulation, expansion, depth, and completeness of evidence from various methodological approaches will provide conclusions intelligible for both producers and consumers of research findings (Lieber & Weisner, 2010). A mixed methods design is best suited to explain the overarching question, as it requires both quantitative and qualitative information to adequately describe the perception of impact and achievement (Plano Clark & Badiee, 2010).

Thus in this study a qualitative approach was implemented to obtain the perceptions of students and teachers of civics education in their schools, especially relating to the contents of their textbooks, various values expressed in their classrooms, and difficulties and challenges that they face in civics education. Further, it was not enough to get a proper understanding of the effectiveness of civics education in schools through a test and interviews with students and teachers only. Thus, further investigation was carried out to include writers of the civics textbooks and other stakeholders whose advice was sought for the preparation of the current classroom textbooks and the current curriculum. Thus the aims of this study, besides discovering students' level of knowledge, are to explore how relevant stakeholders in Bhutan perceive the match between their intentions and the reality of student and teacher experiences in civics education.

As mentioned above, mixed methods were unarguably found appropriate to carry out this kind of study with regard to types of questions, research methods, data collection, and analysis. Designing mixed methods for this study entailed four key decisions in choosing those appropriate as propounded by Creswell and Plano Clark (2011). These are:

1. Level of interaction between the strands: This refers to the level of interaction between quantitative and qualitative strands. It determines to what extent the quantitative data and qualitative data are kept independent or interact with each other. The interaction may occur at different times. When the study is independent,

the researcher mixes two strands only when providing the overall interpretation at the end of the study. The level of interaction may occur before the final interpretation. The design and conduct of one strand may depend on the result from the other strand.

2. Priority of quantitative and qualitative data: This refers to the relative importance given to quantitative or qualitative strands within the design. It is about whether both strands are provided equal priority or whether one is given priority over the other method (p. 65).
3. Timing of quantitative and qualitative strands: This refers to the collection of data and the use of results from the two sets of data within the design. Timing within the mixed methods comes in three ways. These are whether timing of data collection and analysis is concurrent or parallel; where the researcher implements both strand during the single phase or sequentially; where the researcher chooses to carry out collection of quantitative data and analysis first or vice-versa. Finally, there is the multiphase combination timing where approaches to mixing data include studies over three or more phases as well as those combining both concurrent and sequential elements within one mixed methods design (pp. 65-66).
4. Where and how to mix data or the process of mixing data: Mixing of data can occur at the final step of process after completing data collection and analysis. It concludes what has been learned from the combination of results from two strands of the study or by comparing and synthesising the results in discussion. Mixing can also occur during the stage of the research process where the researcher is analysing the two sets of data. The data are independently analysed and the two sets of results are merged by using an interactive strategy of merging. In addition, quantitative and qualitative data are also mixed during the research process if the researcher collects a second set of data. Here, the researcher connects the results of one strand build to the collection of the other type of data. Finally, mixing at the level occurs when the quantitative and qualitative strands are mixed during the larger design stage of the research process. The researcher uses three strategies for mixing at the design level: embedded mixing, theoretical framework-based mixing, and program objective framework-based mixing (p. 67).

All of these elements are discussed in this chapter as the methodology is explained.

5.7 Mixed method

This study used a research design based on two stages of data collection. The setting of the first stage of data collection was in schools, and is elaborated below under Stage 1. It was followed by the second stage of data collection, or Stage 2, which took place with various stakeholders in their respective organisations. The pictorial elaboration of this sequential explanatory mixed method is shown below:

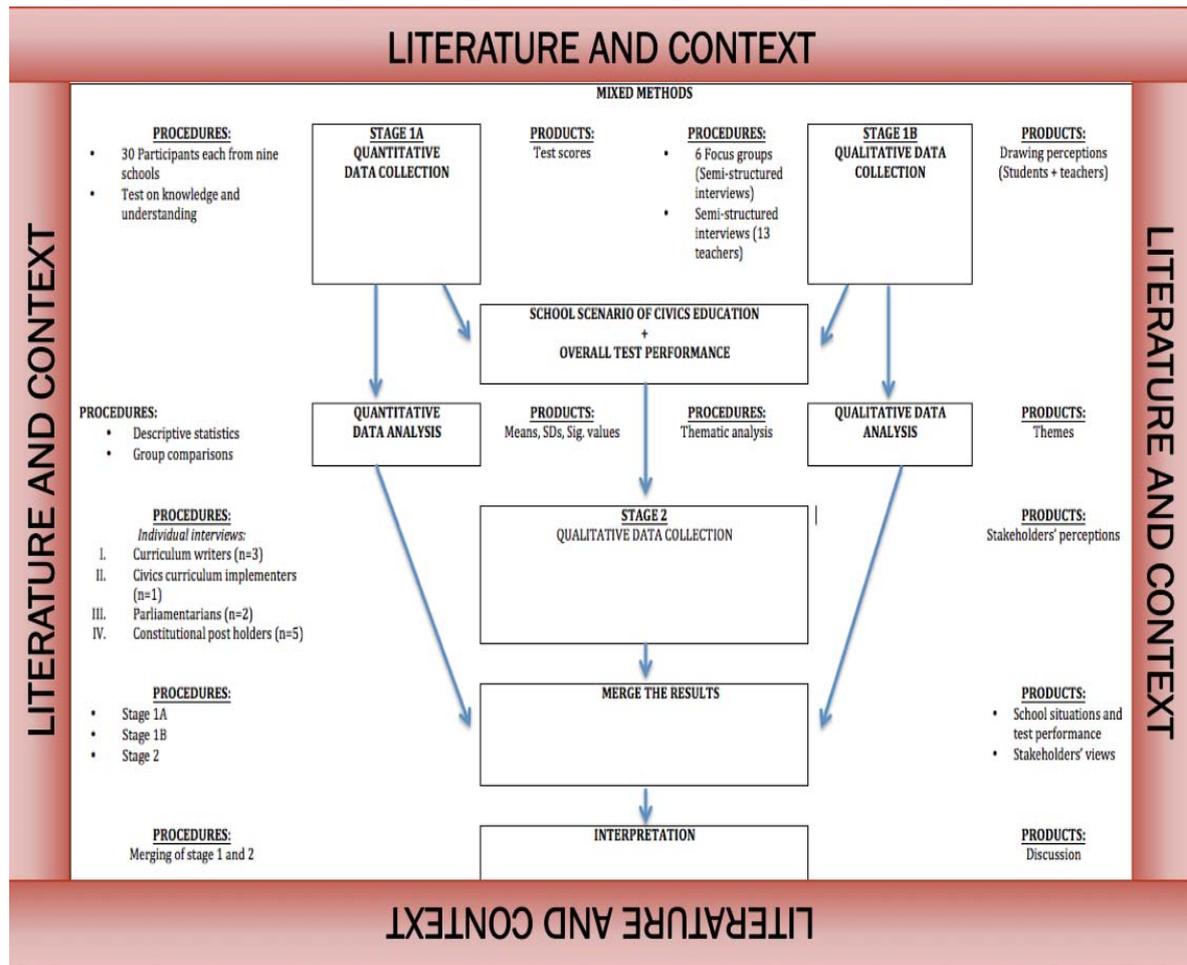


Figure 5.1: Research Model: Sequential design with convergence feature

Adapted: Creswell and Plano (2011)

As evident from above, Stage 1 data collection took place in schools involving both quantitative (student test) and qualitative (student and teacher interviews) elements. Partial analysis of Stage 1 was carried out so this information could be used to shape the questions for the stakeholder interviews in Stage 2. Owing to time constraints during the data collection phase in Bhutan, a complete analysis of the Stage 1 data could not be carried out prior to Stage 2 interviews being undertaken. However, merging of overall

data from both the stages took place during the interpretation stage, that is, after analysing qualitative and quantitative data individually.

The characteristic of sequential explanatory design, according to Creswell (2014), is when the data collection and analysis of quantitative data is followed by qualitative data collection and analysis. Two methods are merged during the interpretation phase of the study. The result of the first phase or stage is used to plan or build on to the second phase. This design was used in this study as quantitative numeric data had to be collected using the objective type of test to find the level of student knowledge of Bhutan Civics, which has been implemented for more than seven years in schools. Based on the need to further understand the overall implementation of civics education in schools, focus groups of students and teachers were interviewed with the objective to get their perceptions of civics learning and teaching. The results from the first stage were taken to stakeholders to seek further opinions about civics education in schools.

5.8 Stage 1 data collection: Test and focus group interviews of students and the face-to-face interviews with civics teachers

5.8.1 Selection of schools

Data collection under Stage 1 involved visiting schools to conduct test with students and then interviewing them and their civics teachers. The study selected nine higher secondary schools from three regions representing 20 percent of the total higher secondary schools in Bhutan. For the purpose of this study, the country was divided into eastern, western and central regions in order to have maximum coverage of the whole country (See figure 5.2).

The selected schools

- Also taken into account were location in terms of access and availability of resources both in schools and in communities;
- Inclusivity of both day and boarding schools; and
- School ownership (i.e., both government and private schools).

Bhutan map divided into 3 Regions (for research purposes)

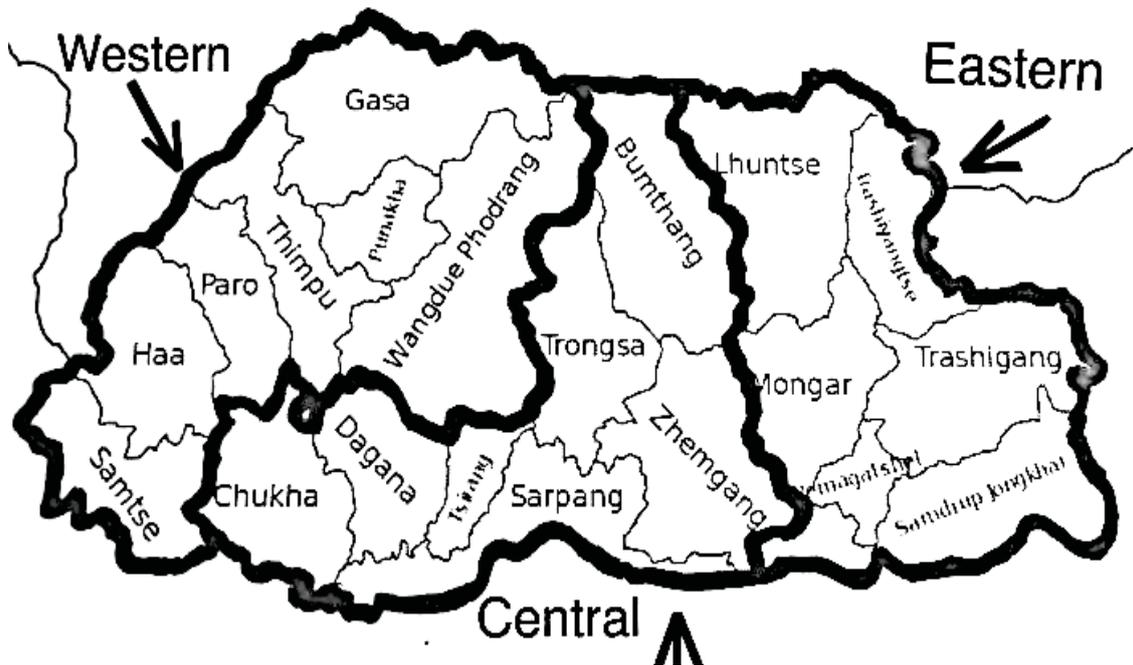


Figure 5.2: Map of Bhutan

Source: <http://www.lahistoriaconmapas.com/atlas/country-map03/bhutan-map-with-districts.htm>

The overview of sampling process is shown in the table below:

Table 5.2: Overview of sampling process for stage 1

Sample population	Method	Criteria	Procedures
Regions	Purposive	i. Coverage of the whole country	Divided the country into three regions for research purpose (fig. 5.2 above)
Schools	Simple random sampling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Ensure at least 20% of country's total schools to participate. ii. Focus on Higher Secondary Schools iii. Ensure at least one private school from every region participate in the study. iv. Time availability for data collection. v. Approval from the Department of School Education, Ministry of Education, Bhutan. vi. Consent from respective Principals of the selected schools. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Selected two government schools and one private school from each region (There are more government schools than private schools in every region). The procedure followed to select schools were: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Randomly picked two names of the schools from the basket containing all the names of the government schools from that region. b) Randomly picked one school from the basket containing names of the private schools from that region. ii. Received approval from the Director General, Department of School Education to visit the selected schools (Appendix 24). iii. Obtained consent from Principals of the selected schools.
Students	Random Sampling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Ensure participation of at least 15 students each from classes 11 and 12. ii. Consent from all students participants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. All the students of classes 11 and 12 were handed consent forms. ii. Collected consent forms and randomly selected 15 consent forms from each class. A total of 30 students selected to sit for the test. iii. Randomly picked 3 consent forms each from classes 11 and 12 to participate in the focus group interviews.
Teachers	Based on school selection	i. Current civics teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Distributed consent form to civics teachers. ii. Conducted interviews with teachers based on their consent.

Eastern Region

School A

School A is a well-established government school located in one of the urban hubs of Eastern Bhutan. Currently, the school has 649 students with 42 teachers. The classes range from classes 9 to 12. The school's vision is to strive for quality education. The school strives to ensure that our citizens are well educated by nurturing unique talents, rich values and greater minds through the conduct of various extra co-curricular activities and educational programmes. The school has boarding facilities.

School B

School B is a government school, which has been provided with a boarding facility. This school has been categorised by the Ministry of Education as a semi-urban school. The school currently has 846 students with 40 teachers. The classes range from Pre-Primary to class 12. The vision of the school is 'to grow into an "Institute of ideal Bhutanese Citizens" and become the peak Learning Centre of the East'. In addition the school wishes to impart academic knowledge and GNH values and principles, to promote GNH values and principles, to nurture and promote a positive learning milieu, to impart life skills package, to cultivate positive attitudes, collective learning spirit and work ethic, and to produce productive GNH graduates This school was upgraded to a higher secondary school in 2002.

School C

School C is located in the east with 194 students and is a privately owned school. There are 17 teachers and it has a boarding facility. The school has been categorised as a semi-urban school. The school aspires to be a vibrant school committed to facilitating meaningful learning experiences in pursuit of all-round development of individuals. The school believes that any individual who participates in education should be able to engage in meaningful learning experiences and realise his/her responsibilities towards the King, country and the people. In a manner, the school aims to mould each individual student into a 'self-disciplined' personality with a positive outlook. The school commits to achieving academic excellence and to promoting self-discipline, a positive attitude and a spirit of collaboration by creating a positive learning environment.

Central Region

School D

School D has 1129 students with classes ranging from Pre-Primary to class 12. This school is located in a town near the Indian border, and for the sake of this research study has been included as a part of central Bhutan (Refer Map: Figure 5.2). Initially, School D was planned to be another school in another border town. However, since the data collection coincided with the monsoon season, travel in Bhutan during the rainy season was physically challenging due to frequent and insidious landslides and roadblocks. Travel to the original border town had to be cancelled after an exigent nightlong traffic halt on the road due to massive landslides. Ultimately, the drive detoured to another border town and a replacement school was urgently decided. Nonetheless, the background and characteristics of the two schools in terms of situation, facilities, and students' performance were very similar. The only minor issue was the physical location of the school. In terms of map designations used for this study the original school would fall in the south central part of the country while the present School D falls in south western Bhutan.

The school has been categorised as an urban school. Currently, there are 49 teachers and it is a day school. As per its vision, the school aspires to be 'A Leading School NURTURING the youth to become responsible and productive Bhutanese Citizens.' The school further commits 'to nurture each student to bring out the full potential through varied academic and enriching program'. The school is determined 'to develop each student to have a code of moral and spiritual values creating a harmonious, aesthetic and intellectual teaching -- learning environment'.

School E

School E is another privately owned school in central Bhutan with 186 students and 14 teachers. It has boarding facilities. This school is categorised as a semi-urban school. The school's vision is 'To pursue the highest quality of education and wholesome learning, with our noble ideals and values of Gross National Happiness.' The school further aims to impart wholesome education by providing a favourable environment for the sound development of moral excellence.

School F

School F has 509 students with 28 teachers. Classes range from classes 9 to 12. The school is categorised as semi-urban and has boarding facilities provided to students. It is located in central Bhutan. The school's vision is to 'strive for ideal education in pursuit of GNH'. The school further 'endeavours to generate academically, socially, morally, intellectually, aesthetically, spiritually and culturally green student by imparting ideal education'.

Western Region

School G

School G is located in the western region and has 713 students. There are 35 teachers and the school has a boarding facility for students. The school has been categorised as semi-urban. Its vision is to be the centre of academic excellence. The school believes that the education process must be rooted in the country's tradition and culture. To that extent, the school aspires to instil in the learners the motto 'ever victorious' by moulding them into citizens with sound character, balanced personalities, inner discipline and strength, dedicated to duty and work and possessing a patriotic outlook. The school is committed to producing well-informed, skilled, responsible, loyal, dedicated and productive citizens by providing an effective teaching and learning atmosphere, incorporating wholesome education. Ingrained in the school's motto of 'ever victorious' is the spirit of excellence and competition that the school strives to instil in the minds of learners. The classes range from classes 9 to 12.

School H

School H is also a privately owned school in the western region. The school has 532 students with 30 teachers. The school is a day school and has been categorised as an urban school. The school has classes in classes 11 and 12. The school's vision is 'We are committed to developing a vibrant community of learners by becoming a leading educational institution through innovation, problem solving and collaboration to meet the changing needs of the society – striving for excellence by exhibiting care, instilling hope and inspiring confidence.' The school aims to contribute to the vision of education in Bhutan by catering for the specific needs of the students who aspire to higher education, advance the intellectual, personal and social competencies of the students through problem-solving, teamwork and leadership skills, create an environment of excellence that stimulates achievement levels while catering to individual differences through

support services, foster a culture of constant review and improvement, and cultivate amongst students and staff a strong sense of belonging to the school.

School I

School I is located in the western region and it is an urban school. There are 1498 students with 58 teachers. Classes range from classes 9 to 12 and all the students are day-scholars. The school has a vision ‘to be the centre of academic excellence in providing Senior Secondary Education with a pleasant ambience and learning atmosphere conducive to the total personality development of the learners’. The school further aspires ‘to engender productive citizens possessing national, moral, social and personal values, with academic excellence coupled with life skills, who would be competitive and useful in contributing towards the attainment of Gross National Happiness through the provision of high quality educational facilities’.

5.8.2 Methods employed in Stage 1

Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used in Stage 1, and these are described under three sub-stages as 1A, 1B and 1C.

- 1A is quantitative data collection involving students sitting a test on Bhutan’s Civics textbooks.
- 1B is qualitative data collection involving focus group interviews with students.
- 1C is qualitative data collection involving interviews with civics teachers.

5.8.3 Stage 1A: Quantitative data collection: Tests on Bhutan’s civics textbooks

Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2011, p. 476) state that researchers can use an array of tests for numerical data collection. In selecting the appropriate test, researchers need to consider:

- What are they going to test?
- Is the test parametric or non-parametric?
- Is the test norm-referenced, criterion-referenced and domain-referenced?
- Is it commercially produced test or researcher-produced test?
- Construction of test;
- Formulating pre-test and post-test;.
- Ethical issues; and

- Computerised adaptive testing.

Among the myriad of tests types, this study set out to explore how much knowledge students had acquired from the prescribed Bhutan Civics textbooks. Therefore, this test qualifies as one testing for attainment. Although only 20 percent of Bhutan's total higher secondary schools were selected to participate, it is suggested that the random selection of schools enabled the data to be representative of a wider student population in Bhutan. The test was designed to elicit parametric data. Cohen et al. (2011) state that parametric tests are more powerful than non-parametric tests as they allow the researcher to compare sub-populations with a larger population. They further permit the researcher to use statistics in data processing. Non-parametric tests do not make assumption about a wider population and they can be used for specific situation, such as a class of students or a one-year group.

Construction of test

Cohen et al. (2011, p. 479) provide the rule that when deciding to use a published test it must demonstrate 'fitness for purpose'. If it fails to demonstrate this, then the researcher should develop the test to tailor it to the local and institutional context. The purpose, objectives and content of the test will be deliberately fitted to the specific needs of the researcher. For this study, it was necessary to develop a test to meet the purpose of determining students' knowledge. The test was designed using a question format and overall structure familiar to Bhutanese students. In addition, questions were prepared based on the researcher's prior experience of setting questions when working as an examination moderator. These questions were then counter-checked by the supervisors. The test items were taken from the classes 7 to 10 Bhutan Civics textbooks and consisted of 82 test items. The test consisted of ten topics, shown in the table below. Table 5.3 indicates the areas covered for the test. Different content areas in the test were assessed using different numbers of questions. The number of questions in the test was based on the extent of the content in the syllabus and the textbooks. The topic 'Knowledge of Democracy' had the smallest number of questions and the topic 'Constitution' had the largest number of questions.

Table 5.3: Details of the test

Topic	Item Type	Number of items	Marks
1. Knowledge of democracy	Matching	5	5
2. Constitution	Multiple Choice	15	15
3. Fundamental Rights and Duties	Multiple Choice	8	10
4. Government	Multiple Choice	10	10
5. Local Government	Multiple Choice	8	10
6. Citizen and Voting	Multiple Choice	7	10
7. Election and Formation of Political Parties	Multiple Choice	5	10
	Short Answer	3	
8. Constitutional Bodies	Multiple Choice	4	10
	Short Answer	2	
9. Gross National Happiness and Good Governance	Multiple Choice	3	10
	Short Answer	3	
10. Parliament	Multiple Choice	7	10
	Short Answer	2	
Total	82	100	

Target population and sample

For the purpose of collecting quantitative data, thirty students were randomly selected from classes 11 and 12 (fifteen from each class) from each of nine schools (Refer Table 5.2) These students represented different study streams, such as arts, commerce, and science. Of the nine schools, one focuses strongly on language and culture studies, and thirty students came from this school. All these students were briefed on the objectives and modus operandi of the test. The issue of informed consent was clearly explained to

them before consent forms were distributed. Based on the consent received from the students, fifteen students from each of classes 11 and 12 were randomly selected by the researcher, ensuring an equal number of participants from each stream.

Pre-testing of test questions

Pre-testing is necessary to confirm prima facie validity of the instrument by testing the meaning of questions with regard to ambiguity and bias, continuity and flow, question order, scale variability, and length and timing (Baloglu & Love, 2001). Consequently, as an attempt to conform to general pre-testing norms and benchmarks, four Bhutanese undergraduate students studying at the University of New England (UNE) were asked to take the test. These university students most likely studied civics in secondary school up to class 10 level as this was the common exit point for civics education. Only students who had been in the arts stream in their secondary education would have continued civics education into classes 11 and 12. Therefore, undergraduate students at UNE provided a reasonable population upon which to conduct the pre-test.

To reiterate, the purpose of pre-testing is to check (Cohen et al., 2011)

- The clarity of the items and instructions;
- The ambiguities and difficulties in wording;
- The omission, redundant and irrelevant items;
- The time taken to complete; and
- Any complexity of the test items.

Procedures for conduct of tests

It is vitally important to ensure that tests are conducted in a proper, professional and formal setting so that the test results are reliable, genuine and factually non-debatable amongst stakeholders and interest groups. Therefore, tests should be preceded by well-laid procedures to avoid, at any cost, any unnecessary doubts, suspicions and apprehensions by supervisors, examiners, colleague researchers and office holders and any other stakeholders or interest groups.

Procedures followed diligently were:

- Thirty selected students were taken to the hall, which was away from distractions.
- The researcher was provided with one assistant by the school principal to invigilate the exam.

- Although the question paper contained clear instructions, the researcher made sure that students understood the instructions properly. The researcher helped those students who needed to clarify questions.
- Generally, one class period in Bhutan is 55 minutes, thus 55 minutes was allocated to the test.

The test was conducted in the months of August and September 2014. The researcher collected the papers to mark. The test papers were assessed based on right or wrong answers where students were expected to respond using choices such as multiple choices, matching the correct statements, and writing short answers.

At the time of administering the test, care was taken not to induce any kind of fear or apprehension in the students. Students were informed that the marks obtained from this test would not have any implications for their yearly grade promotion. The researcher personally explained the mode of taking the test and supervised the test.

Limitations of the test

The test was based solely on the civics textbooks and did not test any items not present in these textbooks. Thus the test may not have captured the entirety of students' civics knowledge. In addition, because the test was designed to be analysed parametrically, questions had limited options for answers; for example, multiple-choice questions offered only three possible answers.

Test analysis

Marks scored by students were illustrated using an Excel spread sheet to show the range of marks acquired and further statistical analysis was carried in R (R Core Team, 2014). The student score dataset was explored and analysed using the protocol described by Zuur, Ieno, and Elphick (2010). Initial exploratory data plotting was conducted by plotting student scores within the nine schools and comparing by school region (eastern Bhutan, central Bhutan and western Bhutan); by locality (urban and semi-urban); by school category (private and public); by status (boarder and day scholars), by gender (male and female), and by stream (arts, science, commerce and rigzhung).

For the analysis of the student score dataset, a Generalized Linear Mixed Model (GLMM) with a binomial distribution was conducted to examine the effect of the various parameters (factors) on student scores within each of the 10 topics. Specifically, student scores were modelled as a function of the fixed categorical covariates 'TOPIC',

‘CATEGORY’, ‘LOCATION’, ‘REGION’, ‘STREAM’, ‘GENDER’ and ‘STATUS’, plus all two-way interactions between ‘TOPIC’ and the other covariates. It was interesting to test for possible interactions between TOPIC and the other covariates because it was felt that the student scores may vary within the ten topics depending on the category, location, region, stream, gender and status to which the students belonged.

To account for dependencies arising from sampling numerous students from within the same school, a Generalized Linear Mixed Modeling (GLMM) framework was used in which ‘school’ was employed as a random intercept. To determine which covariates should be included in the final model, a backwards selection process using AIC values (Akaike information criterion) was applied (Zuur, Saveliev, & Leno, 2012). This process involved stepwise deletion of candidate variables, based on computed AIC values, until no further improvement to the model could be found. Once the optimal model had been found, there was found to be significant interactions between TOPIC:Gender and TOPIC:Status. Then, post-hoc tests were conducted within each of the 10 topics to determine which pairwise combinations of scores from the two levels of the GENDER factor (M vs F) and the STATUS factor (day scholar vs boarder) differed from each other. To avoid the possibility of encountering Type 2 errors during these multiple comparison tests, the pairwise comparisons were corrected for by applying Bonferroni corrections to all computed p-values. Model validations were applied following the analyses to verify the underlying assumptions of the models.

Ethical Issues

Prior approval was sought from the Department of School Education in Bhutan to conduct the study in the selected schools with additional approval from respective district education officers from where the sample schools were located. The principals of the selected schools were informed in advance about the study and the nature of conducting data collection. Students were randomly selected to participate in the study and their consent and willingness duly obtained formally through pre-prepared consent forms. They were also given the right to withdraw anytime in the process of the study if they wished.

Students’ and schools’ identities are not disclosed in this thesis and the researcher explained to the students that the test results would be used solely for the purpose of this particular research and not for any other use. The researcher visited the schools purely in

the capacity of a researcher and not as an education monitoring officer who may have been known to the schools due to earlier professional interaction with them.

Parental consent

Although it was initially planned to seek parental consent for any students under the age of 18, it was not possible as many lived away from home in hostels and were under the care of their school principals. Therefore, written consent for under-age students was provided by the respective principals in their role as *in loco parentis*.

5.8.4 Stage 1B: Qualitative data collection: Interviews with focus group students

Interviews are flexible instruments for collecting data to enable multisensory channels to be used: verbal, non-verbal, spoken and aural. An interview has a specific purpose and so is based on predetermined questions. It is usually a well-planned event; thus it is different from daily conversation (Cohen et al., 2011).

King and Horrocks (2010) mention that qualitative interviewing has become a popular research method in the field of the social sciences. Interviewing may be preferred because researchers feel more at ease with this technique as no method of communication is more common than face-to-face conversation as a daily occurrence. However, Denscombe (2010) cautions researchers that interviews are not the same as a conversation:

The superficial similarity between an interview and a conversation can generate an illusion of simplicity. We all have conversations and it is likely that most of us do not have too much difficulty with them. So an interview should be fairly straightforward. As long as we know to whom we are going to talk and what we want to ask, the rest should be plain sailing. Here lies the problem. The researcher can be lulled into false sense of security. The superficial similarity can encourage a relaxed attitude to the planning, preparation and conduct of the method that would unlikely involve questionnaires or experiments. In reality, interviewing is no easy option. It is fraught with hidden dangers and can fail miserably unless there is good planning, proper preparation and a sensitivity to the complex nature of interaction during the interview itself. (p. 173)

There are three types of research interviews: structured, semi-structured and unstructured. A structured interview is when a researcher has strong control over questions and answers. It is similar to a questionnaire, but is administered face-to-face with a respondent. Therefore, a researcher has a preset list of questions that invites a limited set of responses. A semi-structured interview is when an interviewer is flexible in

terms of the order in which the topics are considered, allowing the interviewee to develop ideas and speak more widely on the issues raised. Nevertheless, ‘the interviewer still has a clear list of issues to be addressed and questions to be answered’ (Denscombe, 2010, pp. 174-176). With regard to unstructured interviews, DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006) remark that no interview can be considered truly unstructured. Some are fairly unstructured and more or less similar to a guided conversation. Semi-structured is closer to unstructured than the structured interview where the topic guides the types of questions asked. Semi-structured as well as unstructured interviews can include in-depth investigation of people and topics (Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell, & Alexander, 1995). Further, Denscombe (2010) notes that unstructured interviews can sometimes go to the extent of giving emphasis to an interviewee’s thoughts.

This research study employed semi-structured interviews as this method provided flexibility with regard to the order in which topics were considered and also this method allowed the interviewee to develop ideas and cover a wider range of issues (Denscombe, 2010). In addition, the less structured method was preferred over the structured method because the study, which attempts to investigate attitudes, beliefs and perception of the respondents using highly structured procedures, might have invited reactivity from respondents. Structured questions having one predetermined answer may make respondents feel that their real opinions have not been represented correctly (Wilson & Sapsford, 2006).

Semi-structured focus group interviews with students

The focus group interview is a method of gathering qualitative data. It can involve informal or more structured discussions among a selected group focusing upon selected topics or issues (Wilkinson, 2004). A focus group is formed with a pre-existing purpose, size, composition, and procedures in mind. ‘A focus group isn’t just getting a bunch of people together to talk’ (Krueger & Casey, 2014, p. n.p). The focus group method is known by different names, such as focus group interview, group interview, or a group in-depth interview. A focus group usually can consist of six to eight participants who generally represent similar social and cultural groups or who have similar experiences or concerns (Liamputtong, 2011). If there is a large group of participants then it becomes difficult to manage and may limit individuals’ opportunities to share perceptions. On the other hand, a small group also has limitations, such as limiting the range of experiences to be shared (Krueger & Casey, 2009).

Participants tend to be chosen to have certain common characteristics related to the topic of research. The researcher must make participants feel comfortable and not force them to reach a definitive consensus or insist they vote on the discussed issues. Further, focus group interviews can be carried out several times with similar types of participants to identify trends and patterns of perceptions or to comprehend how members of similar groups may variously perceive ideas, and so on (Krueger & Casey, 2014).

Wilkinson (2004) states that a researcher acts as a moderator for the group, who asks questions to keep the discussion flowing and encourages participants to participate fully. The researcher does not ask questions of the members in turn, but acts as a facilitator, trying to keep conversation on track and ensuring that everyone participates. A focus group should be small enough to let everybody participate and yet large enough to offer a diversity of perceptions (Krueger & Casey, 2014).

Focus groups, as pointed out by Krueger and Casey (2014), can guide programme, policy, or service development. Focus groups are helpful in the following situations:

- In gaining understanding and to see the issues through the target audience who have to implement the program, policy, and service;
- For pilot-testing the prototypes created by the design experts based on the information from the first focus group; and
- After a program, policy, or service as to how to improve or whether expected results are achieved.

Focus groups interviews also have other advantages:

- They can generate complex information at low cost and with the minimum amount of time.
- They can be used with wide range of participants in diverse settings.
- Their collective nature may suit people who cannot articulate their thoughts individually (Liamputtong, 2011).
- They are suitable for exploring sensitive topics where it may encourage personal revelation (Wilkinson, 2004).

Krueger and Casey (2009) provide a key suggestion that focus group interviews are suitable when the researcher is trying to understand different perspectives amongst

groups. For instance, people in decision-making roles may view issues differently than those who are not. Professional people may lose touch with the people they are trying to serve. High-level managers may perceive issues differently from those who are in the front-line. Focus group interviews can serve to alleviate these problems and will help in understanding such issues. However, focus groups are not suitable for researchers requiring participants to come to a common consensus or when a researcher's requirement is to educate people.

Planning the focus group studies

A good plan is essential for a focus group interview to benefit from the advantages and positive aspects as outlined in the preceding paragraphs. Krueger and Casey (2009) further outline that a well-planned focus group interview would have to ascertain the following elements, which are fundamentals for a successful focus group study:

- Determining the purpose;
- Deciding whether focus group interviewing is the right method;
- Determining what type of people can give researchers the information they want;
- Deciding how many participants are needed;
- Determining the resources needed for his design;
- Considering consent and ethics;
- Developing written plan; and
- Anticipating problems.

Participants

The size of a participant population, to a large extent, determines the methods employed for data collection. Generally, the larger the sample, the more structured, closed and numerical questionnaires have to be prepared. If the sample is small, researchers can have a less structured, more open and word-based questionnaire (Cohen et al., 2011). For this research study, at each school, six students from the pool of thirty students selected for the test-taking were randomly selected for a focus group interview (Refer Table 5.2).

These students were involved mainly to:

- Find their perception of the relevance of the present contents in their textbooks;
- Understand what values they have learnt from civics instruction; and
- Find their experience of learning civics-related knowledge other than through classroom learning.

Why were semi-structured focus group interviews chosen?

Semi-structured focus group interviews were undertaken with a selection of students as identified above to understand their varying perceptions of their experiences in learning civics. The semi-structured focus group interview was chosen because it allowed the researcher to include questions that were not included in the pre-prepared guide so as to be able to pursue things said by the interviewees that were deemed significant issues. Barriball and While (1994) state that semi-structured focus group interviews are best suited for exploring perceptions and opinions of respondents regarding complex issues and enable probing for more information and clarification of answers.

Interviews with students were essential to develop a shared understanding of students' experiences of civics education and even more critical to find out what they wished to learn regarding civics. In this regard, Fullan (2007) states that people think of students as potential beneficiaries of change. They think of achievement of results, scales, attitudes, and the need for various improvements as being for the good of the children. But they rarely think of students as participants in the process of change. Consequently, there is limited evidence regarding what students think about changes and their role in the process of change. It is interesting and worthwhile to attempt to develop the theme of what the role of student is and what it could be. Semi-structured interviews, coterminous with focus groups, were carried out in all the participating schools.

Focus group interviews were chosen so that as King and Horrocks (2010) point out, participants would feel less exposed, especially when discussing sensitive topics. Topics can become easier to discuss when participants are aware of co-participants with similar concerns and opinions. However, along with advantages there are also some disadvantages. For instance, one person might dominate the discussion, reducing time for the moderator to cover all their questions, and also skew the response time among participants. Further, focus group interviews sometimes require two persons, one person to facilitate discussion and the other to take notes or record in other ways. Care should be taken by researchers to avoid conflicts among different personalities during the discussion (Mack, Woodson, MacQueen, Guest & Namey, 2005).

Verbal communication is an integral part of self-reporting methods for data collection. For interviews conducted without a common language, communication within such a setting can present particular problems. Therefore, to negate this problem, two languages

of English and Dzongkha (national language of Bhutan) were used concurrently for this research study. Two languages were used to optimise participation from the respondents. Some researchers interviewing participants in English whose English is second language find that misconstrued grammatical constructions can reduce comprehension. Similarly, for clarity of meaning some Dzongkha words had to be used especially with students during interviews (Marshall & While, 1994).

All focus group interviews were audio recorded to obviate Denscombe's (2010) perception that human memories are unreliable as research instruments. As pointed out by many psychologists, human memory is often prone to partial recall, bias and error. Audio recording offers permanent recording without disturbing the interview. Barriball and While (1994) mention that audio taping is a commonly used method since it offers a detailed insight into the performance of both the respondent and the interviewer. In addition, access to the nuances of the interactions between respondent and interviewer, such as intonations and pauses, help validate the accuracy and completeness of the information.

However, there is also a downside to audio recording. Although it can capture speech, it fails to capture non-verbal communication and other circumstantial factors. Sometimes both interviewer and informant find that voice recording hinders interaction as some fear that people may recognise their voice if the interview becomes public. Another disadvantage may be that some informants feel that they have to be dramatic or interesting as their voice is being recorded and this may result in alteration or exaggeration of the account that they give (Minichiello et al., 1995).

For this research study, focus group interviews were conducted in an environment free from any noise and other forms of disruption. The interview environment was comfortable both for participants and the researcher, both physically and psychologically. The researcher ensured that the distance between participants and the researcher was close enough to hear each other and to see non-verbal communication while at the same time not too close so as to intrude upon their personal space (King & Horrocks, 2010). Utmost care was taken to ensure that the focus group interviews did not extend beyond 90 minutes. Krueger and Casey (2009) mention that if a researcher conducts an interview for two hours or longer, participants may be active for the first hour but bored for the second hour. However, in order for participants to reconstruct their experiences, put them in the

context of their lives, and reflect on their meaning, anything less than 90 minutes for the interview would be, in this instance, too short. Therefore, the length of time was decided before the interview process began and strictly adhered to.

Protocols

For the semi-structured focus group interviews employed for this study, a specific set of protocols was followed. There was a separate protocol prior to the actual conduct of the interviews, another set of protocols for during the interview and another for after the interview. These are highlighted below:

Before interviews

The principals were contacted the day before to check on the logistics, such as space for the interview including chairs, tables, availability of voice recorders and participant confirmation. It was important to work on the timing of the interviews as student participants had to be removed from their regular classes. The researcher had to ensure that there was minimum disturbance to the school schedule. The researcher's husband assisted her in taking down notes and helped with other arrangements.

Prior to the interview, the following essential chores had to be undertaken:

- The researcher ensured proper and convenient arrangement of the hall before participants' arrival.
- Participants were greeted, ushered into the hall and comfortably settled in the hall.
- The researcher or moderator explained the aim of focus group interviews and encouraged active participation as much as possible.
- Consent forms were handed to the participants to sign.
- Participants were allowed to withdraw from the interview if they wished so interview participation was purely on a voluntary basis.
- Researcher offered sweets to the participants while having informal talks to make them feel at ease. This helped the process of building rapport.
- Participants were given an information sheet to read followed by the introduction of researcher and the assistant.
- Moderator ensured that there was no right or wrong answer. This was mainly to have maximum participation.

During the interviews

The researcher had to constantly check and ensure the discussion was on track.

Ending the interviews

As the interview neared its conclusion, the researcher made sure that participants had participated to the fullest and asked if they had anything to add. The researcher then summarised the main points and thanked them for their voluntary participation (Liamputtong, 2011).

Thematic analysis of data from interviews

Thematic analysis means identifying, organising and reporting patterns from qualitative data (Clarke & Braun, 2013). Data generated from the focus group interviews were analysed using thematic content analysis. Thematic analysis is usually chosen for two main reasons: accessibility and flexibility. For those researchers who are new to qualitative research, thematic analysis provides an entry point into the doing of qualitative research, which may otherwise appear to be confusing and challenging. It teaches researchers to code and analyse data systematically. For thematic analysis, researchers do not have to subscribe to theoretical commitments that other qualitative data analysis may require (Braun & Clark, 2012). Braun and Clarke (2006) mention that since thematic analysis is not committed to any pre-existing theoretical framework, it can be used as an essentialist or realist method to express the experiences and reality of participants. This analysis works to reflect the reality.

Thematic analysis (TA) is flexible because it can be conducted in a number of ways. For instance, Braun and Clark (2012) state:

TA has the ability to straddle three main continua along which qualitative research approaches can be located: inductive versus deductive or theory-driven data coding and analysis, an experiential versus critical orientation to data, and an essentialist versus constructionist theoretical perspective. Where the researcher locates their research on each of these continua carries a particular set of assumptions, and this delimits what can and cannot be said in relation to the data as well as how data can and should be interpreted. (p. 58)

An inductive or bottom-up approach is driven by what is in the data. The codes and themes derive from the content of the data themselves, while a deductive or a top-down approach is when the researcher brings to the data a series of concepts, ideas or topics that they use to code and interpret the data. However, in reality, coding and analysis often use a combination of both these approaches (Braun & Clark, 2012).

Braun and Clarke (2006) state that thematic analysis encompasses searching across a data set, whether of interviews or focus groups or a range of texts, to look for repeated patterns of themes or meanings. Meanings across the data set and semantic themes often come together.

There are six phases of thematic analysis for Braun and Clark (2012). These are:

1. **Familiarising with data:** The researcher becomes familiarised with data by listening to audio or watching video. If listening to audio, they make notes, highlight items of interest, and start to think what particular data mean. The aim of this phase is to become intimate with the data set's content and to start to observe the information relevant to the study (pp. 60-61).
2. **Generating initial codes:** This is a systematic analysis of the data through codes. Codes are relevant to answer research questions. This stage ends when the researcher fully codes and data relevant to each code have been collated (pp. 61-63)
3. **Searching for themes:** This stage is a shift from codes to themes. The researcher constructs themes rather than discovering them (p. 63).
4. **Reviewing potential themes:** This stage involves quality checking of themes against the collated extracts of data and also exploring whether themes work in relation to data. This stage is crucial for discarding unwanted data, relocating codes under different themes or redrawing the boundaries of themes (p. 65).
5. **Defining and naming themes:** Defining themes requires the researcher to state clearly what is unique and specific about each theme. A good thematic analysis should ideally have a singular focus, themes that do not overlap and are not repetitive, and should be directly related to research questions (p. 66); and
6. **Producing report:** The final stage is to construct a report, which provides a convincing story about data based on the analysis (p. 69).

In this research project, data generated from the focus group interviews were analysed using thematic analysis based on the following core themes:

- Students' perception of the relevance of Bhutan Civics content;
- Bhutanese values learnt through civics;

- Students’ experience of learning civics-related knowledge through other than classroom learning; and
- Any other pertinent issues arising from the interviews as qualitative content analysis can have emergent elements.

The following students coding will be used in the reporting (Chapters 7 and 9):

Table 5.4: Students coding

School	Students	Focus Group Interviews (FG)
A	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	FG
B	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	FG
C	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	FG
D	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	FG
E	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	FG
F	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	FG
G	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	FG
H	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	FG
I	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	FG

Ethical issues for the focus group interviews

Issues such as seeking participant consent and approval to conduct the study were addressed as described in Stage 1A. In addition, the nature and the process of the interviews, including the students’ role in the focus group interviews, were explained to them. Students were given the right of not responding to any questions if they found it sensitive or uncomfortable to answer. King and Horrocks (2010) advise that researchers need to avoid coercion and to ensure properly informed consent. The researcher was cautious in not asking questions that pre-empted responses that were favourable to the researcher. The researcher explained to the students that there were no right or wrong answers. This encouraged them to participate actively and in a lively manner.

At the outset of the focus group interviews, the researcher briefed the students about some of the key ground rules, such as respect for others’ opinions that would ensure the smooth conduct and equal opportunity for every student’s participation.

5.8.5 Stage 1C: Qualitative data collection: Semi-structured interviews with civics teachers

A face-to-face interview is when one person attempts to obtain information, opinions and beliefs from another person or persons (King & Horrocks, 2010). Individual one-to-one interviews were conducted with all civics teachers at the nine schools selected for this research study. A one-to-one interview allows the researcher to locate specific ideas from specific informants since the interview is conducted with one person. This method has further advantage of being able to grasp a single person's ideas and is easier to transcribe verbatim as only one person is talking at a time (Denscombe, 2010). Similar sets of protocols, briefly narrated below, were fulfilled similar to those with students for the focus group interviews described earlier.

Prior to interviews

Prior permission was sought from the head of school to enable the relevant civics teacher(s) to attend the interview with the researcher. The teacher was then contacted in advance to discuss schedule, place and permission for audio recording.

During the interviews

To make it an effective interview, which would enable the researcher to gather desired data and information, the following protocols were followed during the interview:

- Congenial atmosphere created with introduction of researcher and researcher's assistant;
- Teacher was allowed to introduce themselves;
- Introduction and informal conversation was held to build rapport with informant or interviewee;
- Information sheet was provided to him or her;
- Consent form was handed to him/her to sign; and
- Additional time was allowed to share his/her experiences.

Closing the interviews

Two protocols were used in closing the interviews: the interviewer made the interviewee clear about the nature of research and the type of information desired from the interview; and the interviewer thanked the informant or interviewee for their time and support and ended respectfully (Minichiello et al., 1995).

Participants

As stated above, the participants for this interview were the teachers currently teaching civics in the selected schools. The number of teachers for the interviews depended on the availability of civics teachers in a particular school (Refer Table: 5.2). In total, 13 teachers were interviewed. Individual interviews were conducted, as it was not possible to call all the teachers together at the same time.

Table 5.5: Teacher participants

Name of school	Number of teachers	Gender
School A	2	Males
School B	1	Male
School C	1	Male
School D	2	Males
School E	1	Male
School F	2	Male and Female
School G	1	Male
School H	1	Male
School I	2	Females

Objectives

The objectives of the interviews with civics teachers were mainly to listen to them first-hand and learn their experiences of teaching civics, possible values they shared with students in classrooms while teaching the subject, and challenges encountered while teaching this subject.

Therefore, interviews were used to explore teachers' experience of teaching civics and how and if they would be able to infuse GNH values into their civics subject. They were encouraged to give their opinions and experiences of teaching civics content for the past seven years or so. Interviews are a popular means for exploring and capturing an individual's thoughts, opinions, feelings and experiences about a topic that is particularly significant to him or her. It is not like an informal conversation between friends. Therefore, preparations such as having a room free from disturbances and getting everything ready for the interview are important to consider (Roberts & Priest, 2010). Face-to-face interviews allow both interviewer and interviewee to clarify ideas at the same time. It is less likely for interviewees to evade questions as they have already given

their consent to participate (Roberts & Priest, 2010). Each interview did not take more than 90 minutes. Interviews were digitally recorded.

Analysis

Data generated from the interviews were analysed using thematic analysis based on the following core themes:

- Teachers’ concept of civics education in Bhutan;
- Scope of improving existing content;
- GNH values that are infused through civics subject; and
- Experiences that they provide students with while learning this subject and any other pertinent issues arising from the interviews.

The following codes will be used in Chapters 7 and 9 while reporting:

Table 5.6: Teachers coding

School	Teachers	Face-to-face Interviews (FI)
A	1, 2	FI
B	1	FI
C	1	FI
D	1, 2	FI
E	1	FI
F	1, 2	FI
G	1	FI
H	1	FI
I	1, 2	FI

Ethical Issues

Prior permission was sought from the principals and teacher participants themselves. Teachers were given the right not to respond to questions if they found it sensitive or uncomfortable to answer. The researcher informed participants that their identity and school’s identity would not be revealed at any cost. They were further assured that the interview content would not be used for anything other than research purposes.

5.9 Stage 2 data collection: Qualitative data

5.9.1 Semi-structured interviews with curriculum-based stakeholders

Similar interview protocols were observed for curriculum-based stakeholders as with the interviews with teachers.

Participants

Upon completion of preliminary analysis of Stage 1 data, the test and interview results were shared with key stakeholders for their views. These stakeholders were purposefully selected and requested to participate in interviews to share their perceptions of students' understandings of civics and their behavior (Refer 5.7). The Bhutan Civics textbooks contain specific chapters on different organisations and institutions where these stakeholders officiate. Therefore, they were specifically interviewed as they were in positions to comment on what the researcher intended to explore about students' level of understanding of civics textbooks and students' dispositions vis-à-vis the general expectations of various stakeholders from the perspective of their respective organisations. These stakeholders represent high profile organisations, such as Parliamentary Chambers, Judiciary, Constitutional Offices, civics textbooks authors and curriculum officials. The researcher believed that they could comment authoritatively on the issues raised (Denscombe, 2010).

Key stakeholders and the proposed objectives of the interviews are outlined below:

- Find out whether intended and unintended objectives of the curriculum are met. At least three civics curriculum designers who were involved in a writers' workshop in 2006 were interviewed;
- Collect the views of the present curriculum officer who is responsible for civics education on the results of Stage 1 and his/her reflections regarding whether these results met the envisioned expectations; and
- Seek opinion from other stakeholders such as parliamentarians and constitutional office bearers.

The researcher was not able to get religious personalities to interview as initially planned.

Method

Individual semi-structured interviews were conducted with 11 key informants/stakeholders, as it was not possible for the researcher to get these high-level officials into groups.

Table 5.7: Overview of sampling process for stage 2

Sample population	Method	Criteria	Procedures
Other stakeholders	Purposive	<ul style="list-style-type: none">i. Relate to civics curriculum.ii. Associate with content of the Bhutan civics textbooks.iii. Approval from the head of organisations.iv. Consent from individual stakeholder	<ul style="list-style-type: none">i. Curriculum officer and writers (Researcher could locate only three writers) were individually approached for participation.ii. Upon receiving consent from Curriculum Officer and writers, they were interviewed.iii. Identified the relevant organisations from the textbooks for the selection of other stakeholders.iv. Approached heads of the organisations to seek permission to interview personnel from their office (Appendix 25-33).v. Upon receiving consent from the head of the organisations, participants were deputed by their respective heads.vi. Obtained consent from individuals for the interviews.vii. Supplied textbooks to participants one month in advance for their reading.

Results from Stage 1 of data collection (the test results) were shared with these key informants, and they were asked to reflect on how these results matched with their understanding of the overall aims of civics education. Difficulties faced by teachers in terms of resources and their professional development were also shared with these persons. They were further asked to reflect on the content of the civics curriculum as well

as values they would like to have students learn from the curriculum. Interviews with stakeholders were again audio recorded.

Analysis

Data analysis from these interviews was based on the following:

- Thematic analysis of content;
- Whether the objectives of the textbooks were in line with the overall expectations;
- Stakeholders’ reflections on personal experiences of infusing GNH values into civics curriculum; and
- Any other issues related to the topic the stakeholders deemed important.

The following codes will be used in Chapters 7 and 9 while reporting:

Table 5.8: Stakeholders coding

Post	Stakeholders	Face-to-face Interviews
Curriculum Officer (CO)	1	FI
Writers (W)	1, 2, 3	FI
Members of Parliament (MP)	1, 2	FI
Constitutional Organisation Official (C)	1, 2, 3, 4, 5	FI

Ethical issues

Letters to the heads of the institutions were sent to seek permission to conduct interviews with identified officials. Individual consent was also sought from the stakeholders. It was necessary to determine if participants in Stage 2 wished to remain anonymous. In view of the prominent roles they carry, they would be easily identifiable if their roles were announced in the thesis. Therefore, the initials of their offices with numbers were used instead of their names. For instance, constitutional post holders are designated C1, C2, C3, C4 and C5 and two parliamentarians MP1 and MP2 and three writers W1, W2 and W3. The researcher ensured that any information reported in the thesis did not enable identification of any participants either by name or role. The information regarding the research, such as field notes and interview transcripts, are now kept securely and will be destroyed after the lapse of five years, as per generally accepted norms. The information

is used only for this research and not for any other purposes. These norms and practices are in accordance with the HREC policy and the practices of the University of New England (UNE). Participants were assured that they were free at any time to withdraw from participating.

5.10 Credibility of Stage 1 and 2

Elo et al. (2014) state:

Pre-interview may help to determine whether the interview questions are suitable for obtaining rich data that answer the proposed research questions. Interview tapes, videos, and the transcribed text should be examined carefully to critically assess the researcher's own actions. For instance, questions should be asked such as "Did I manipulate or lead the participants?" and "Did I ask too broad or structured questions?" Such evaluation should not only begin at the start of the study but also be supported by continuous reflection to ensure the trustworthiness of content analysis. (p. 4)

As a novice researcher, care was taken to make the research credible and worthy enough to obtain reliable data. To this end, an effort to achieve credibility was made through the following activities:

- Themes were validated by a second person;
- Member check was carried out; and
- Description of context and setting of schools was provided.

5.11 Limitations of the study

There are several possible limitations that could have posed some threat to the study's outcomes:

- As a novice researcher, conducting semi-structured interviews with participants was a challenge, particularly when some of the interviewees were senior officials. In order to check this limitation, the researcher ensured proper planning and organisation, prepared a checklist and reminders, and practised with friends.
- The researcher's employment in Bhutan as an educational monitoring officer (EMO) might have imposed some restriction on the part of teachers and students during the interview, as they might have known of her in that role. In this regard,

participants were assured verbally and through writing that the researcher had come in the capacity of researcher and not as an EMO. Further, participants were told that their anonymity would be a priority and that any information they provided as part of the study would not be used by the researcher in her EMO role on her eventual return to Bhutan.

- Due to the scattered location of schools in Bhutan and due to a lack of adequate time, only three schools were selected from each region (two government and one private school). The alternative would have been to spend much of the time in travelling between schools, which is not an efficient use of data collection time. Coverage of three schools from each region translated to visiting 20 percent of the total higher secondary schools in the country.
- It may have been difficult for teachers to comment on specific GNH values that are exclusively taught through the civics subject because all the teachers are mandated to impart values through their own subjects. A physics teacher, for instance, may not be able to pinpoint any specific content from the civics curriculum as related to GNH values. Rather, a physics teacher would always aspire to teach physics as a matter of service to humanity. However, this research study solicited teachers to reflect on this issue and this might result in raising awareness and improvement in practice.
- There is only one curriculum officer at present who is formally responsible for civics education in Bhutan. This may have impeded the research efforts in gathering multiple views on the implementation of civics curriculum. Had this person wish to remain anonymous, it would have been necessary to ensure that anything said would not be attributed to this person, which might lessen the representativeness of the data. Participants consented to publishing their ideas and expressions using pseudonyms.
- Bhutan is a small country with a small population and is a closely-knit society. Often, fear of personal repercussions may discourage individuals from speaking out honestly during such consultations. It is hoped that anonymity might have helped in collecting honest and forthright views.
- Research of such a nature on civics is the first of its kind in Bhutan. There was no scope for drawing upon past benchmarks or experiences in conducting such research.

- It is generally good practice to ask a participant for the preference of place to conduct interviews. For this research, most stakeholders preferred their offices. This therefore limited the ability to arrange the physical space (King & Horrocks, 2010). Furthermore, being in their respective offices, a few interruptions were experienced during some interviews.

5.12 Conclusion

From amongst the various research methodologies, mixed methods was chosen as it provided an appropriate bridge linking the qualitative and the quantitative methods. This approach enables weaknesses in one approach to be addressed in the other. The results are presented in chapter 7 in themes. This allows ready comparison of information across respondents. However, there is a risk of losing wholeness, coherence and integrity of each individual respondent. In order to address this, the researcher needed to consider the whole set of responses of an individual when ascribing meaning (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011).

Chapter 6:

Quantitative results: Knowledge about Bhutan civics

6.1 Overview

Chapter 5 explored into the details of data collection process and procedures covering both the quantitative and qualitative data collection procedure. Chapter 6 will elaborate on the quantitative aspects of data collection and analysis of test results.

Analysis of test results was deemed important for this study as there was no equivalent data available from other sources. As stated in the preceding chapters, civics is not a standalone subject but a part of HCG (History, Civics and Geography) subject. As such, there is no centralised standard testing system for civics subject as there is no separate testing for civics alone. It is tested as part of HCG with examination weighting of just 15% - 20%. Obviously, the test with such low examination weighting would not, in all fairness, practically assess the level of civics knowledge a student may possess. Therefore, a separate independent testing of students on civics textbooks was conducted to enable the researcher reasonably gauge students' knowledge gained from the textbooks.

A test design with questions for 100 marks was prepared by the researcher based on her professional experience as an examination moderator (Refer Chapter 5, Table 5.3 for details). This test was found suitable and appropriate to assess students' understanding of civics and citizenship education from Bhutanese perspectives. Test questions (See Appendix 17 for text questions) designed from the Bhutanese Civics textbooks were first pretested on undergraduate students of UNE to remove ambiguities, if any, and to input with further improvements, if and where necessary. But with no doubts and reservations

expressed by the participating UNE students on test questions, the same questions were taken to the field to test the sample students.

This chapter, hence, explores the level of students' understanding of the current contents of the Bhutan Civics textbooks. Students were tested on various topics of the civics textbooks. Students' scores on civics test are then compared with a randomly selected sample of thirty students' performance in the national English and Dzongkha Board examinations. This comparison is carried out to understand the general trend in students' performance in common subjects that are read by all students.

Scores of individual students in the civics test are classified into different mark bands to understand the overall performance of students in different schools. Further, school-wise comparisons in the marks are also computed to distinguish high performing schools amongst the sample schools. This enables the researcher to form an opinion on the students' performance by school category, location, status and regions. Test results are also analysed by gender to understand the variation of performance, if any, between boy students and girl students.

Test results are further analysed under individual topics. There are ten topics on which students were tested. These topic-wise comparisons of test results facilitate the researcher to obtain deeper understanding on students' performance on specific areas of study under civics curriculum.

Besides reporting the test performance of the students in this chapter, views expressed by the participants are mentioned in Chapter 7. Literature review by the researcher incidentally confirmed similar test conducted by ICCS which shed international perspectives on testing of civics and citizenship education.

6.2 Civics knowledge research

Research examining students' knowledge of civics is usually based on results gathered from standardised assessment instruments. Researchers and key stakeholders have attempted to identify what constitutes the most appropriate civics knowledge (and associated values and attitudes) in particular national contexts. Keating, Kerr, Lopes, Featherstone and Benton (2009, p. iii) carried out a longitudinal study on 'how far citizenship education became embedded in secondary schools in England since 2002, and

what does the future hold?’ This study looked at successes and challenges faced by schools in England in delivering citizenship education.

Similarly, the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), a project of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), have conducted comparative studies to identify countries that are faring well in civics and citizenship education. This study was conducted in nine countries in 1971, 28 countries in 1999 and 38 countries in 2009 (Schulz et al., 2010a). The findings of the 1971 study were inconclusive in relation to the impact of schooling on students’ civics knowledge and attitudes because not all the countries approached teaching civics-related values in a formal way. The 1999 study, however, showed the role of schools in preparing citizens. The study further contributed to a deeper understanding of the role of civics and citizenship education, which students received not only from school but beyond schools. According to Schulz et al. (2010a, p.9) the 2009 study looked at various areas, such as:

- Variations in civics knowledge;
- Changes in content knowledge since 1999;
- Student interest in engaging in public and political life and their disposition to do so;
- Perceptions of threats to civil society;
- Features of education systems, schools, and classrooms related to civic and citizenship education; and
- Aspects of student background related to the outcomes of civic and citizenship education.

The study revealed considerable variations across and within participating countries in civic knowledge: it demonstrated that ‘on the scale with a standard deviation of 100 points, the difference between the top and bottom quartiles of the country distribution was 60 points’. Girls seem to have significantly higher civics knowledge scores than boys in nearly all the countries. In 1999, the comparison suggested, for seven of the 15 countries, a significant decline in students’ civics content knowledge (Schulz et al., 2010a, p. 9).

Apart from the ICCS study, in annual reviews on civic education in the USA, Galston (2001) states that today’s college graduates know no more about politics than did high school graduates in 1950s. Ever since democratic governance emerged, there has been a

tension between the need to consult citizens and their corresponding ability to make informed decisions. One universal premise that underpins successful functioning of representative democracy is the existence of knowledgeable citizens. Yet, more often than not, mass opinion surveys over the past half a century consistently revealed that citizens are anything but knowledgeable about politics. However, the Senate Standing Committee on Employment Education and Training (1989) in Australia declared that active citizenship stretches beyond the realm of federal politics. The knowledge, skills and values characteristic of active citizens apply equally to state and local government and to the many community organisations which are part of the social fabric of Australia.

In addition to knowing little about politics, most citizens possessed minimal factual knowledge about the actual operation of the political system (McAllister, 1998). Raia (2012) states that in the USA, civics education is in a precarious state, particularly after the recent ‘No Child Left Behind’ and other requirements have exclusively focussed on careers and jobs as the primary aim of education. Moreover, schools were also financially limited and unable to afford critical instruction time for social studies and civics education. Earlier, Raia (2012) says, one of the goals of both primary and secondary levels of education in the USA in the past was to develop citizens beyond mere production of professionals for jobs and careers but this is no longer the case. Nearly every piece of recent research shows that young Americans and the general American population lack civics knowledge and show poor levels of civics engagement. A similar situation is evident in Australia. The Australian Senate Standing Committee on Employment, Education and Training (1989) maintained:

dangers in current educational policies which appear to stress narrow labour market requirements and to underestimate the importance of a capacity for critical analysis of social and political issues. Commenting on this issue in the context of higher education, an academic from Swinburne Institute of Technology warned that if this trend continues we will pay a price, for we will end up with a technologically trained, but politically illiterate, young citizenry. According to another submission, this trend is laying the ground for the phenomenon of the skilled barbarian society whose attitude towards civic questions or ideas is uninformed or crude to say the least. (pp. 8-9)

In a similar manner, there was a need to study the influence of civics education on young people’s understanding of civics as well as citizenship in Bhutan. The civics curriculum in Bhutan was designed with the aim of building strong foundations for democracy in

Bhutan by educating citizens to participate meaningfully in the political process (Ministry of Education, 2012). The Bhutanese civics syllabus, provided by the Department of Curriculum and Research Development (DCRD) under the Ministry of Education (DCRD, 2008), aims to provide information and to impart values to students through civics education. The rationale of the syllabus states that it is intended to develop in students an understanding of the basic principles of civics, such as the duties and responsibilities of citizens and the structure and functions of various organs of the government. This is in order to help them grow up as informed, dedicated and responsible citizens in a democratic society. In addition, one of the aims of studying civics is an understanding and appreciation of the rights and responsibilities of citizens and their loyalty and dedication to the *Tsawa Sum* (King, country and people) and a commitment to work within their capacity for the wellbeing of the nation (DCRD, n.d). Therefore, the objectives of civics education in Bhutan are not just to provide information on how the government functions, but also aims to infuse values to produce better human beings. Thus, the DCRD has designed the content areas covering content from citizen to nation; that is from the individual to the collective. However, there is as yet no evidence to assist Bhutanese educators and policy-makers in determining if these aspirations are being met. To date, no one has undertaken research into civics education in Bhutan, nor has there been regular exclusive centralised testing of students' civics knowledge other than school examinations conducted at the end of the year. In these exams civics is given a weighting of 15–20%. Therefore, this research will assist not only teachers in teaching the subject, but also the policy-makers and other stakeholders who are either concerned or involved in framing education policy.

The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) designed their Civics and Citizenship study to address the gap and to create the possibility of a rigorous data-based approach to a number of questions with implication for policy-making and educational practices. Likewise, in order to understand civics education in schools in Bhutan, this study hopes to identify the gap, if there is any, between the level of students' understanding on various topics of civics textbooks vis-à-vis the expected goals and objectives of introducing civics curriculum and the overall stakeholder (Refer Chapter 7) perceptions of preferences of civics knowledge and educational impact. This will be further explored in detail in Chapter 9.

6.3 Description of the students' civics test results

Details of the sample and method were discussed in Chapter 5. However, it is necessary to provide the following to remind readers of the key elements that will be used to discuss the results in this chapter.

- Schools represent regional areas in Bhutan: Eastern (Schools A, B, C), Central (Schools D, E, F), and Western (Schools G, H, I). For appropriate country representation, three schools from each region were selected randomly. These schools are either established in the city or in semi-urban area. Schools in semi-urban may have comparatively lesser public facilities and opportunities compared to those in cities, such as intermittent or no internet accessibility.
- In each region, one private school (Schools C, E, H) and two public schools were selected. Public schools are government-run schools staffed by trained teachers from Teaching and Education institutes and colleges. Private schools are run by private individual proprietors and some teachers do not necessarily have any formal training. Only those students who had scored the 'cut-off' percentage from class 10 annual examinations are eligible for admission to public schools while students with scores lower than the 'cut-off' would mostly seek admission to the private schools. Further, public schools may have comparatively better facilities, being equipped with library and other logistical provisions, than privately run schools.
- 15 students from class 11 and 15 from class 12 from each school participated. Further, these 15 students each from both classes 11 and 12 comprised five students each from all three streams of arts, commerce and science except in one school F where all 30 students were from one stream, *rigzhung* (language and cultural studies), only. School F does not provide courses in the other three streams.

This chapter focuses on the test results, which provide an overview of students' civics knowledge. Test results are presented through graphs accompanied by explanations. As described in Chapter 5, test items were constructed based on the Bhutan Civics textbooks.

6.4 School-wise performance in civics test

Performances of all nine schools were assessed to understand the performance of students from individual schools. The performance of all thirty students in each school is shown in Figure 6.1. Descriptions of how these individual and average scores were computed are detailed in Chapter 5. The overall average performance by all nine schools is 56.17% with the highest average score of 63.4% achieved by students from School A and lowest average score of 46.5% achieved by students from School H (See Appendix 15).

Graphical illustration of average scores in the civics test by the schools is shown below under Figure 6.1.

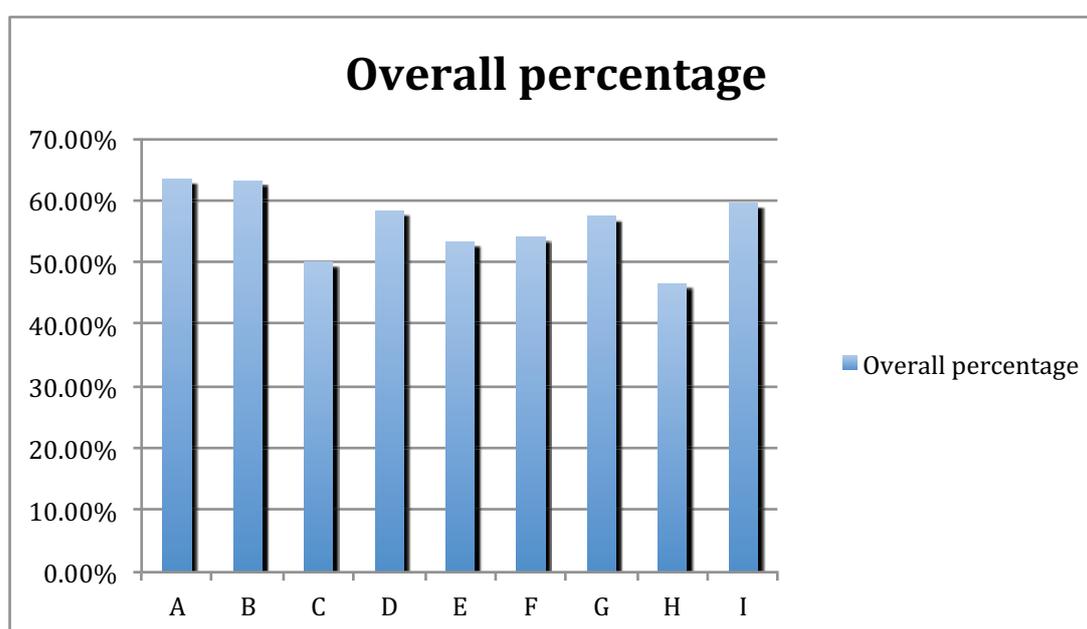


Figure 6.1: Graphic representation of average percentage of school performance in civics test

6.5 Pattern of students' scores in civics test under different divisions

It is conventional in Bhutan to categorise students' performance in examination under different divisions. Student's marks below 50% are categorised as third division while scores between 50% and 59% are defined as a second division. Examination results of 60% and above are rated as first division and results with 70% and above are classified as distinction. A Pass percentage in Bhutan is 35% for higher secondary school students, but this level of achievement does not guarantee students will qualify for admission into tertiary education. A student with a score below 35% is regarded to have failed in the

examination. The overall pattern of students' results from the civics test is shown in Table 6.1. The students are grouped under five divisions according to their individual marks. These five divisions are namely, Fail (Below 35%), Third Division (35%–49%), Second Division (50%–59%), First Division (60%–69%) and Distinction (>70%) (MoE, 2011).

Table 6.1: School-wise number of students scoring under different divisions in civics test

Schools	Fail (<35%)	Third (36-49%)	Second (50-59%)	First (60-69%)	Distinction (>70%)	Total
A	0	1	8	15	6	30
B	0	3	8	10	9	30
C	1	14	9	6	0	30
D	0	2	14	12	2	30
E	0	6	20	4	0	30
F	0	7	17	5	1	30
G	0	5	15	9	1	30
H	2	18	8	2	0	30
I	0	4	12	7	7	30
Total	3	60	111	70	26	270
% of students	1.1%	22.2%	41.1%	26%	9.6%	100%

Three students out of 270 students, which is a mere 1%, actually failed the civics test. Sixty students (22.2%) have scored in the Third Division, and another 111 students (41%) scored in the Second Division. Only 70 students (26%) and 26 students (9.6%) respectively scored in First Division and Distinction.

It is not impressive to note that only 35.6% of students scored in First Division and above, as opposed to huge group of 64.4% (174 students) scoring in Second Division and below. While only 3 students have actually failed the test, it was no consolation to discover that 60 (22.2%) students scored in Third Division. In practical terms, there is literally no difference between the 'Fail' and the Third Division if students are seeking admission to a university.

The same observations are dissected into further detail to see how many students have actually scored under different mark bands. Table 6.2 shows the number of students from each school scoring under different mark bands.

Table 6.2: School raw scores by students in civics test under different mark bands

Schools	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-100	Total
A	0	0	0	0	1	8	15	6	0	0	30
B	0	0	0	0	3	8	10	6	3	0	30
C	0	0	0	2	13	9	6	0	0	0	30
D	0	0	0	0	2	14	12	2	0	0	30
E	0	0	0	0	6	20	4	0	0	0	30
F	0	0	0	0	7	17	5	1	0	0	30
G	0	0	0	0	5	15	9	0	1	0	30
H	0	0	0	4	16	8	2	0	0	0	30
I	0	0	0	1	3	12	7	7	0	0	30
Total	0	0	0	7	56	111	70	22	4	0	270
% of students	0	0	0	2.6	20.7	41.1	26	8.1	1.5	0	100

Table 6.2 reveals that the civics test results are highly concentrated towards the centre, with most placed in the Second Division (41.1%), followed by 26% in the First Division and 20.7% in the Third Division. While there is no student scoring in the 20s and below mark band, no student scored in the 90s. Only four students scored in 80s. This pattern of students' marks for the civics test is shown in Figure 6.2.

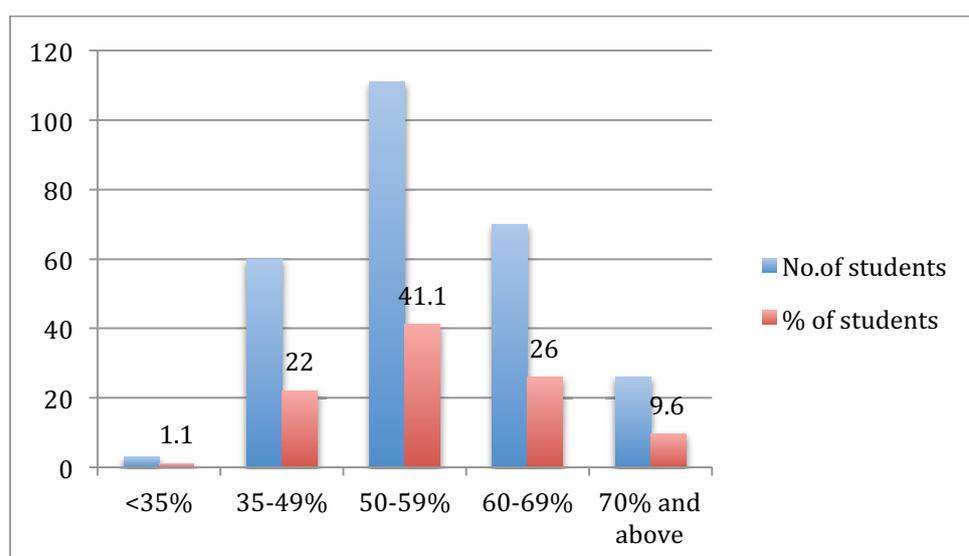


Figure 6.2: Aggregated number and percentage of students against different civics test mark bands

6.6 Comparisons of civics test results with results of English and Dzongkha board examination

In order to provide a holistic view on the overall performance of students in these nine schools, a comparison of the civics test results with results in other subjects, which are common to all the students, is made. This has also provided a measure of each schools' performance in the civics test vis-à-vis their performance in other common subjects.

The results of the English and Dzongkha annual examinations for the last three academic years of 2012, 2013, and 2014 were obtained from the Bhutan Council for School Examinations and Assessment (BCSEA). For comparative purposes, results of thirty students in these two subjects for three years were randomly selected. Averages of the annual results and an average of annual averages of three years were then computed, as shown below in Table 6.3 and Table 6.4 for English and Dzongkha respectively. This comparison is made to show the trend of performance by the students in other subjects as well to see whether the performance in civics test for this study deviates or follows the overall trend.

Information from these two tables should be read together with the average scores of the civics test shown in Figure 6.1. For instance, students from School A have an average score of 63.4% in the civics test as opposed to its average scores in English (see Table 6.3) of 56.07%, 55.43% and 52.53% for 2012, 2013 and 2014 respectively. Students' average scores from School A for the three years in Dzongkha (see Table 6.4) are 67.27%, 66.1% and 61.5% for 2012, 2013, and 2014 respectively. It appears that School A's overall performance in the civics test was better than their overall performance in English but quite similar to their Dzongkha results.

Likewise, students from School B have an average score of 63.17% in the civics test as opposed to its average scores in English (see Table 6.3) of 56%, 51.57% and 57.77% for 2012, 2013 and 2014 respectively. Students' average scores from School B for the three years in Dzongkha (see Table 6.4) are 66.53%, 63.67% and 66.87% for 2012, 2013, and 2014 respectively. This comparison also suggest that School B's average score in the civics test is better than their overall results in English but quite similar to the overall results in Dzongkha.

Similarly, students from School E had an average score of 53.27% in the civics test as opposed to average scores in English (see Table 6.3) of 43.83%, 39.87% and 44.6% for 2012, 2013 and 2014 respectively. Students' average scores from school for the three years in Dzongkha (see Table 6.4) are 51.23%, 55.67% and 56.8% for 2012, 2013, and 2014 respectively. Here too, the civics test score is better than the English results but similar to the Dzongkha results.

Table 6.3: English average percentage marks from BCSEA for the past three years

Source: BCSEA

Schools	Average Scores 2012	Average Scores 2013	Average Scores 2014	Average of 3 years averages
A	56.07	55.43	52.53	54.68
B	56	51.57	57.77	55.11
C	44.3	41.7	44.33	43.44
D	61.9	54.7	56.9	57.83
E	43.83	39.87	44.6	42.77
F	47.2	42.6	50.73	46.84
G	58.97	56	53.23	56.07
H	44.27	45.37	43.4	44.35
I	61.5	60	61.07	60.86
Total	474.04	447.24	464.56	461.95
Average across all schools	52.67	49.69	51.62	51.33

Table 6.4: Dzongkha average percentage marks from BBE for the past three years

Source: BCSEA

Schools	Average Scores 2012	Average Scores 2013	Average Scores 2014	Average of 3 years averages
A	67.27	66.1	61.5	64.96
B	66.53	63.67	66.87	65.69
C	56.17	60.87	54.57	57.20
D	59.77	60.7	54.5	58.32
E	51.23	55.67	56.8	54.57
F	76.37	81.17	76.8	78.08
G	58	63.57	59.77	60.45
H	50.27	54.87	51.63	52.26
I	58.07	62.4	63.9	61.46
Total	543.68	569.02	546.34	552.98
Average across all schools	60.41	63.22	60.70	61.44

A comparison between the average scores of the civics test with the averages of English and Dzongkha is shown in Table 6.5, indicating that the students' performance in the civics test followed the overall students' academic achievement level in these nine schools. Students' performance in the civics test tends to further suggest that their performance was more dependent on the overall standard of their English language. For instance, School I, a public school, is located in the capital city and the students are comparatively more exposed to modern amenities and the outside world than other schools. The standard of English language of the students in School I would be far higher, as evidenced with 60.86%, than other schools with as low as 42.77% for School E. School E is a private school and located far away from urban centre.

Average scores of three years for both English and Dzongkha are further shown in overall average (Table 6.3 and Table 6.4). These three-year averages are computed primarily for easy comparison with average scores of the civics tests in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: Comparisons of average scores of civics with three-years averages of English and Dzongkha

Schools	Civics	English	Dzongkha
A	63.40	54.68	64.96
B	63.17	55.11	65.69
C	50.00	43.44	57.20
D	58.27	57.83	58.32
E	53.27	42.77	54.57
F	54.07	46.84	78.08
G	57.40	56.07	60.45
H	46.50	44.35	52.26
I	59.50	60.86	61.46
Total	505.58	461.95	552.99
Average across all schools	56.17	51.33	61.44

Average scores in the civics test in all the schools fall between the average scores of English and Dzongkha. Students have scored civics marks higher than in English but lower than the marks in Dzongkha, indicating that students in Bhutan are more comfortable with Dzongkha, the country's national language and the script than with English.

Schools with lower average marks in English have scored lower marks in the civics tests. For instance, students from School H with its average English scores of 44.35% had average scores of only 46.50% in the civics test. Likewise, students from School C had average scores of only 43.44% in English and 50% in the civics test. Students from another School, School E, who had average scores of only 42.77% in English had only 53.27% in the civics test. Incidentally, all these schools (C, E and H) are private schools. Their average scores in Dzongkha are also not appearing impressive when compared with the other six schools.

Students from Schools D, G and I have the highest average scores in English with 60.86%, 57.83% and 56.07% respectively. However, their average scores in the civics test were 59.58%, 58.27% and 57.49% respectively; these are not the highest scores. Schools D and I are located in the two largest cities of Bhutan. School G is located in a remote location far from city. These schools are all public schools. This further seems to

suggest that public schools, whether located in cities or in remote places, have performed better than the private schools.

As regards average scores of Dzongkha, excepting School F, other schools have displayed marginally better results than those for the civics test. School F is a Language and Culture Institute and its main courses are in Dzongkha. Therefore, it is no surprise to see that their students' average Dzongkha scores is 78.08%, which is the highest of all the nine schools' average scores.

Comparatives between the scores of the civics test, English and Dzongkha are further illustrated below in Figure 6.3.

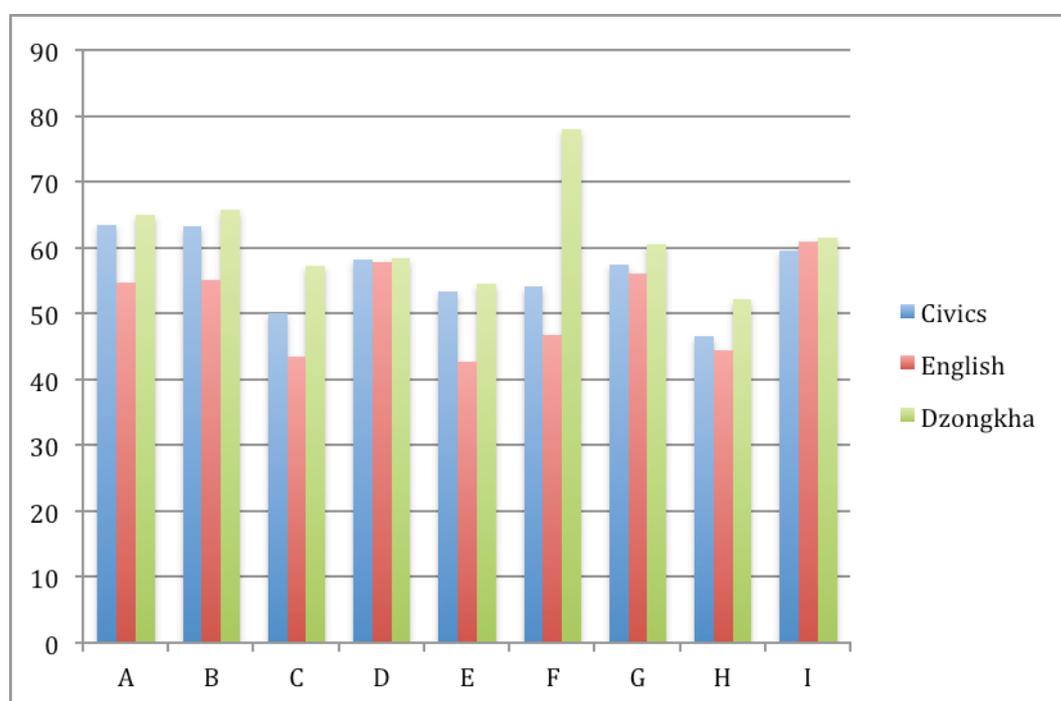


Figure 6.3: Average percentage scores of civics test, English, and Dzongkha

6.7 Further analysis of English and Dzongkha results

Results of English and Dzongkha are further analysed into different mark bands. This provides a necessary break-up information of the number of students scoring in each respective division and enables direct comparisons with the corresponding break-up information on civics test results.

Results are, as shown below in Table 6.6 and Table 6.7 for English and Dzongkha respectively, categorised under five different mark bands: less than 35% (Fail), 36% to 49% (Third Division), 50% to 59% (Second Division), 60% to 69% (First Division), and

70% and above (Distinction). These tables indicate overall trend in the performance of English and Dzongkha over the last three years.

Table 6.6 below shows the trend of English results break-up between different Divisions. Number of students who have failed, that is, with scores below 35%, have gone down from 6.67% in 2012 to 3.7% in 2014. However, students scoring in Third Division (36% - 49%) have marginally increased from 31.48% (85 students) in 2012 to 35.56% (96 students) in 2014. Conversely, the number of students who have scored in First Division decreased from 2012 to 2014. First Division scorers of 67 students (24.81%) in 2012 had reduced to 47 students only, which is only 17.41%. For Distinction, there were six students in 2012 which increased to 7 students, an increase by 0.37% from 2.22% to 2.59%.

Table 6.6: Number of students scoring under different divisions in English for three years

Source: BCSEA

Scores	Division	2012		2013		2014	
		No. of Students	% of Students	No. of Students	% of Students	No. of Students	% of Students
Less than 35	Fail	18	6.67	21	7.78	10	3.70
35-49	Third Division	85	31.48	109	40.37	96	35.56
50-59	Second Division	94	34.81	94	34.81	110	40.74
60-69	First Division	67	24.81	43	15.93	47	17.41
70 and above	Distinction	6	2.22	3	1.11	7	2.59
Total		270	100.0	270	100.0	270	100.0

Similarly, Table 6.7 below shows the trends of number of students in Dzongkha scoring in different divisions over three years. The number of students who have failed has gone down from 4 (1.48%) in 2012 to just one student in 2014, which is a meagre 0.37%. Similarly, the number of students who have scored in Third Division has also decreased from 41 in 2012 to 29 in 2014, which is a decrease from 15.19% to 10.74%. This desirable trend in the students' performance in Dzongkha is corroborated with an increase in number of students in 2014 from 2012 scoring in Second and Distinction

Divisions. In 2012, there were 77 students in Second Division, which increased to 91 in 2014. The percentage increase is from 28.52% in 2012 to 33.70% in 2014. The number of students in the distinction division has gone to 56 in 2014 from 54 in 2012, an increase by just 0.74%. This tends to suggest that, despite a decrease by one student in 2014 from 2012 scoring in First Division, on the whole, students have shown improvements in Dzongkha during the three years.

Table 6.7: Number of students scoring under different divisions in Dzongkha for three years

Source: BCSEA

Scores	Division	2012		2013		2014	
		No. of Students	% of Students	No. of Students	% of Students	No. of Students	% of Students
Less than 35	Fail	4	1.48	3	1.11	1	0.37
36-49	Third Division	41	15.19	16	5.93	29	10.74
50-59	Second Division	77	28.52	71	26.30	91	33.70
60-69	First Division	94	34.81	117	43.33	93	34.44
70 and above	Distinction	54	20.00	63	23.33	56	20.74
Total		270	100.0	270	100.0	270	100.0

6.8 Comparison between results of civics test and the 2014 results of English and Dzongkha

To simplify comparisons between the civics test scores under different Divisions with that of corresponding scores for English and Dzongkha, only 2014 results are taken into consideration. Moreover, it appears justifiable to compare the civics test results with the 2014 results of English and Dzongkha since the civics tests were also conducted in 2014. Therefore, students' scores under different Divisions for the civics test and for the 2014 results of English and Dzongkha are computed in Table 6.8 for direct comparison.

Table 6.8: Comparative statement on number of students scoring under different Divisions in civics, English and Dzongkha

Scores	Division	Civics		English (2014)		Dzongkha (2014)	
		No. of Students	% of Students	No. of Students	% of Students	No. of Students	% of Students
Less than 35	Fail	3	1.1	10	3.70	1	0.37
35-49	Third Division	60	22.2	96	35.56	29	10.74
50-59	Second Division	111	41.1	110	40.74	91	33.70
60-69	First Division	70	26	47	17.41	93	34.44
70 and above	Distinction	26	9.6	7	2.59	56	20.74
Total		270	100.0	270	100.0	270	100.0

This seems to reveal that the overall performance pattern in the civics test does not deviate much from the pattern of English results. For instance, the distribution pattern of both civics and English is skewed, that is, peaking at the Second Division and sloping towards either side. However, the gradient of the slope for English is steep towards the right, with only 47 students scoring in First Division and 7 students in Distinction as opposed to 96 in Third Division and 10 below 35%. For the civics test, there are 70 students in First Division and 26 in Distinction as opposed to 60 in Third Division and 3 below 35% (see Table 6.8 and Figure 6.4 for details).

For Dzongkha, the peak is at First Division, between 60 to 69, with 91 students in Second Division and 56 in Distinction. The graphic version is shown below in Figure 6.4.

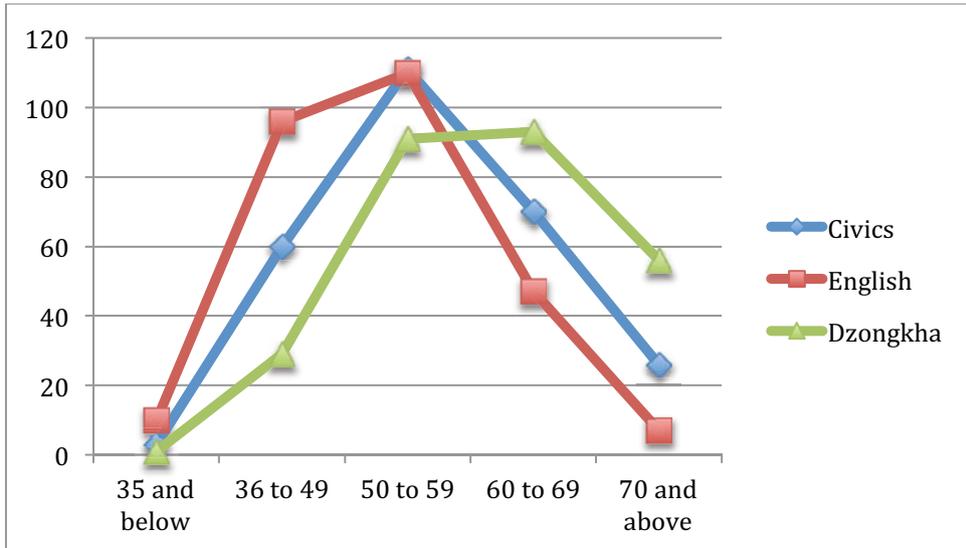


Figure 6.4: Comparative graphical presentation on the number of students scoring under different Divisions for civics, English and Dzongkha

6.9 Performance of students in different topics that make up the civics curriculum

Analyses were carried out in R (R Core Team, 2014). The student score in the civics test dataset was explored and analysed using the protocol by Zuur, Ieno, & Elphick (2010) as explained in detail in Chapter 5. There are ten topics upon which students were tested.

Topics are:

1. Knowledge of Democracy;
2. The Constitution;
3. Fundamental Rights and Duties;
4. Government;
5. Local Government;
6. Citizen and Voting;
7. Election and Formation of Political Parties;
8. Constitutional Bodies;
9. GNH and Good Governance; and
10. Parliament.

The scores of students from each school in each of the topic areas are presented in Table 6.9.

Table 6.9: Total marks obtained by 30 students in each school under each topic

Note: Highlighted in yellow are the highest scoring schools

Topics	Marks	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1. Knowledge on Democracy (5 marks x 30 students)	150	100	97	81	111	70	76	94	74	111
2. Constitution (15 x 30)	450	267	255	191	224	222	207	213	178	227
3. Fundamental Rights and Duties (10 x 30)	300	147	160	136	147	122	147	131	130	170
4. Government (10 x 30)	300	209	191	140	167	141	146	158	131	185
5. Local Government (10 x 30)	300	180	188	145	167	166	160	185	126	156
6. Citizen and Voting (10 x 30)	300	203	220	193	211	202	200	191	174	200
7. Election and Formation of Political Parties (10 x 30)	300	190	213	170	184	181	193	210	156	195
8. Constitutional Bodies (10 x 30)	300	195	204	151	185	183	184	202	170	183
9. GNH and Good Governance (10x30)	300	197	164	129	162	139	138	154	95	162
10. Parliament (10 x 30)	300	212	200	175	192	188	178	201	169	201

The following sections will discuss elements making up the various topics and analyse performance in these areas.

6.9.1 Topic 1: Knowledge of Democracy

Students were tested on their general understanding of different forms of democracy in the world. This component of the test required students to identify the head(s) of the government/state under different forms of democracy. This section of test was conducted out of 5 marks.

As can be seen from the above Figure 6.5, students from Schools D and I performed relatively well compared to the rest of the schools, with mean score for both schools being 3.7 (school D SE: 0.27, school I SE: 0.25). Both of these schools are located in the largest urban centres of the country. In contrast, students from Schools E and H performed relatively poorly with mean score of 2.33 (SE: 0.25) and 2.46 (SE: 0.27) respectively. Both Schools E and H are private schools although School H is located in the same urban centre as School I. The private school E is in a semi-urban location.

The other three schools with the next highest levels are schools A, B and G with mean scores of 3.33, 3.23 and 3.13 (SE: 0.23, 0.30 and 0.34) respectively. The schools are

located within the vicinity of the District Administration Head Offices in their respective districts. The school with mean scores of 2.53 (SE: 0.30) is School F. The school is neither private school nor a typical government school. This school focuses more on cultural studies (See figure 6.5).

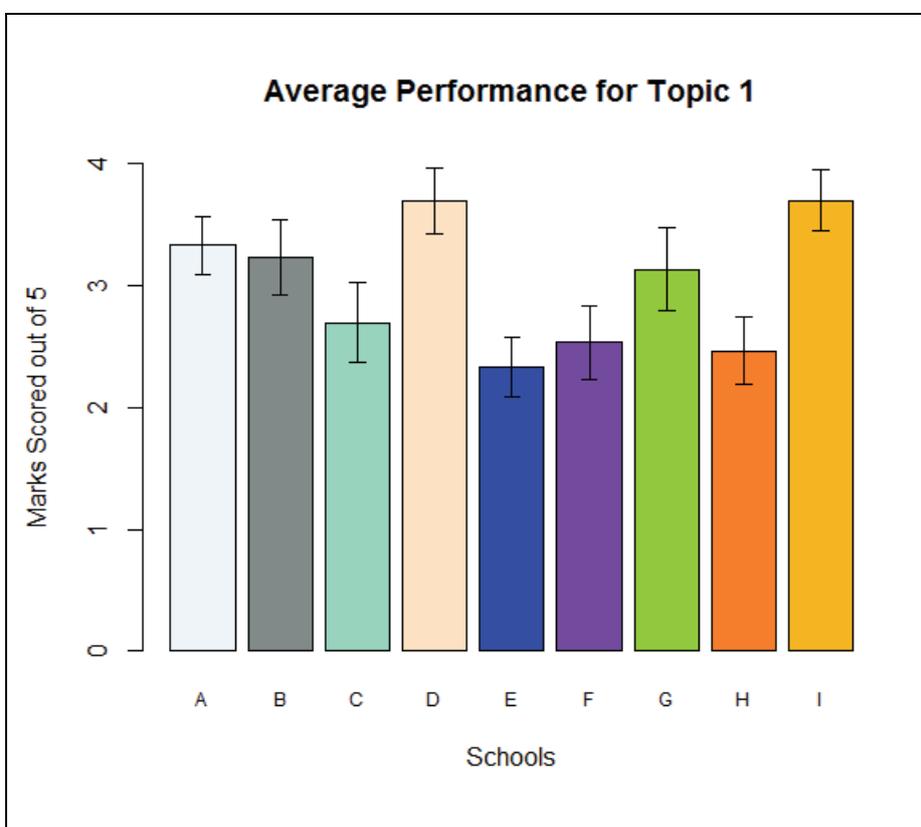


Figure 6.5: Mean score/performance of 30 students each in nine schools on Topic 1
 Note: Refer table in Appendix 1 for mean score, Standard Deviation and Standard Error.

6.9.2 Topic 2: The Constitution

This topic covers some significant political reforms that preceded the ultimate culmination of the democratic constitutional monarchy form of government and salient features of the Constitution with their underlying importance. Students were tested on their knowledge of some key political events in the country and characteristics of our Constitution. Students were tested on separation of powers in the democratic setup of the government system.

Figure 6.6 shows that students in Schools A, B and I are comparatively more successful in this component of the test, with their mean scores of 8.90 (SE: 0.38), 8.50 (SE: 0.44) and 7.56 (0.35), than students in the other schools. Schools A and B are both government (public) schools from the Eastern region while School I is a public school

from the Western region. School B is categorised as a semi-urban school by the Ministry of Education. School I is one of the oldest public schools in the country.

Two private schools, C and H, with mean scores of 6.36 (SE: 0.36) and 5.93 (SE: 0.34) respectively, performed comparatively lower than other schools. The schools are located in semi-urban and urban areas.

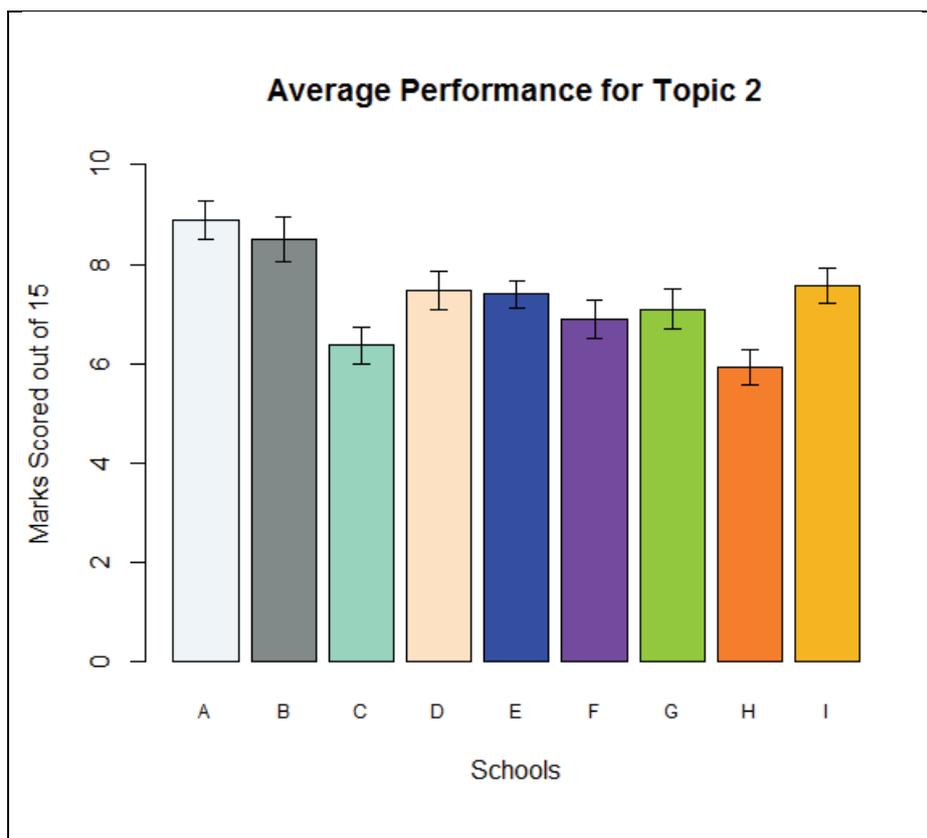


Figure 6.6: Mean score/performance of 30 students each in nine schools on Topic 2
 Note: Refer table in Appendix 2 for mean score, Standard Deviation and Standard Error

6.9.3 Topic 3: Fundamental Rights and Duties

A test on fundamental rights and duties is expected to display students' maturity, their perspectives on how a human being should behave and their understanding of what they should expect of other's behaviours. This fundamentally addresses societal attitudes. The highest mean score is 5.66 (SE: 0.29) by school I, which is one of the urban public schools. School I is followed by school B with mean score of 5.33 (SE:0.25), which is located in a semi-urban area (See figure 6.7).

As in previous comparisons, private schools have lower average scores than public schools. In this component of the test, the two lowest mean scores of 4.06 (SE: 0.26) and

4.33 (SE: 0.28) are both from private schools. They are school E and H located in semi-urban and urban respectively (refer Appendix 13 for details of average score).

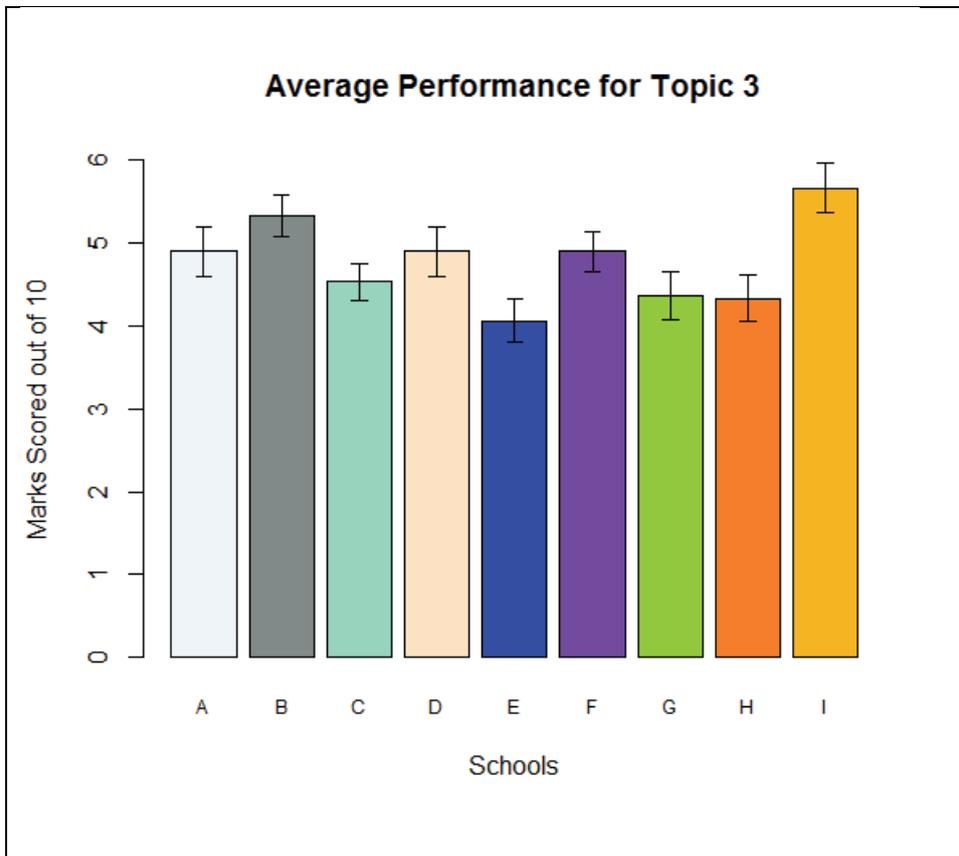


Figure 6.7: Mean score/performance of 30 students each in nine schools on Topic 3
 Note: Refer table in Appendix 3 for mean score, Standard Deviation and Standard Error

6.9.4 Topic 4: Government

In an attempt to understand the knowledge of students on the structure and forms of government, students were tested on structure of the government, branches of government, bodies of the legislature and the principle of separation of powers. Interestingly, the following scores illustrate that their pattern of understanding and knowledge of structure and forms of government is parallel to their knowledge on the concepts and definitions of democracy. The scores of the individual schools are comparable with their own respective scores on knowledge of democracy.

For instance, those schools which have scored higher average percentages on Knowledge on Democracy have scored higher average percentages on the questions on the Government. Schools such as A, B, D, G and I with mean score of 6.96, 6.36, 5.56, 5.26 and 6.16 (School A SE: 0.30, School B SE: 0.37, School D SE: 0.34, School G SE: 0.36, and School I SE: 0.33) have scored higher average percentages in both the domains

in the test. All these schools are government schools. Students from School B, although from a semi-urban location, appear to be achieving at similar levels to students in urban schools.

Correspondingly, the same schools C, E and H with mean score of 4.66, 4.70 and 4.36 (school C SE: 0.31, school E SE: 0.25 and school H SE: 0.30) respectively have scored relatively poorly in both the questions. All these three schools are private schools from all three different regions (See figure 6.8).

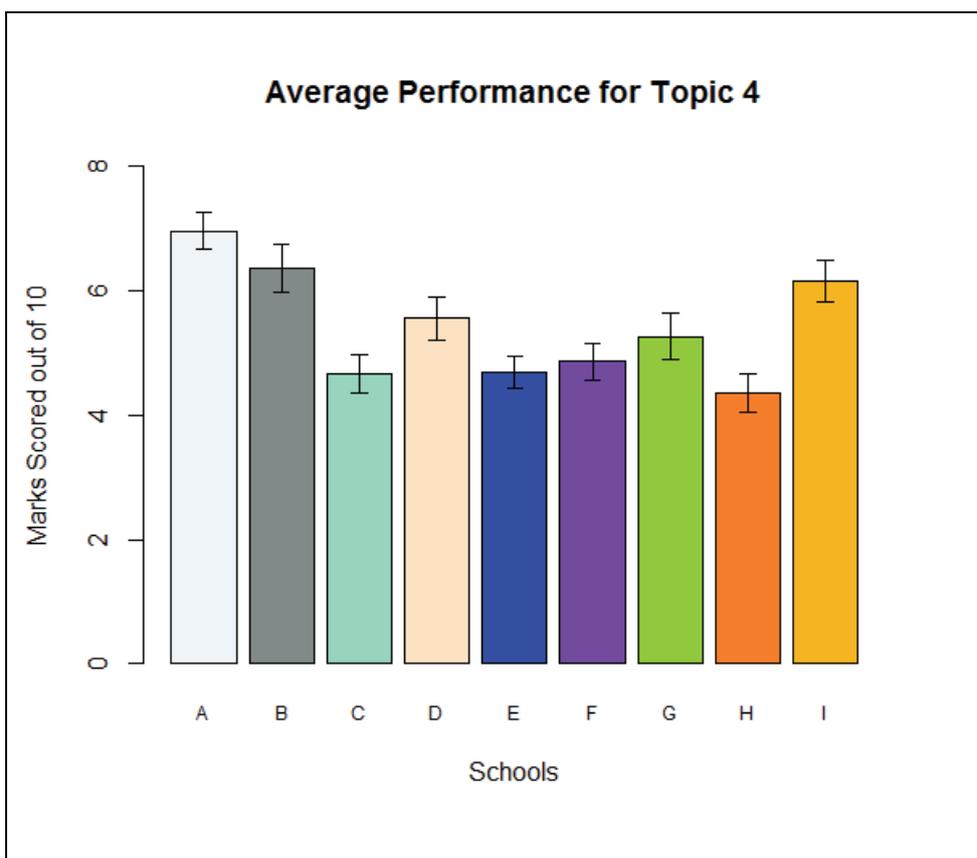


Figure 6.8: Mean score/performance of 30 students each in nine schools on Topic 4

Note: Refer table in Appendix 4 for mean score, Standard Deviation and Standard Error

6.9.5 Topic 5: Local Government

This component of the test addresses how much students are aware of the local governments of their own locality. Three schools B, G, and A have mean score of 6.26, 6.16 and 6.00 (school B SE: 0.33, school G SE: 0.30 and school A SE: 0.27) respectively while the lowest mean scores are 4.20 (SE: 0.27) by school H and 4.83 (SE: 0.27) by school C. Two city schools, D and I also have lower scores (school D with mean scores of 5.56 with SE: 0.31 and school I with mean scores of 5.20 with SE: 0.28 respectively) than school A and B (See figure 6.9). Schools D and I are located in urban areas.

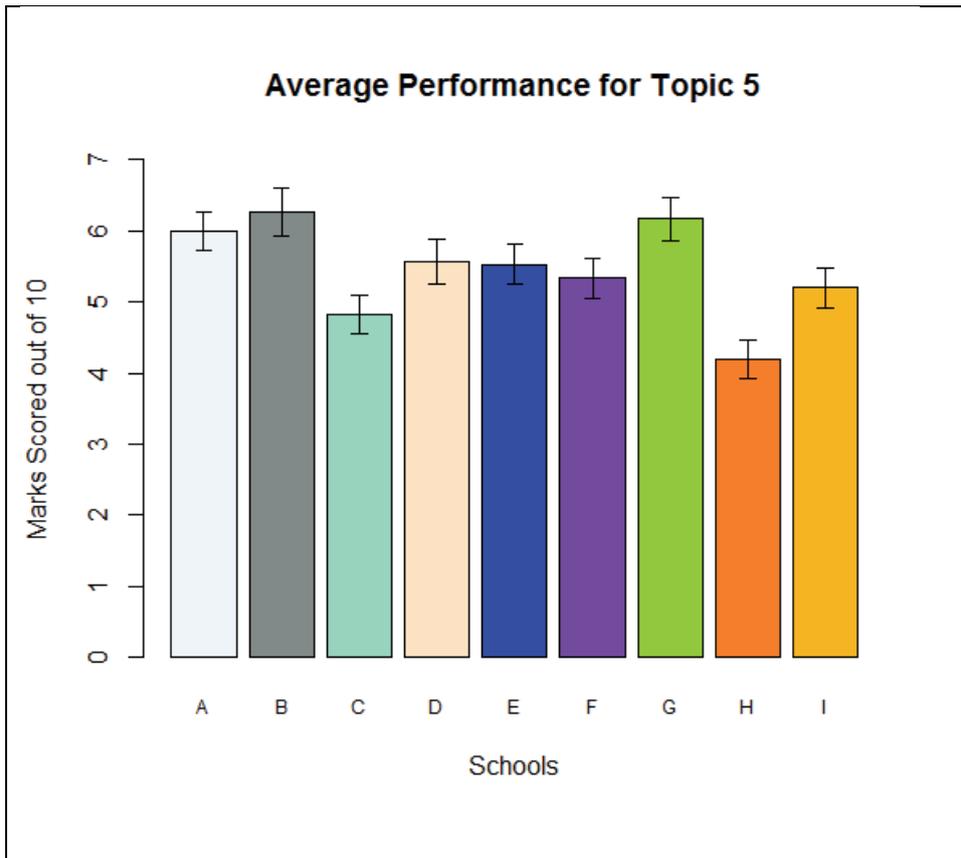


Figure 6.9: Mean score/performance of 30 students each in nine schools on Topic 5
 Note: Refer table in Appendix 5 for mean score, Standard Deviation and Standard Error

6.9.6 Topic 6: Citizen and Voting

A review of the scores under ‘Citizen and Voting’ reflects students’ understanding and interest in this area with mean scores between 5.80 and 7.33. This lowest mean score with 5.80 (SE: 0.25) comes from students in the private school H. School H has scored low marks in the other areas of the test as well. School B has the highest score in this topic with the mean score of 7.33 (See figure 6.10). Test on this topic sought to measure students’ understanding of the role of citizens particularly through exercising the voting rights during elections.

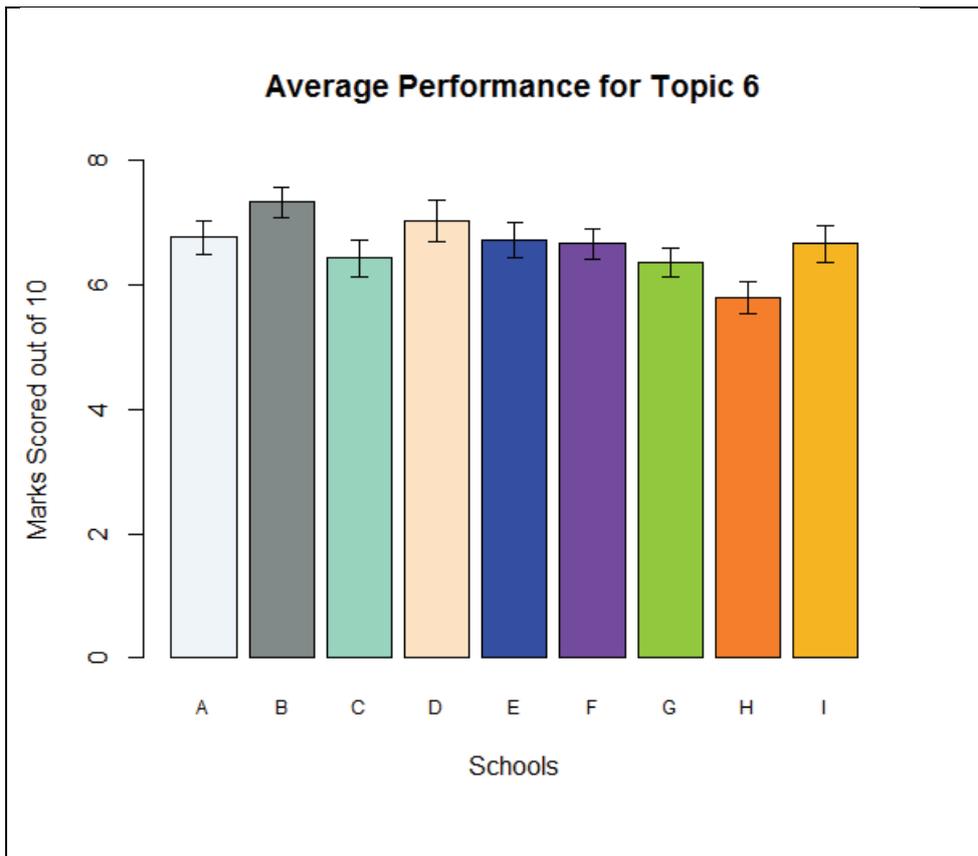


Figure 6.10: Mean score/performance of 30 students each in nine schools on Topic 6
 Note: Refer table in Appendix 6 for mean score, Standard Deviation and Standard Error

6.9.7 Topic 7: Election and Formation of Political Parties

Mean scores for the topic Elections and Formation of Political Parties range from 5.20 to 7.10. The two schools with lowest mean scores, School H with 5.20 (SE: 0.34) and School C with 5.66 (SE: 0.30) (See figure 6.11), are both private schools. School H is located in the city while School C is very near to the District Administration Head Office. These results suggest that the public/private divide has more of an impact on student achievement than the geographical location of the school.

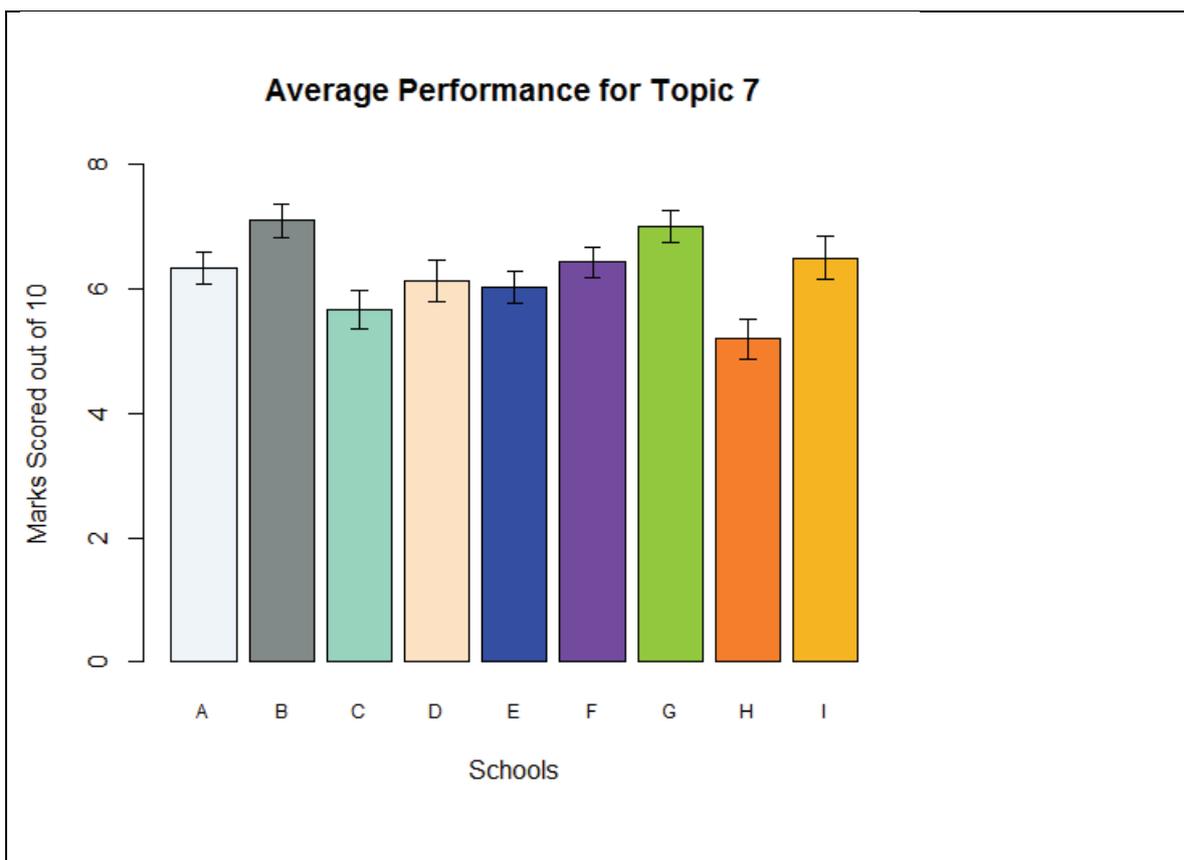


Figure 6.11: Mean score/performance of 30 students each in nine schools on Topic 7

Note: Refer table in Appendix 7 for mean score, Standard Deviation and Standard Error

6.9.8 Topic 8: Constitutional Bodies

Students are assessed on their understanding of the constitutional organisations vis-à-vis their roles as an overall mechanism to maintain inherent checks and balances in governance and the necessary conditions under which a typical constitutional body should function. The scores demonstrated a similar trend to other sections of the test addressed above. Briefly, schools B, G and A scored the highest and school C the lowest. School B, G and A have the mean score of 6.80 (SE: 0.25), 6.73 (SE: 0.24) and 6.50 (SE: 0.25) respectively.

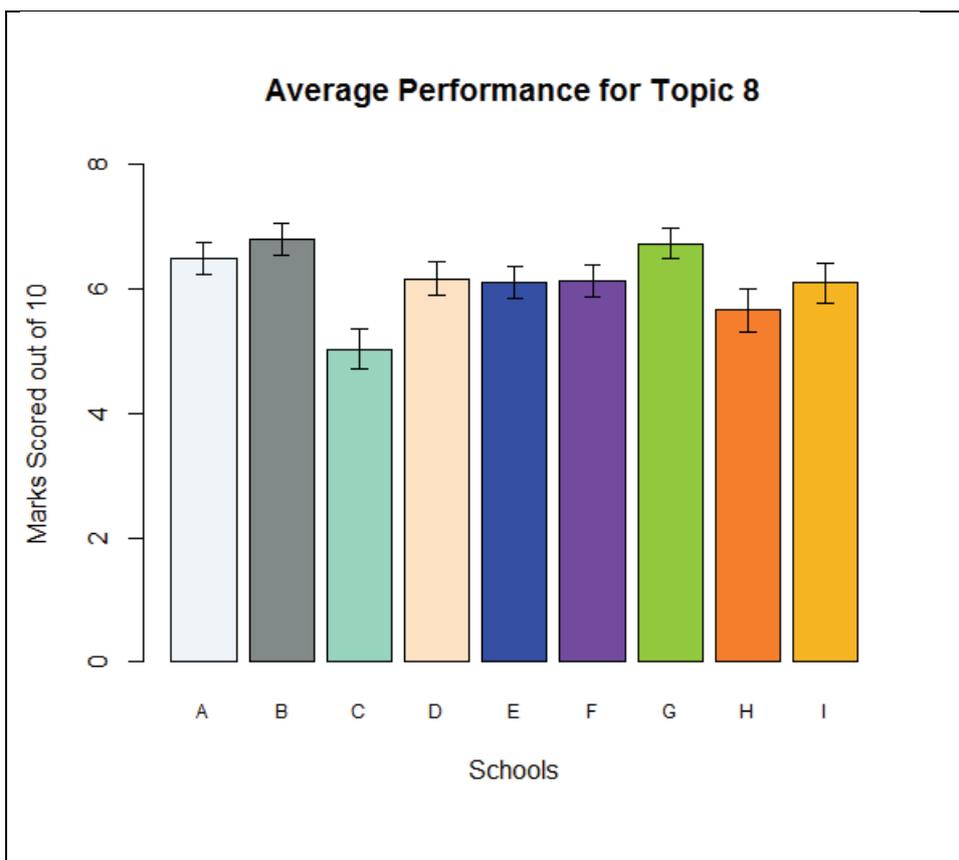


Figure 6.12: Mean score/performance of 30 students each in nine schools on Topic 8
 Note: Refer table in Appendix 8 for mean score, Standard Deviation and Standard Error

6.9.9 Topic 9: Gross National Happiness (GNH) and Good Governance

GNH is a term with which no Bhutanese person would be unfamiliar. It is a term widely used by all sections of the population. Different people use the term in different contexts and with varying connotations. But the fact of the matter is that GNH is based on certain specific beliefs and premises and a clear understanding of these is essential for a holistic understanding of GNH. GNH has defined pillars and fundamentals, which are then propounded into further variables and factors. A clear description of these for the reader who is not familiar with them can be found in Chapter 2.

When assessed on their understanding of the concept and principles of GNH, students from the majority of the schools only scored in the Second and Third Divisions. Students from School A were the only ones who scored in the First Division with a mean score of 6.56 (SE: 0.39). Students from all the private schools in this area have mean scores below 4.63. Amongst the private schools, it is again the same School H that had the lowest mean score of 3.16. Given the importance of GNH to Bhutan, this limited knowledge

demonstrated by students is of concern and this issue will be followed up in the discussions contained in subsequent chapters.

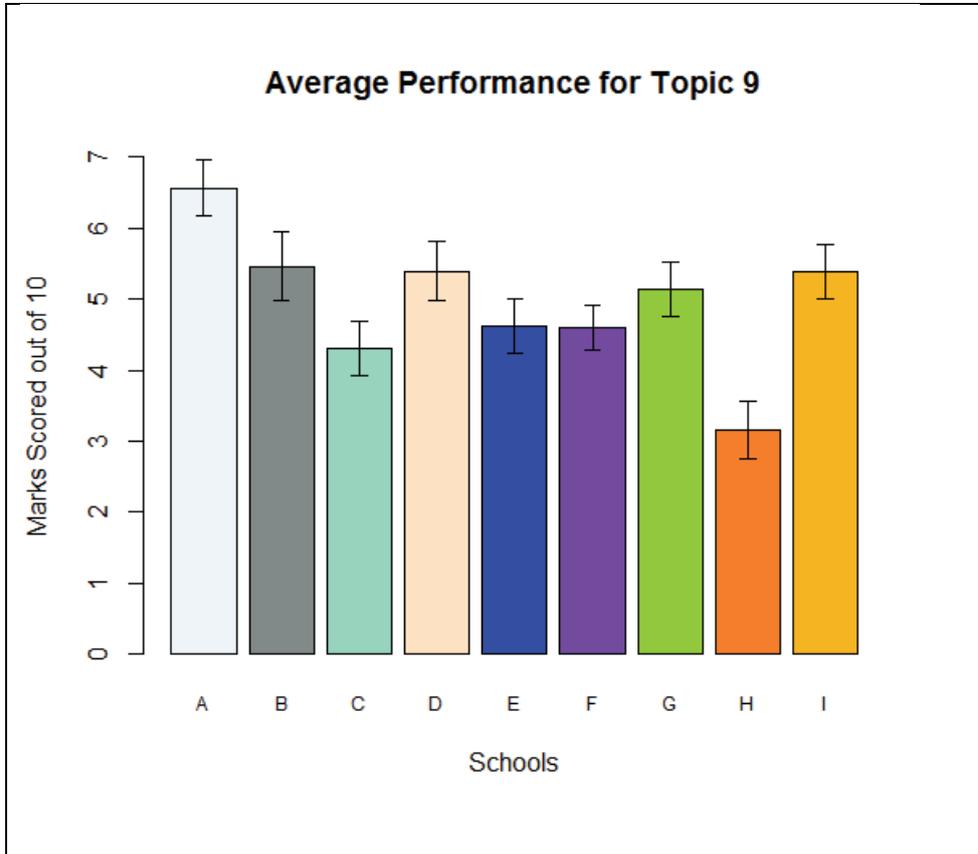


Figure 6.13: Mean score/performance of 30 students each in nine schools on Topic 9
Note: Refer table in Appendix 9 for mean score, Standard Deviation and Standard Error

6.9.10 Topic 10: Parliament

School A has the highest mean score of 7.06 (SE: 0.26) while school H has the lowest mean score with 5.63 (SE: 0.34). As has been previously identified, both schools are urban suggesting that the public/private divide has more of an impact on student achievement than the location of the school.

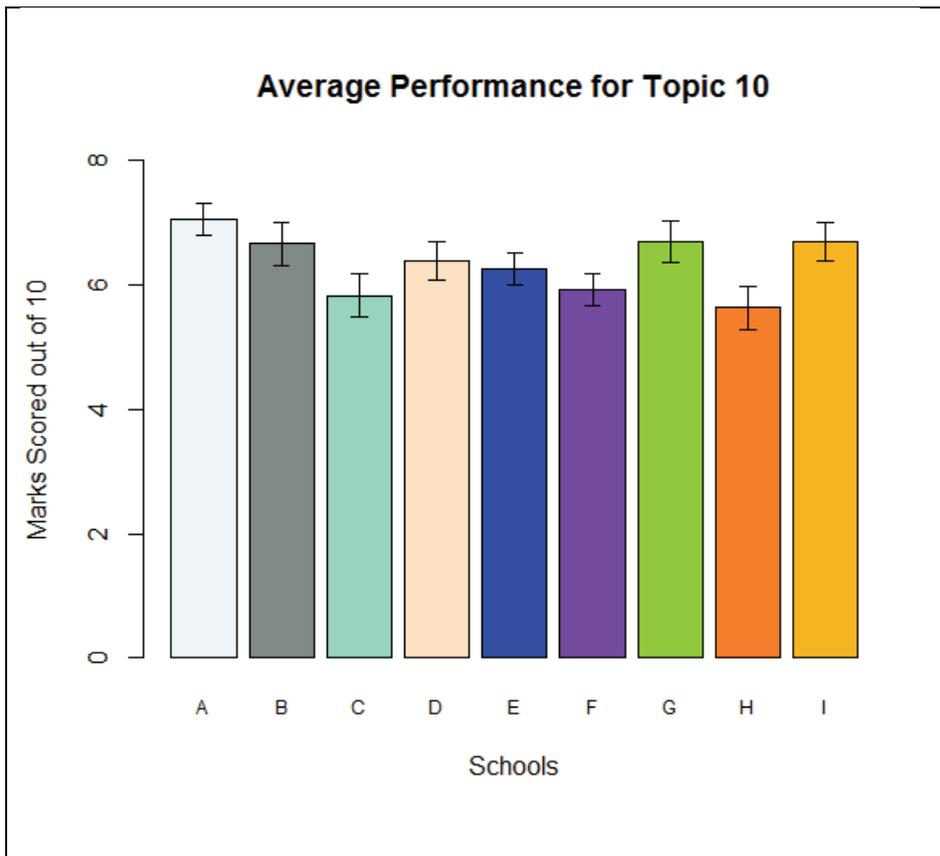


Figure 6.14: Mean score/performance of 30 students each in nine schools on Topic 10
 Note: Refer table in Appendix 10 for mean score, Standard Deviation and Standard Error

6.10 Comparison between independent groups of respondents

Comparative analysis of all ten topics between independent groups of schools was conducted to assess statistical differences between the means of two or more independent groups of respondents on a single dependent measure. In the case of this study, R (R Core Team, 2014) tests were conducted on the differences in scores of 10 topics by category of school (i.e., between public and private schools), by school location (i.e., between urban and semi-urban schools), by region (i.e., schools from East, Central and West), by streams (i.e., arts, commerce, science, and rigzhung), by gender (i.e., between boys and girls), and by status (i.e., boarding and day scholar).

Initial modeling (Appendix 11) indicated that ‘region’ and ‘location’ were not significant factors in the model. From the backwards selection procedure (Appendix 11 and 12), the optimal model contained only the covariates ‘topic’, ‘category’, ‘stream’, ‘gender’, ‘status’ plus the interaction terms between ‘topic’ and ‘gender’ and between ‘topic’ and ‘status’. The interaction terms ‘topic:gender’ and ‘topic:status’ indicated that the effect of ‘gender’ and ‘status’ on student scores was inconsistent across the 10 topics.

Although ‘gender’ and ‘status’ were not significant effects on their own in the analysis, they were retained in the final model owing to the significant interactions that they both had with ‘topic’.

6.10.1 Private vs. public

From the school category plot (Figure 6.15 and Figure 6.16), there appeared to be a strong effect of category on student score, with government schools having a higher mean score than private schools. From the summary output of the Generalized Linear Mixed Model (GLMM) analysis (Appendix 13), it was observed that school category had a strong effect on student scores, with private schools having significantly lower scores than students from public schools (z score = -6.846; $Pr>|z| = 7.61 \text{ e-}12$) (refer Appendix 13).

Table 6.10: Number of students under different marks band (school category)

Schools	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-100	Total
Private	0	0	0	6	35	37	12	0	0	0	90
Government	0	0	0	1	21	74	58	22	4	0	180
Total	0	0	0	7	56	111	70	22	4	0	270

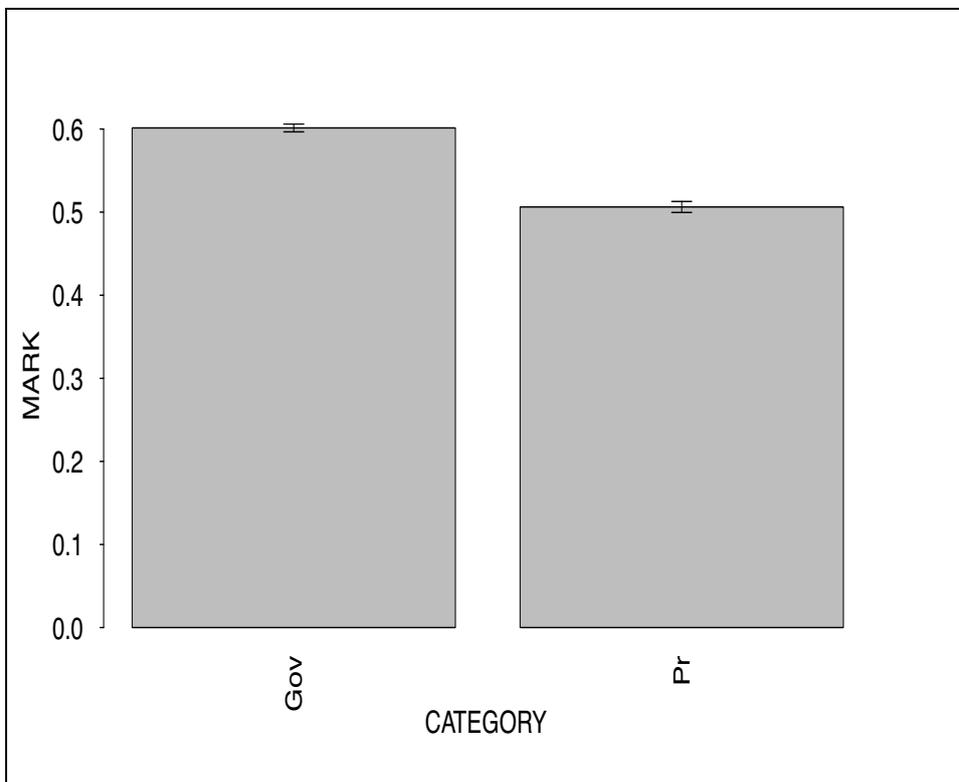


Figure 6.15: Government – Private performance

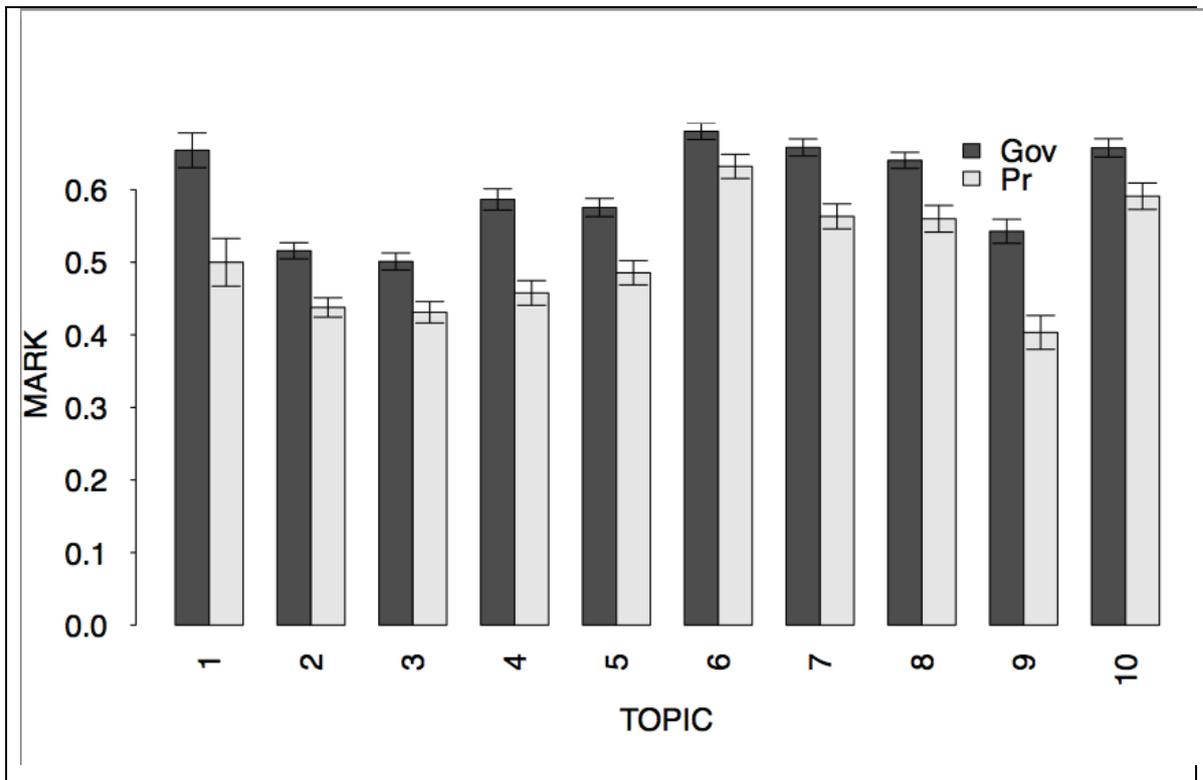


Figure 6.16: Government – Private performance in ten topics

6.10.2 Location-wise comparison (urban vis-à-vis semi-urban)

Students in urban schools appear to have performed slightly better in the test than students in semi-urban areas, as shown in Figure 6.17; however, this difference was not statistically significant ($z = 1.211$; $Pr > |z| = 0.226$) (refer Appendix 11). Students in schools in urban locations seem to have displayed more knowledge of democracy, parliament and government while schools in semi-urban areas have shown better performance in citizen and voting, election and formation of political parties, and GNH and good governance. The overall difference in performance is shown in Figure 6.17 and the breakdown by topic area is illustrated in Figure 6.18.

Table 6.11: Number of students under different marks band (location)

Schools	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-100	Total
Urban	0	0	0	5	27	57	45	15	1	0	150
Semi-urban	0	0	0	2	29	54	25	7	3	0	120
											270

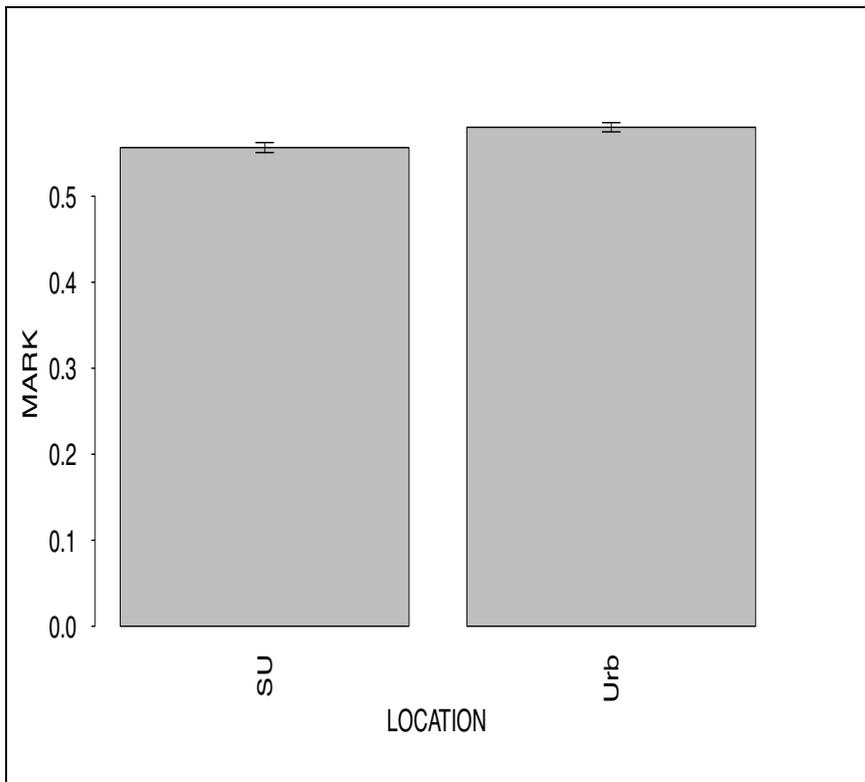


Figure 6.17: Overall urban and semi-urban performance

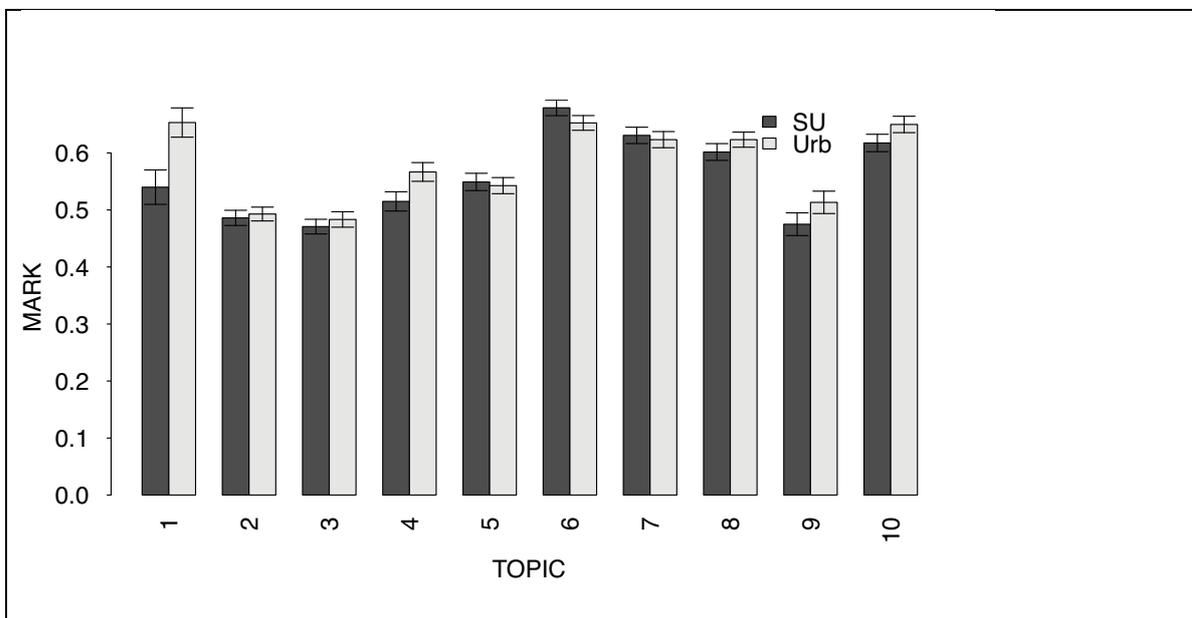


Figure 6.18: Comparison between urban and semi-urban in topic wise performance

6.10.3 Regional performance comparatives

From the exploratory data plot (Figure 6.19 and Figure 6.20), it can be observed that a trend existed between student score and school region with the mean performance of

students from the schools in the East higher than students from the West and the Central region. However, there was no significant statistical difference between the mean scores of schools in the Central region and schools in the Western region ($z = -1.060$; $Pr > |z| = 0.288$) (refer Appendix 11) and schools in the Central region and schools in the Eastern region ($z = 1.276$; $Pr > |z| = 0.202$) (refer Appendix 11). Moreover, when a likelihood ratio-test was conducted to determine whether ‘region’ should be included as a factor in the final model, it was found that the p-value indicated ‘region’ should be dropped from the model (Likelihood ratio test score = 2.417, $Pr(\text{Chi}) = 0.2986$).

Table 6.12: Number of students under different marks band (region)

Regions	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-100	Total
Eastern Region	0	0	0	2	17	25	31	12	3	0	90
Central Region	0	0	0	0	15	51	21	3	0	0	90
Western Region	0	0	0	5	24	35	18	7	1	0	90
	0	0	0	7	56	111	70	22	4	0	270

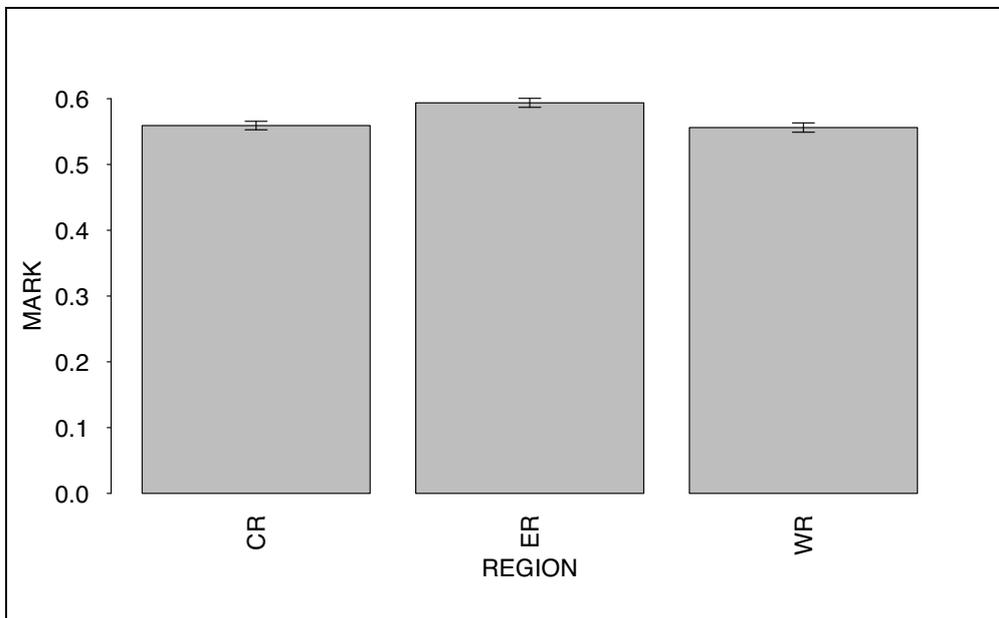


Figure 6.19: Overall regional performance

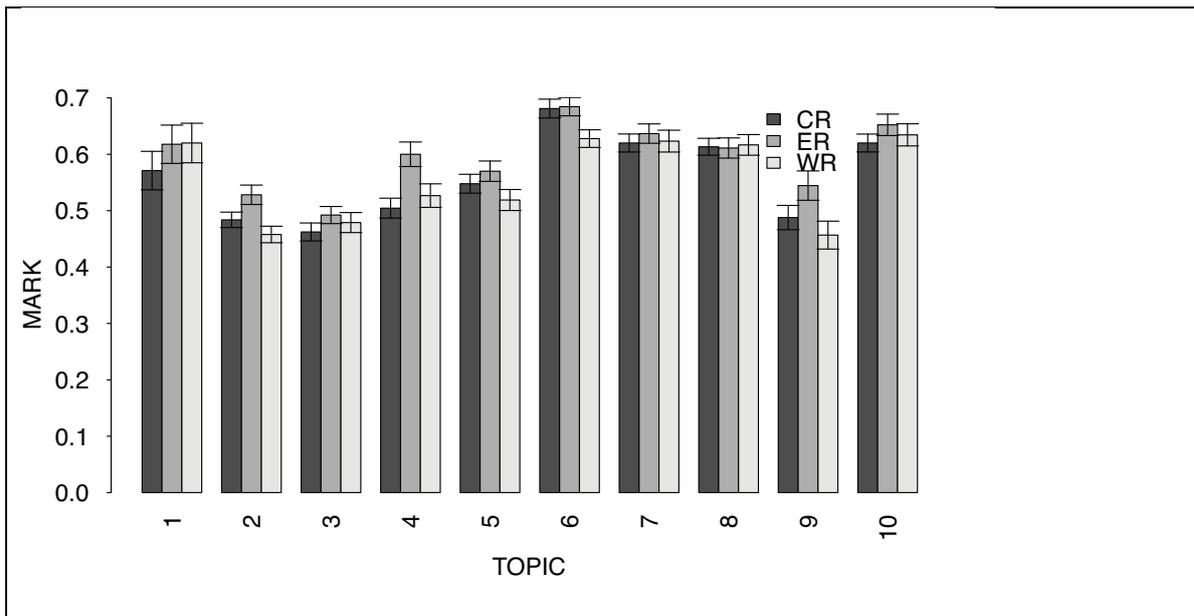


Figure 6.20: Comparison among three regions in topic wise performance

6.10.4 Stream-wise comparisons

Out of four different streams of studies, only students in arts continue to study civics in classes 11 and 12, whereas students in science, commerce and rigzhung do not do so.

There appeared to be a trend in student score according to stream, with commerce students appearing to have low overall grades compared to the other streams, and science students appearing to have higher scores compared to other streams (Figure 6.21). From the summary output of the GLMM analysis (Appendix 13) it was observed that there was a significant effect of stream on student scores, with students studying in the commerce and rigzhung streams having lower scores than students in the arts stream (commerce vs. Arts z score = -8.35; $Pr > |z| = <2e-16$; RIG vs. Arts z score = -4.149; $Pr > |z| = 3.34 e-05$), while students in the science stream had significantly better scores than the arts students (z score = 2.832; $Pr > |z| = 0.00463$). Science stream seems to have higher strength in topics such as Democracy, Government, Local government, Election and Formation of Political Parties and Constitutional Bodies (Figure 6.22).

Table 6.13: Number of students under different marks band (streams)

Streams	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-100	Total
Arts	0	0	0	2	11	27	21	7	1	0	69
Science	0	0	0	0	8	23	29	12	3	0	75
Commerce	0	0	0	5	30	44	15	2	0	0	96
Rigzhung	0	0	0	0	7	17	5	1	0	0	30
Total	0	0	0	7	56	111	70	22	4	0	270

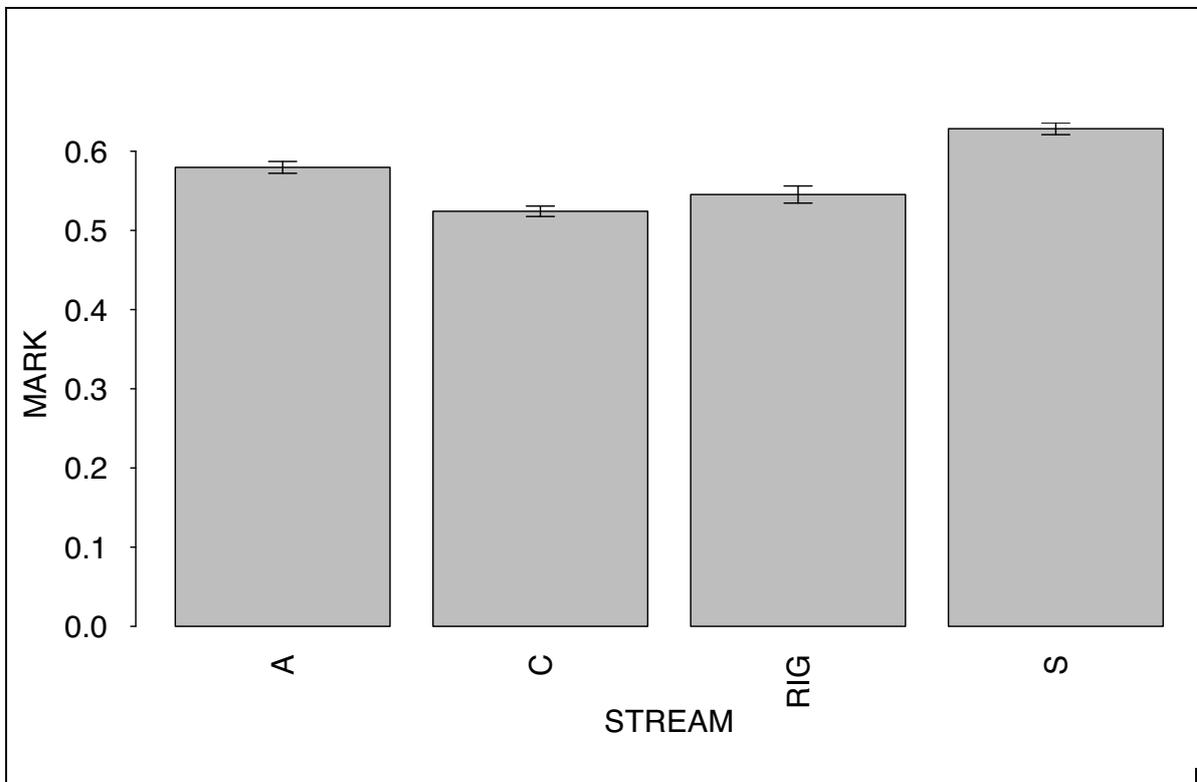


Figure 6.21: Stream comparison

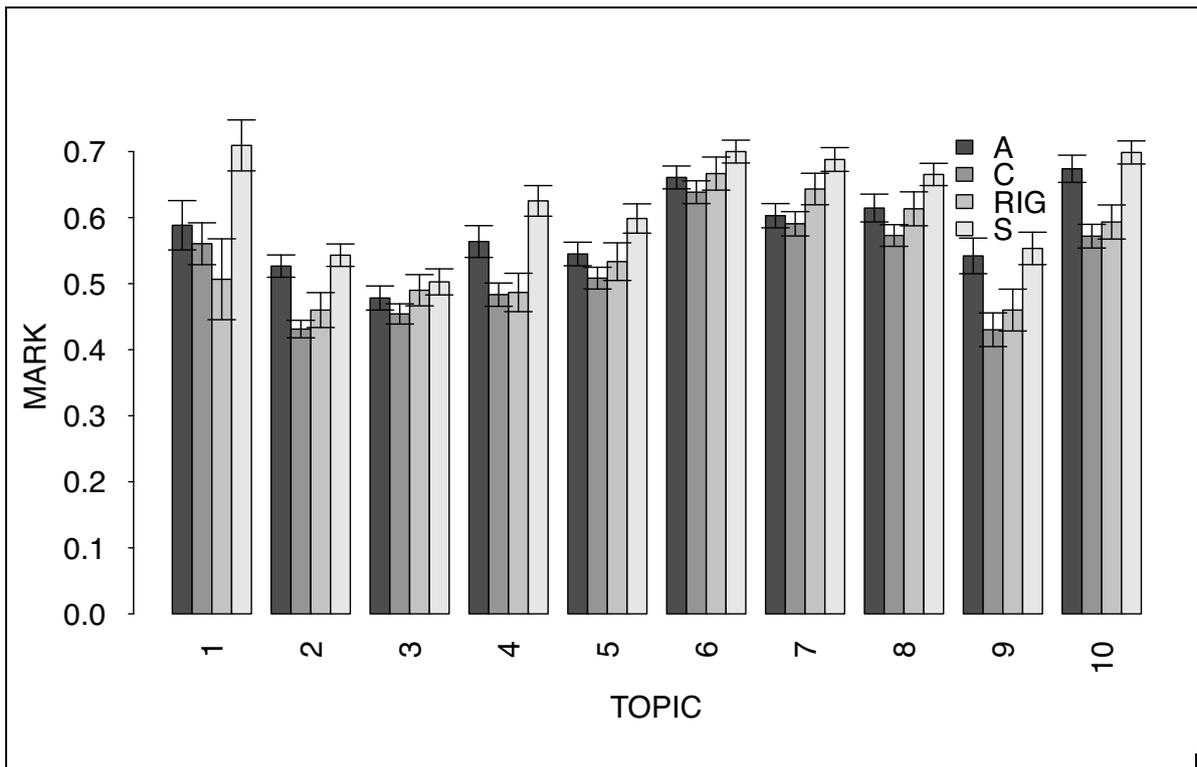


Figure 6.22: Comparison among different streams in topic wise performance

6.10.5 Gender-wise comparison

Comparative analysis of scores under each topic between boys and girls was carried out to see the difference in their performance. It was observed from the summary output of the GLMM analysis (Appendix 13) that there was no significant effect of gender on student scores (z score = 1.873; $Pr > |z| = 0.06104$) (Appendix 13). However, there was a strong significant interactive effect between gender and topic (z score = -2.852; $Pr > |z| = 0.00434$) (Appendix 13). From the post-hoc testing of the significant interaction term ‘topic: gender’, it was found that female students had significantly better scores for topic GNH and Good Governance (Topic 9) (Figure 6.24) (Bonferroni corrected P-value = 0.000267), whereas for the other topics there were no significant differences in mean scores between males and females (Appendix 14). Even from the exploratory data plots, there did not appear to be any strong influence of gender on student score type (Figure 6.23).

Table 6.14: Number of students under different marks band (gender)

Schools	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-100	Total
Boys	0	0	0	4	30	56	36	12	4	0	142
Girls	0	0	0	3	26	55	34	10	0	0	128
Total	0	0	0	7	56	111	70	22	4	0	270

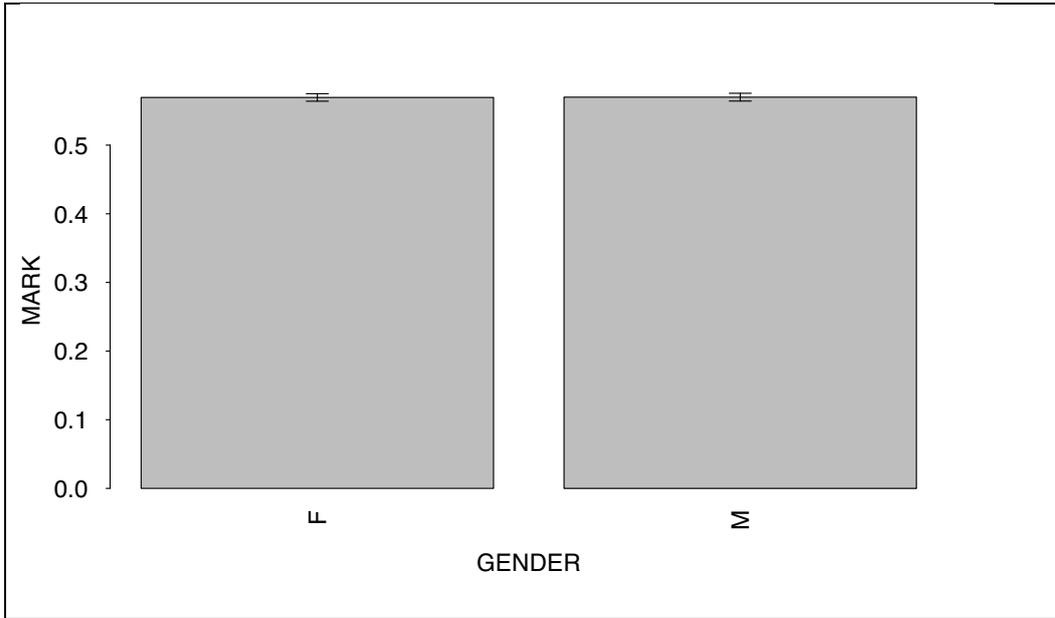


Figure 6.23: Gender overall performance

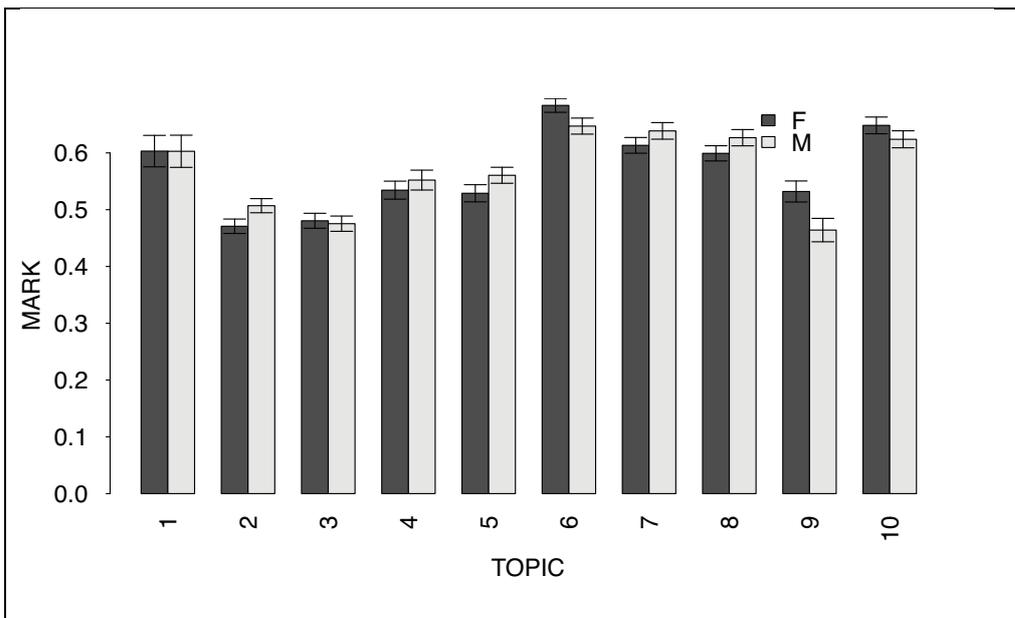


Figure 6.24: Gender comparison in topic wise performance

6.10.6 Status comparison (boarding vs. day scholar)

From the summary output of the GLMM analysis (Appendix 13), it was noted that there was no effect of status on score (Z score = - 0.509; $Pr > |z| = 0.61074$). From the post-hoc testing of the significant interaction term ‘topic:status’ interaction, it was found that boarding students had significantly higher scores than dayscholars students for topic Local Government (Topic 5) (Figure 6.25) (Bonferroni corrected p-value = 0.000401), whereas there were no significant differences in scores between B and D students for the other topics (Appendix 14).

Table 6.15: Number of students under different marks band (status)

Schools	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-100	Total
Boarding	0	0	0	2	35	77	49	13	4	0	180
Day scholar	0	0	0	5	21	34	21	9	0	0	90
Total	0	0	0	7	56	111	70	22	4	0	270

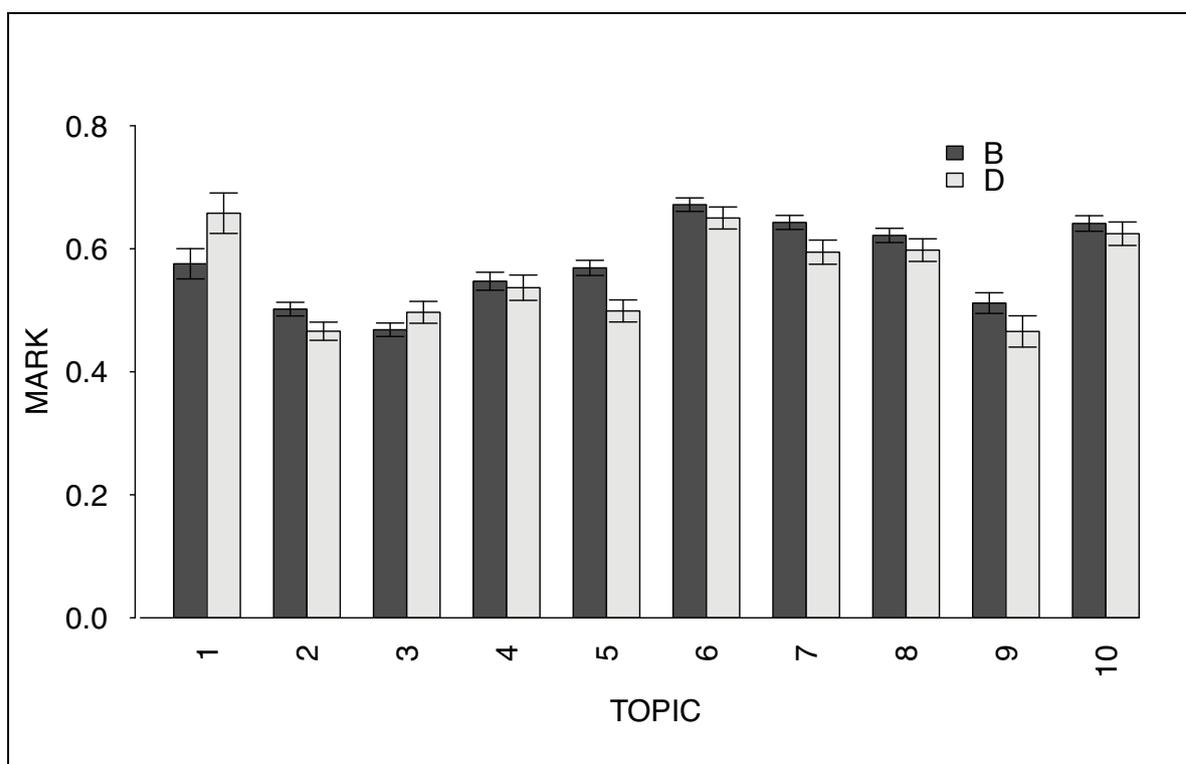


Figure 6.25: Status (day scholar and boarder) comparison in topic wise performance

6.11 Conclusion

In general, the modelling results show that the majority of the students who participated have scored in the second divisions and a very few achieved distinction level in civics. The gap between public and private schools was demonstrated consistently in the analyses. To some extent, the performance of different streams indicated that science students appeared to have higher scores than the other three streams, despite the fact that students in the science stream do not continue to study civics education in Classes 11 and 12. Only the students in the Arts stream continue their studies in civics through Classes 11 and 12. Looking at the performance by gender, although there is no difference in marks, there is difference in the topics of interest. For instance, boys have performed better in topics such as Constitution and Local Government while girls have performed better in GNH and Good Governance, and Citizens and Voting. It is interesting to note that marks scored by students of three regions suggest lack of significant variations in terms of overall student performance across the regions of the country, which reinforces the indication that variations are mainly amongst the performance between the government schools and the private schools. Out of the ten topics, students had the lowest achievement levels in Fundamental Rights and Duties, Constitution and GNH and Good Governance (Refer to Topics 3, 2, 9 respectively and appendix 16). The results demonstrated in this chapter were used to prompt discussion amongst the various stakeholders in Stage 2 of this study. Trends identified in this chapter will therefore be followed up in the subsequent analysis chapter(s) and finally woven into a discussion. Thus, the next chapter addresses the analysis of subsequent data collection.

Chapter 7:

Qualitative results: Stakeholders' experiences and perspectives

7.1 Overview

As stated in Chapter 5 regarding the research methods deployed for this thesis, this chapter dwells on the qualitative method used for the research. This method entailed conduct of semi-structured focus group interviews with students and semi-structured interviews with teachers, civics curriculum writers, civics curriculum officer, and other stakeholders representing constitutional organisations. Semi-structured interviews with prominent stakeholders were conducted as the civics curriculum, manifested in the form of civics textbooks in schools, have immense educational content about their respective offices of constitutional bodies.

Verbatim records were produced from the audio interview records. Upon careful listening and understanding of the words, phrases and intentions from the verbatim records, themes were drawn, analysed and reported using codes from Chapter 5 (Table 5.4, 5.6 and 5.8) in this chapter hereunder.

7.2 Focus group interviews with students

Interviews were conducted with 54 high school students from nine schools, involving six students from each school (Refer Chapter 1). These students who would soon become adults were interviewed to find how civics education was taking place in their schools. Analysis of the interview records with students mainly covered three concerns:

- Their perceptions on the relevance of Bhutan Civics content;
- Bhutanese values learnt through civics; and,

- Students' experience of learning civics-related knowledge other than through classroom learning.

Themes were drawn based on the above three bases and any other pertinent issues indicated subtly or inferred from the interview. This is necessary as qualitative content analysis can have emergent flexibility. Themes and issues are explained in the form of flowcharts (Figure 1-27) below.

7.2.1 Misplaced understanding of importance of civics education

Majority of students had viewed civics as a study of political structure of a country and therefore meant for only those who aspire to become politicians in future. Their such misplaced understanding of civics education was reinforced with lesser time and resources allocated for it in schools. Factors that contribute towards undermining the importance of civics subject are shown below in figure 7.1.

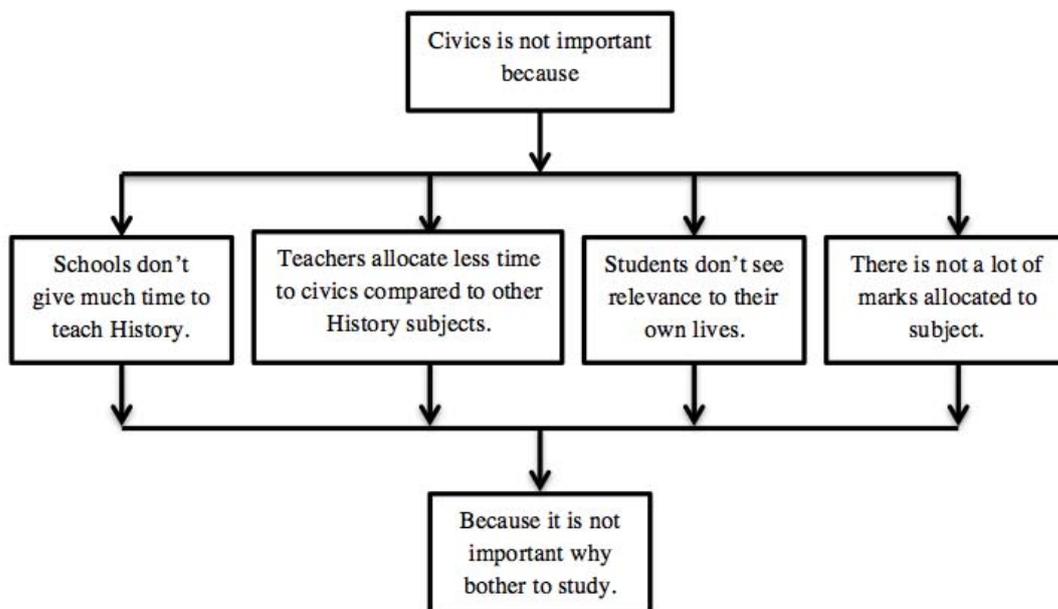


Figure 7.1: Incidental factors that undermine the importance of civics subject

Interviews with students seem to reveal that not many students think that the civics subject is important. They are of the opinion that because the government (Ministry of Education) has allotted just 15-20% of the total history marks to civics content, the topic is not important. With just three periods in a week for the history subject (which comprises civics, Bhutan history, Indian history and world history) teachers somehow manage to divide these three periods among the four sub-history subjects. Students

explained that, considering the limited time at the teachers' disposal, they simply touch on the chapters and rush through without going into content in any depth. Students perceive that teachers tend to neglect civics since they have to focus on Bhutan history, world history and Indian history all of which have more marks available in the examination. A student from School B said: 'Because more weighting is given to Bhutan history, world and Indian history, students tend to focus more on them resulting into neglecting civics' (B, 2, FG). A student from school G said: 'We have a notion that HCG (history, civics and geography) is considered to be a minor subject, and then from them, civics was again minor' (G, 4, FG).

Rightly or wrongly, civics education has been viewed as a subject meant for politicians and thus something that is not very relevant for others. Contributing to this viewpoint is the fact that civics textbooks, more often than not, generally contain chapters on democracy and its forms, government and types of governments. However, some students express that civics should be more than a study of democracy, politics and institutions of offices. They feel that the teaching-learning methods and materials for civics should accordingly extend beyond the mundane textbook-oriented classroom teaching-learning methods. This concern is echoed when a student in school B said, 'There should be talks on civics (probably to let students understand what civics is all about) as most students think that civics is only about politics, many students do not aspire to become politicians and therefore do not pay much importance to civics subject' (B, 2, FG).

Again, it is not fair to blame just the students for not paying adequate attention to subjects like civics because teachers too do not get enough time to impart the content to students as they have just three periods a week and within those three periods, they have to manage three history subjects (Bhutan, Indian and world) in addition to civics. One student from school G mentioned, 'We had a notion that History Civics Geography (HCG) is considered a minor subject, among them civics is again a minor, so I was not interested' (G, 4, FG).

Since they participated in a group interview, students learned from each other during the course of the interview. For instance, one student at the beginning of the interview clearly expressed an opinion that civics was a subject more for politics and was about government forms and structures. Towards the close of the interview this student

indicated that civics had broader scope than this. One student in School C commented that if all of us understood civics properly, it would build an inherent checks and balances mechanism in the government system. Such an understanding of the civics subject by the citizens would contribute towards controlling corruption in the country. A better appreciation of what and how the government functions may contribute towards a reduction in untoward behaviour and action by civil servants.

7.2.2 Innovate civics teaching-learning practices

Students find the terminologies used in the textbooks very unfriendly to understand and comprehend by themselves. This is further coupled with scanty teaching time available to the teachers, as reflected in the following figure 7.2.

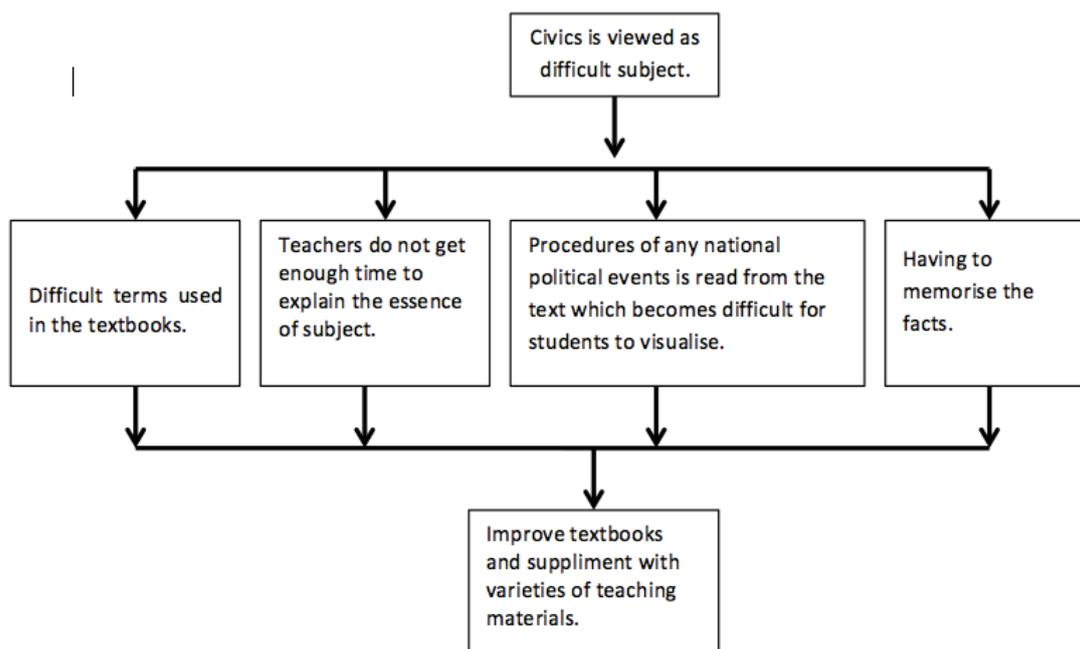


Figure 7.2: Civics as difficult subject due to constricted teachings

Many students expressed the need to simplify the language used in the textbooks. A student from school B says that words used in the textbooks are ‘high standard’ (B, 2, FG) and student from school E states that the words or terms used in textbooks are ‘bombastic’ (E, 2, FG). Legal and constitutional terminologies would need to be followed by equivalent terms in Dzongkha within brackets for teachers to explain to the students. One student in School H remarked, ‘When we look at the book, it’s good but there are many hard words which are difficult to understand’ (H, 2, FG).

Inadequate time spent in teaching civics in detail contributes to students' perceptions that civics is a difficult subject because students feel that teachers do not have enough time for in-depth teaching. Teachers are mandated to cover the syllabus and they have to complete the required chapters in the given time frames. Therefore, teachers are forced to race through content. In the process, students have little time to develop their understanding and hence find the subject difficult to learn and study. One student in School D said, 'we don't understand anything as teachers can just touch on what is there in the text and do not get time to go beyond to get more information' (D, 3, FG).

Students feel that their classroom teaching from the civics textbooks should be supplemented by real physical visits and learning. For example, after the teacher teaches the processes and procedures of parliamentary affairs, students tend to simply memorise these step-wise procedures by heart without actually grasping how they are conducted practically in the Parliament. Therefore, students say that they should ideally visit Parliament or local government sessions so that they could mentally connect their experience from such visits to the textbook information. One student in School I said, 'In our civics books they have all the procedures, procedures for the National Assembly, what happens, ... I wish we could all get opportunities to go to the Assembly and really see how it goes, the processes' (I, 2, FG). Another student from School E said, 'we want to see how gups (Block Headmen: Block is made up of several villages) function and how court functions' (E, 4, FG).

7.2.3 Call for living civics textbooks/content

Students opine that the civics textbooks have been there for too long. With already the second parliamentary election experienced by the nation, the present civics textbooks do merit revision with updated information and the state of dawning reality. Some of the critical observations shared by the students are shown in the figure 7.3 as under:

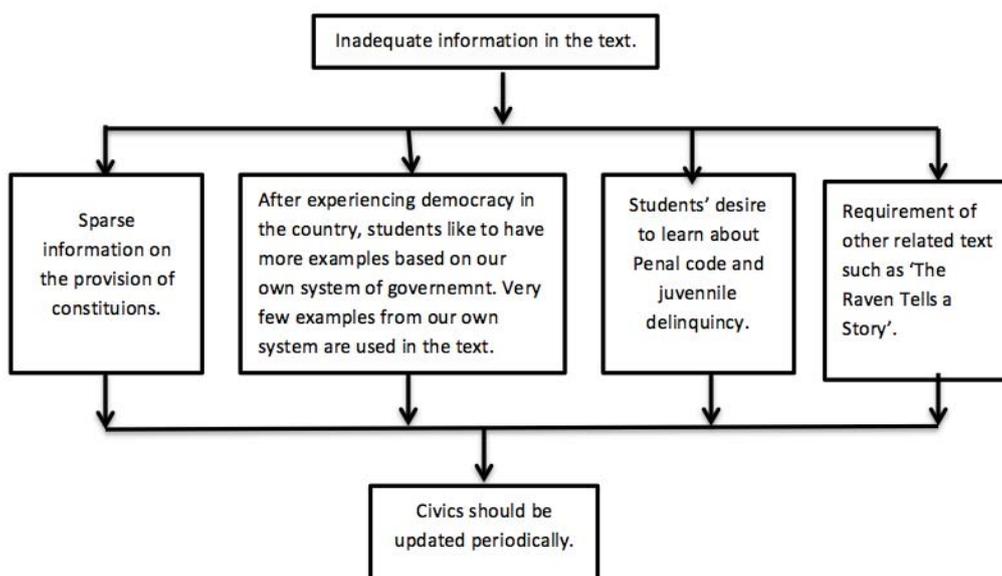


Figure 7.3: Additional learning materials beyond the thoughts of first civics writers

Students talked about the inadequacies of information in the textbooks. Simply learning from the textbooks does not enable the students to properly understand the meaning and procedure of certain political events that take place in formal settings. As a result, many students have opted to join the Democracy Club in their respective schools. A student in School A said: ‘In civics we just focus on what is given in text but in democracy club we focus broadly on the norms and rules. We not only stick to the written statement but also relate to the day-to-day life. In club, we have combination of practical and theory part, so we learn more (A, 6, FG).

Students feel that civics textbooks do not have the details of the issues discussed in any particular chapter. For instance, students feel that the chapter on the Constitution should have information on more Articles and Clauses. Likewise, the chapter on the government could have additional details like names of government ministries, their roles and responsibilities and the generally expected qualifications and experience of those who could become ministers. They feel the content in the textbooks is very general. This means they have to supplement textbooks by reading newspaper and other materials. A student in School D said: ‘Text just touches the surface, it’s general but what actually happens and how it functions and all, but in real situation how it works, we get to know

from media. Text isn't enough to make us understand better, how it actually prevails' (D, 3, FG).

Students also feel that the civics textbooks are getting outdated and there is a need for revision at the earliest. The present textbooks were written prior to 2008 when the country had just introduced parliamentary democracy. Now that the country is already into its second elected government, there are adequate experiences and examples to incorporate into the civics textbooks. To quote one student from School C: 'It's high time that we update our text as now we have experienced democracy ourselves and can actually come up with examples based on our own system of government' (C, 1, FG). Therefore, one common voice that came out loudly from this interview is the need for civics textbooks to be updated at least every five years.

Further, students wished to see chapters on other laws such as the penal code provisions that are most relevant to the youth for juvenile delinquency issues. The alternative was for teachers to use supplementary classroom teaching-learning materials to cover this content. A student in school I suggested 'if the teachers could bring in books like *The Raven Tells a Story*' (I, 1, FG) this could be very useful study material for students. Overall students were clear about the need to make civics textbooks as comprehensive as possible with relevant new chapters and the need to update the textbooks at least every five years.

7.2.4 Unattractive civics textbooks: A deterrent factor

It is learnt from the students that the present textbooks are not attractive enough to generate, and even retain, interest and enthusiasm to read and learn continuously. Students point to host of attributes of the textbooks that actually deter them from reading, some of which are captured in the figure 7.4 below.

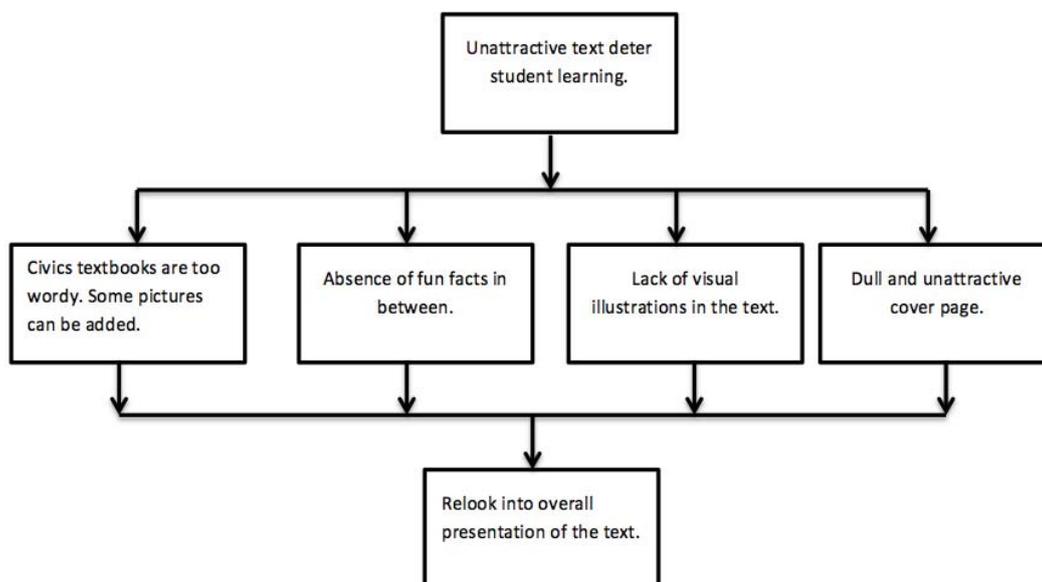


Figure 7.4: Elements of textbooks that put away students from reading

Students explained that the textbooks are very wordy and have minimum or no attractions, whatsoever, to draw students' interest to read and learn from. The present textbooks are printed in black and white, which reduces students' enthusiasm to read them. They say that the writers and others who were involved in preparing the publication have overlooked the reality that the students who would be reading these textbooks are still young people. Youth are more attracted towards colours and pictures. There should be pictures and visual illustrations at regular intervals in those pages of the textbooks.

Lengthy paragraphs should be punctuated by appropriate flowcharts, cartoons and drawings to retain students' interest to continue reading into subsequent pages. Some ad hoc fun facts, if randomly inserted between relevant paragraphs or topics, would be more useful to enliven students' interest to learn more from the textbooks.

Students said that the cover pages of the textbooks are very dull and unattractive and this does not encourage them to read into the pages inside. Therefore, they recommend that professionals should be invited to design a cover page, which should create that drive of 'I want to study' the textbook (G, 3, FG).

7.2.5 Students' interest dependent on teachers' subject proficiency

Students were emboldened to admit that the problem with studying civics subject was not just the unattractive textbooks but the teacher as well. Effective teaching by highly

subject-proficient teacher would enhance students' interest in the subject. The following figure 7.5 shows some of the general expectations of students from civics teachers.

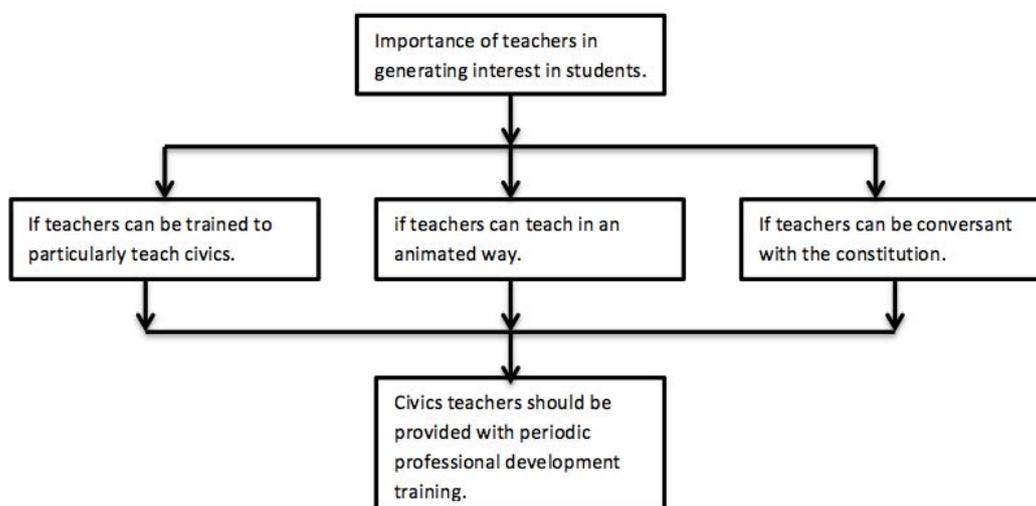


Figure 7.5: Generally expected traits of a civics teacher

Three overriding findings that came out from the interview with students are ‘civics is a difficult subject’, ‘it’s not important subject’ for them, resulting in a ‘lack of interest’ to study civics. While the first point, that civics is difficult subject, could be true for various reasons, the second point focuses on students not understanding the relevance of civics to their lives, which then leads to the knock-on effect on students losing interest in the subject. Many students felt that the way they were taught civics contributed in their development of these perceptions. Teachers do matter in generating students’ interest in a topic.

One student from School B, when asked why they were not interested in learning civics, said: ‘For me it depends on teachers that teach us any subject’ (B, 4, FG). It is clearly important that teachers should make their teaching of civics interesting to the students. Many students suggested this would be helped if they had a teacher who was trained as civics teacher. A civics teacher should be someone who is experienced and has a thorough knowledge of the Constitution and other legislation, government policies, rules and regulations. Students do not wish to be taught civics by any general history teacher. One student from School G, apparently a science student, when asked if we could separate civics from history, said, ‘As I’m a science student we have two teachers for

chemistry, one physical chemistry and one organic chemistry and they supplement each other' (G, 2, FG).

On the whole, students want to be taught by a civics teacher who can inspire them and retain their interest in the subject. They want civics teachers to teach in a more animated way rather than making students memorise the facts from the textbooks. Civics teaching should make use of video clips, visual displays, media clips and newspaper cuttings in the classroom to make the teaching interesting and lively. Civics lessons should involve as many practical exercises as for any science lessons. Therefore, civics teachers should be provided with periodic professional development training to keep themselves abreast of emerging legislative developments.

7.2.6 Demand for a variety of teaching-learning experience

Teaching of civics subject should not just restrict to learning from the textbooks chapters. Students feel that their classroom learning based on textbooks should be supplemented with various other means of learning, as contained in the figure 7.6 below.

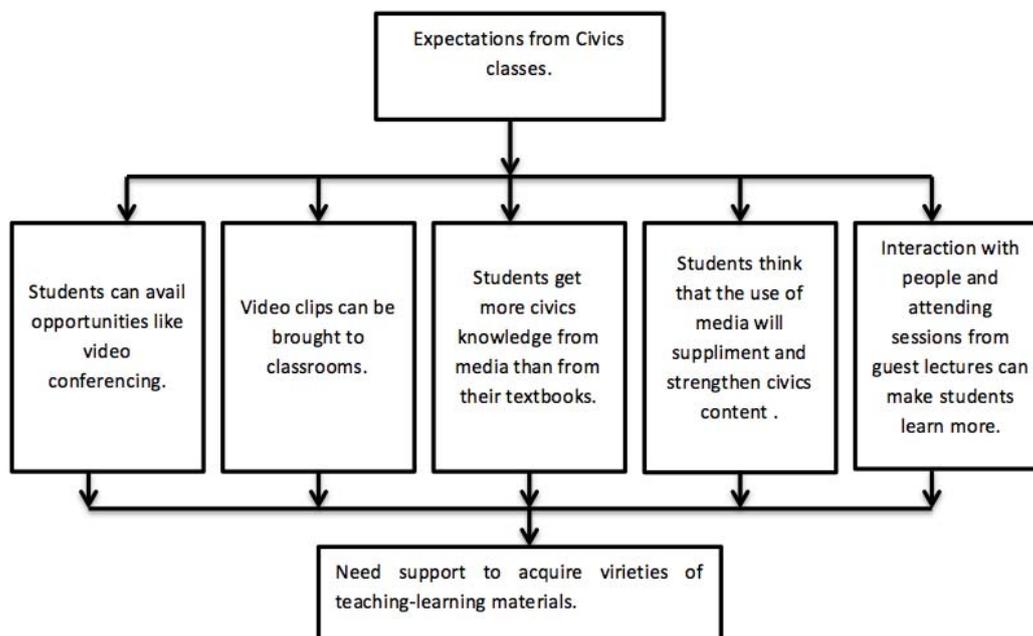


Figure 7.6: Numerous teaching-learning modes outside of mundane textbooks teaching

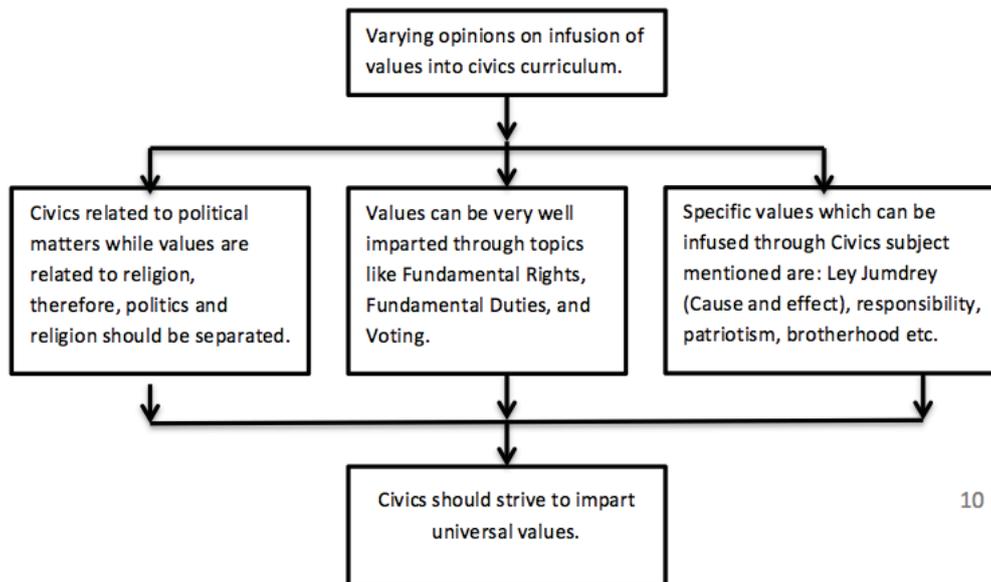
In discussing the content of textbooks and the importance and role of teachers, students also expressed how they wanted their civics classes to be conducted. Students argued that they would like to have hands-on experience, such as interacting with people

who are involved in elections and local government and watching parliamentary sessions to supplement their learning. One student from school B said, ‘my illiterate father seems to know more than me during the time of election’ (B, 5, FG).

In Bhutan, an election activity in districts is generally preceded by numerous awareness and advocacy campaign by the Election Commission on the rationale and importance of the election, the roles of the public as voters and the rules and regulations of candidates contesting in the election. Therefore, students expressed that they would learn more and retain the information in their minds if they learned from videos and TV clips, listened to guest lecturers, visited local government meetings and witnessed parliamentary sessions live either on TV or by physically visiting the Parliament House during the parliament session. Such additional knowledge obtained through various modes would reinforce their knowledge obtained from the textbooks. Many students are familiar with group presentation but they would certainly like to try different ways of learning civics. In addition to what they said about the teacher being the catalyst to impart any subject, pedagogy that they use both in and outside the classes would also matter for effective teaching and learning. If the civics classes were to be stimulating and thought-provoking to the students so that they become more enthusiastic to read civics, they would want to learn civics through multiple teaching methods using different teaching materials. The students would wish to supplement mundane lecturing method with video and media clips. They would want to collect additional information from newspaper cuttings and similar external sources. As a solution to the inadequate facts and materials available from the textbooks, students expressed that the teacher’s routine teachings in classes should be complemented with talks from guest lecturers on various themes and chapters from the textbooks.

7.2.7 Diverse views on values education through civics lessons

A gamut of views was gathered from the students if civics subject could impart value education, as depicted in the figure 7.7 below.



10

Figure 7.7: Mixed views on civics subject for values education.

The interview with students provoked a lot of discussions on values education and students questioned the role of imparting values issues into civics education. Some students vehemently believed that civics lessons are all about politics and it would not be proper to mix politics with values. This group of students opined that values have commonality with religion while civics has no reference or connection to religion. Thus, religion and politics are two different concepts or phenomenon. Therefore, the concept of values cannot be mixed with the civics education.

In contrast, some students stated that civics lessons should entail learning of the fundamental rights and duties of citizens. Studying the fundamental rights and duties of a citizen requires an examination of underpinning values and such connected concepts. One student from School B said that values could be infused through the topic Fundamental Duties and Fundamental Rights. Some students connected learning civics to some universal concepts of ‘cause and effect’, which is described as *Ley Jumdrey* in the Bhutanese perspective. To quote another student in School B on *Ley Jumdrey*: ‘What goes around comes around. In case of voting, if we take good decision then we will be blessed with good things’ (B, 6, FG). To extrapolate the intention of this student, a voter should take a free and fair decision while deciding to cast his or her vote in favour of a particular candidate or political party and not be influenced and swayed by other conflicting reasons of personal interest. There are stories from around the world of elections being rigged or voters being bought for some financial gains in return for their

ballots in favour of one particular candidate or political party. If our government or people's representatives are elected through such morally unhealthy means, then the outcomes of such a government, be it policy-making or legislation, development plans or economic activities, would tend to gear towards benefiting only those particular voters or political party supporters or sections of the society at the expense of ignoring the national concerns of general citizens. Such a practice would breed inequity, unfairness and lack of justice in the society.

From this perspective, if civics lessons have connection to voting and elections and therefore to politics, then taking into consideration concepts of 'cause and effect' (or *Ley Jumdrey*), one may conclude that civics lessons through study of politics (election) does relate to values education. Similarly, civics education would cover issues such as a sense of social responsibilities, patriotism or brotherhood, which are fundamentally universal concepts of love, due consideration for others and ultimately human values. Therefore, civics education should not consist only of parrot-learning the legal provisions of the Constitution but should encourage discussion of such universal human values.

7.2.8 Civics: A lifelong subject

It is a heartening observation to discover students' appreciation on the importance of civics subject as a matter of lifelong learning text. Many students unfortunately conceive civics subject only to pass the examination and further miscomprehend civics knowledge as simply constricted to the textbooks. These concerns are expressed in the figure 7.8 below.

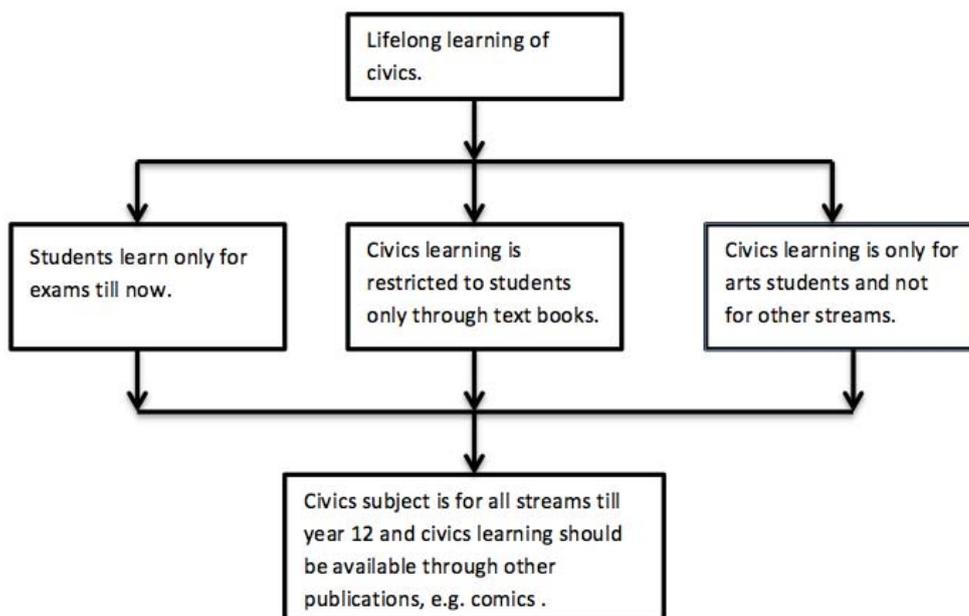


Figure 7.8: Civics as universal and timeless subject

Some of the science and commerce students identified that they were not able to study civics after class 10 as civics remains as a subject only for arts students after class 10. One student from School D commented with concern on ‘How to keep in touch with civics especially those who took science and commerce’ (D, 2, FG). One of the students from School B, apparently a science student, admitted with shame that he would not even know the pillars of GNH as he had studied civics only for examination (B, 5, FG). One commerce student from School G shared his idea that if some components of civics could be added to subjects such as economics, this would enable students in commerce to continue their civics education (G, 5, FG). Alternatively, a student from School H proposed that: ‘for science and commerce students, at least one period is given to study civics in a week’ (H, 5, FG).

Similar concern was also expressed by rigzhung students that they too ‘need to study civics as Bhutanese’ (F, 2, FG). To encompass the need for continuation of civics learning till Class 12, ‘the study of civics be continued to Classes 11 and 12 as a separate subject, so that students do not lose contact with civics’ was proposed by one student from School B (B, 4, FG).

Students shared their appreciation on the importance of civics education that ideally it should be learned for life as citizens. Learning civics should not only be construed as a

preparation to join a political party. Rather civics contributed to an understanding of one's role as a citizen and contributing to a spirit of brotherhood. One student from School B said, 'Learning civics for me, it makes me to be a good citizen, it rekindles a sense of patriotism and a sense of nationalism' (B, 2, FG).

Students also shared their perception that civics education would promote a checks and balances mechanism in the governance system. A country with impeccable governance structure coupled with high standards in citizens' civics knowledge would have a strong oversight mechanism. This is attributable to two factors:

First, the level of civics knowledge of the citizens would determine the overall standard of morality, integrity and honesty in the society. The higher the morality, integrity and honesty of the citizens, the more efficient the country's overall checks and balances system is likely to be.

Second, when the society as a whole has a high level of civics education, the leadership at the helm of the government will, most often, be cautious and wary of unnecessary and unpleasant interference and interventions by the citizen groups. Student from school D said: 'There should be more information in civics. If we know what government is doing then people will think they must help the government' (D, 6, FG). Another student from school G said that having civics knowledge ensures transparency and accountability (G, 1, FG) in the system.

Therefore, advocacy and awareness campaign to promote civics education for life for all the citizens will not only support the students of science and commerce streams to continue their civics learning programmes but also promote the country's overall level of governance.

7.2.9 Need for a common definition of civics education

Students, as espoused in figure 7.9 below, expressed understanding of civics in various forms and levels.

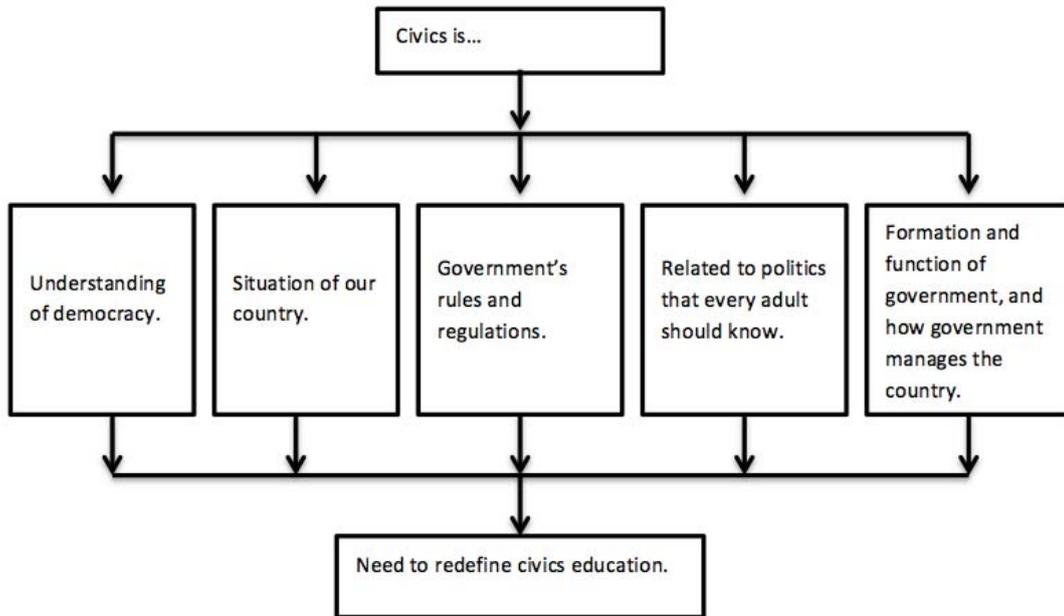


Figure 7.9: Civics expressed in different forms and levels

When the students were interviewed on their understanding of civics education, one common view emerged that civics education is all about laws, rules and regulations and the government. One student from school E defines civics education as government's rules and regulations' (E, 1, FG). While one student from School F said: 'Civics is understanding of democracy, e.g., how to cast votes, roles and responsibilities of NA and NC, and discussion in the parliament. And also roles and responsibilities of citizen' (F, 2, FG). From such definitions of civics as understood by students, one can deduce that students simply connect civics to the study of how government is formed and the system of election, and roles of the Parliament. Sadly, only few students appeared to comprehend civics as the study of why government is required and what they are really for. Some students would confidently remark that civics is a study of politics and therefore meant for adults, and not for them.

However, there are some students who think of civics as study 'which refers to knowledge about "*Tsawa Sum*" (King, country and people)' (E, 4, FG). But again, they miss the point of why there should be a king, or rather a leader for the country and people. Furthermore, students have not started to think about the King who is a head of the state as opposed to the Prime Minister who is the head of the government and who is elected as one of the people's representatives. As described earlier, students do not seem to think that civics encompasses a broader aspect of study beyond the practical

circumstances of election, voting, and formation of government, and other facts and figures.

Nonetheless, there are a few students who would think of civics as the study of the nation and concepts of nationalism, patriotism and brotherhood amongst the citizens. Some students would also express, albeit with some degree of tentativeness in their thoughts and expression, that civics should incorporate the issues of fundamental rights and fundamental duties. And, anything that is connected to fundamental rights and duties should have a connection to the concept of values. Thus, all the above different thoughts expressed by students on how civics is generally understood are ultimately an expression of how civics education is generally understood in the Bhutanese society, either rightly or wrongly. Therefore, it is observed that there is a need for a holistic definition of civics education that embodies both the factual and the intrinsic aspects of government, society, social hierarchical structures, and so on.

7.3 Teachers' interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 13 teachers representing the nine schools in the sample group. The researcher derived core themes based on teachers' experience of teaching civics and other pertinent issues that emerged from the interviews.

7.3.1 Less weighting in the exam: A demotivation for students

Just as students claimed that less weighting in examination was one of the reasons for their apathy towards studying civics, teachers too expressed students' apprehension to devote much of their time to a subject that has no positive examination consequence. Obviously, students will have to devote more of their time to the subjects that carry more marks in the examination. One teacher from School I said, 'weighting influences the interest of students in civics' (I, 1, FI). Figure 7.10 depicts the negative consequence on teaching and learning of civics subjects due to low weighting.

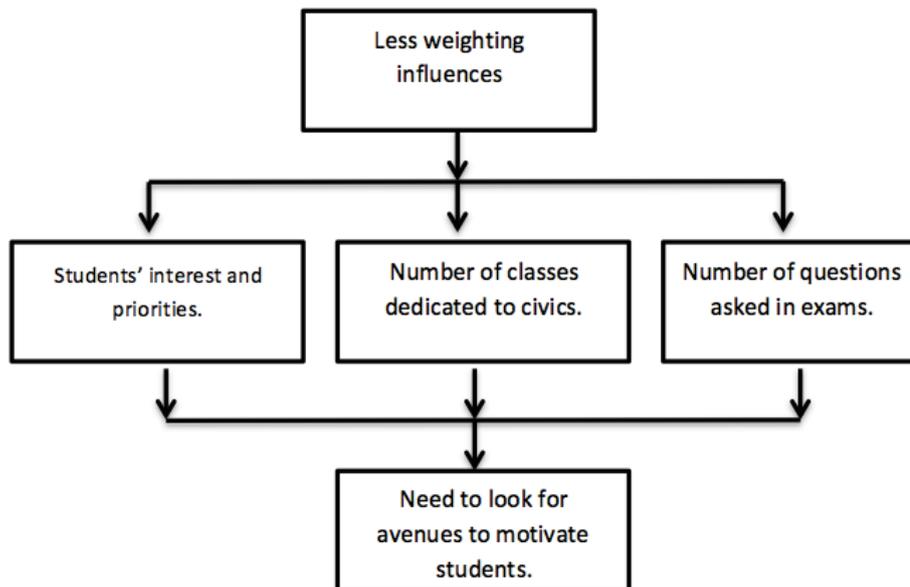


Figure 7.10: Consequences of limitations on teaching-learning of civics due to low weighting

As the subject is allocated only 20% weighting in the final examination, teachers are compelled to set very few questions, which is actually very difficult for them. One teacher from School B said, ‘I think there should be more weightage on civics because so far if we set questions it is very specific and limited questions compared to other history subjects as it is restricted by marks’ (B, 1, FI). The teacher, here, claims that the main history subject has higher weighting and so they can set more questions. But for civics, teachers cannot set more questions, as the subject is constrained in marks’ weighting. Therefore, they are required to set very limited number of questions that make them focus on only a few specific areas as opposed to many areas in the textbooks worth examining.

Teachers say that they are allowed just three periods in a week where they have to squeeze in three different sub-subjects: history, civics and Indian and world history. When they are allocated only three periods per week for teaching three history subjects, obviously they will prioritise the subject that carries more weighting in the examination. As a result, owing to just 20% weighting, civics would, most often than not, receive the minimum time allocation. One teacher from School D said, ‘We have history, civics, and world history and all together we have three periods in a week and I don’t know whether we can give justice by giving more information within this time’ (D, 1, FI).

So, if students' interest is to be raised, there is certainly a need to re-examine the overall marks weighting and reallocate a deserving percentage of marks so that students devote a fair amount of their time to all three sub-subjects of the history subject. Accordingly, teachers could also cover more aspects of civics in the class if they had more than three periods in a week.

7.3.2 Time constraints: A hindrance to effective civics lessons

Teachers acknowledged in the interview their difficulty in teaching civics. Given the time constraint issue, that is, three periods a week for three history subjects, teachers find that they are unable to complete the syllabus.

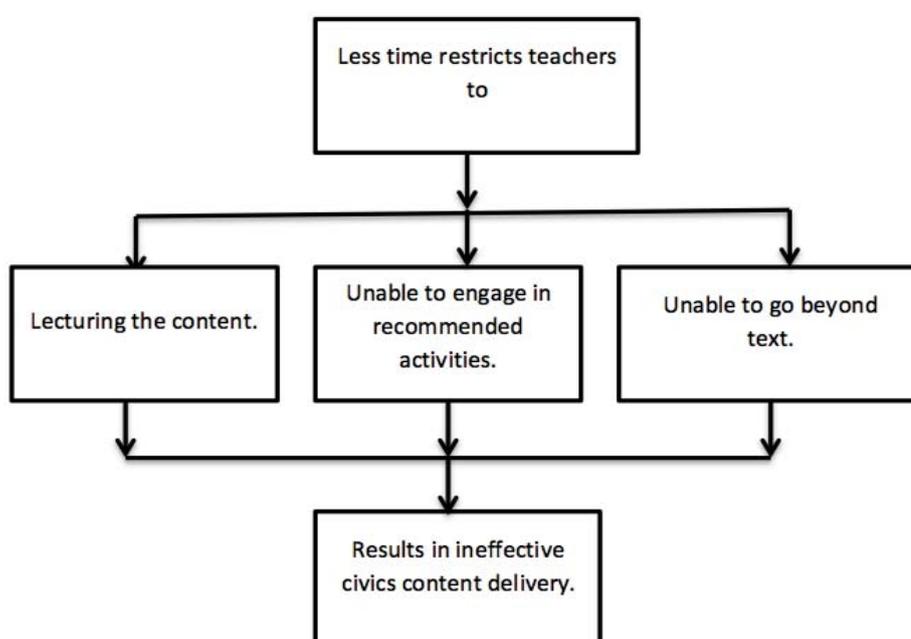


Figure 7.11: Limitations on teaching-learning of civics due to time constraints

Further, civics is fairly a new subject and students do not easily understand the chapters in the textbooks. Despite this, teachers are unable to provide more time to civics. One teacher from School F said, 'we cannot focus on activities because of insufficient time. We cannot help but go for lecture method in order to complete syllabus' (F, 2, FI) (See figure 7.11).

As the present civics is a new subject, there is a formally published *Teachers' Guide* to help teachers plan their lessons and teach in the class accordingly. However, the teachers admit their inability to follow the Guide's recommended teaching activities due to

shortage of time. All these recommended activities are very time-consuming. One teacher from School G said, ‘*Teachers’ Guide*, some activities are relevant and some are more time-consuming, so we are not able to carry out’ (G, 1, FI). Some teachers say that while the *Teachers’ Guide* suggests they teach civics using displays and activities, these are not practical as one teacher from School B said, ‘because here we have very limited periods. If we conduct regular activities, we won’t cover syllabus’ (B, 1, FI).

Again, with the intent to make the civics learning process interesting, teachers would like to invite guest speakers to talk on certain elements of the syllabus. However, the time constraints make this impossible as well. Therefore to sum up, it is apt to quote one teacher from School I who said, ‘Three separate books, vast syllabus and just three periods a week makes very difficult to teach’ (I, 1, FI). Thus, all these situations contribute towards ineffective teaching of civics content to the students.

7.3.3 Priority for civics and Bhutan history

Just as students, teachers too expressed that one of the reasons for negligence of civics subject is the perceived lesser priority accorded to civics and Bhutan history. Figure 7.12 below suggests a few alternatives to raise profile and importance of civics in the minds of students.

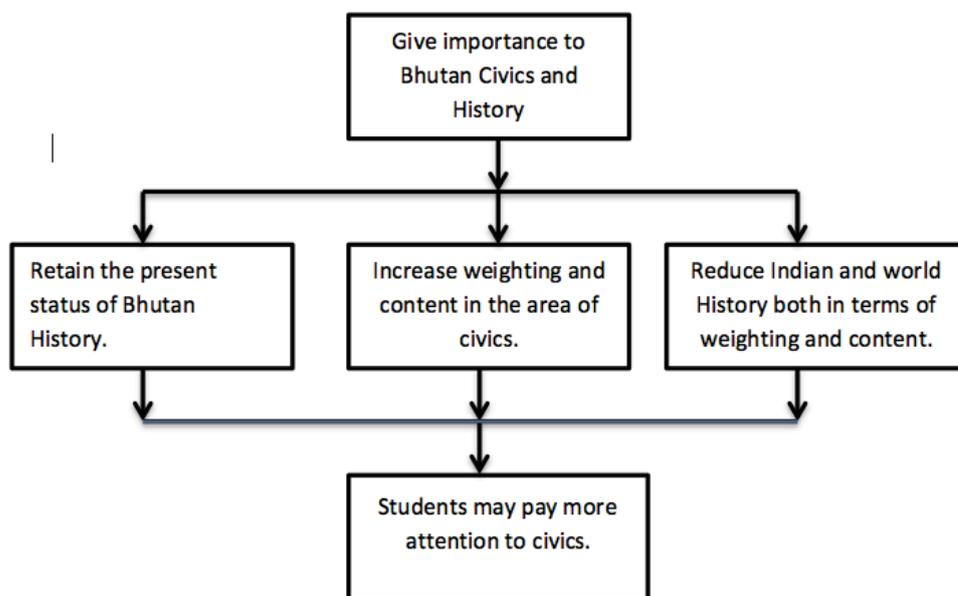


Figure 7.12: Possible alternatives to raise the importance of civics

Teachers shared their opinions and ideas on how to make civics more interesting to students. They say that civics should be first allocated more examination weighting to

motivate students to study civics more. Along with increased exam weighting allocation, time allocation should also be increased for the history subject that includes civics subject, certainly more than three periods in a week. If it is not possible to increase number of periods for civics then the next alternative is to reduce the content of the other subjects in the history syllabus. Reducing content across the history discipline would entail assessing the importance and relevance of each topic currently covered. The higher authority responsible for the history curriculum should engage in some critical evaluation of the content across the entire history syllabus to identify and suggest appropriate changes in the curriculum structure.

While it is recognised that the topics covered are all important, it is clear that there is a need to pick and choose the topics and areas of study in the syllabus. Topics have to be assessed, segregated and prioritised based on the practicality and most importantly on the relevance of each topic to the students and youth of today in general. Obviously, issues that are more relevant to the country should be preferred over other topics that are more international in nature. In this connection, teachers suggested that the Curriculum Authority should reduce content from Indian and world history and increase periods for civics. One teacher from School F said, ‘How about if we can reduce Indian text and spend more time in Bhutan Civics’ (F, 2, FI). They suggested the authority could reduce the contents and weighting currently accorded to both Indian and world history, and replace this with a corresponding increase in weighting for civics. A teacher from School A said, ‘Students would take more interest if the weighting is increased’ (A, 1, FI).

Civics is taught for students from Class 7 till Class 12. Some teachers made some valuable suggestions to improve the contents of textbooks for some classes. Some teachers pointed out that the textbooks for Class 7 and 8 are too condensed and summarised. They feel that the text for these two classes could be elaborated so that students could better understand. Some teachers even confessed that, despite being the subject teachers themselves, they faced difficulty in properly understanding some terminologies used in the text. One teacher from School A said on content for Classes 7 and 8, ‘from my point of view I think it is too short but it is not elaborative. So, it is condensed and that is why when students do on their own they find hard understanding that, even when we teach sometimes we are also not familiar with that words sometimes and when we look for the sources and help so it is difficult to locate sources and all’ (A, 2, FI). Thus, teachers have to put in much effort to elaborate on these condensed topics.

In contrast, for Classes 9 and 10, many teachers expressed their satisfaction with the content in the textbooks.

7.3.4 Periodic updates in the textbooks: Teachers' plea

Teacher participants candidly acknowledged that they found it difficult to understand some of the terminologies used in the civics textbooks. The following figure 7.13 provides some suggestions on how to help teachers improve their knowledge and teaching skills.

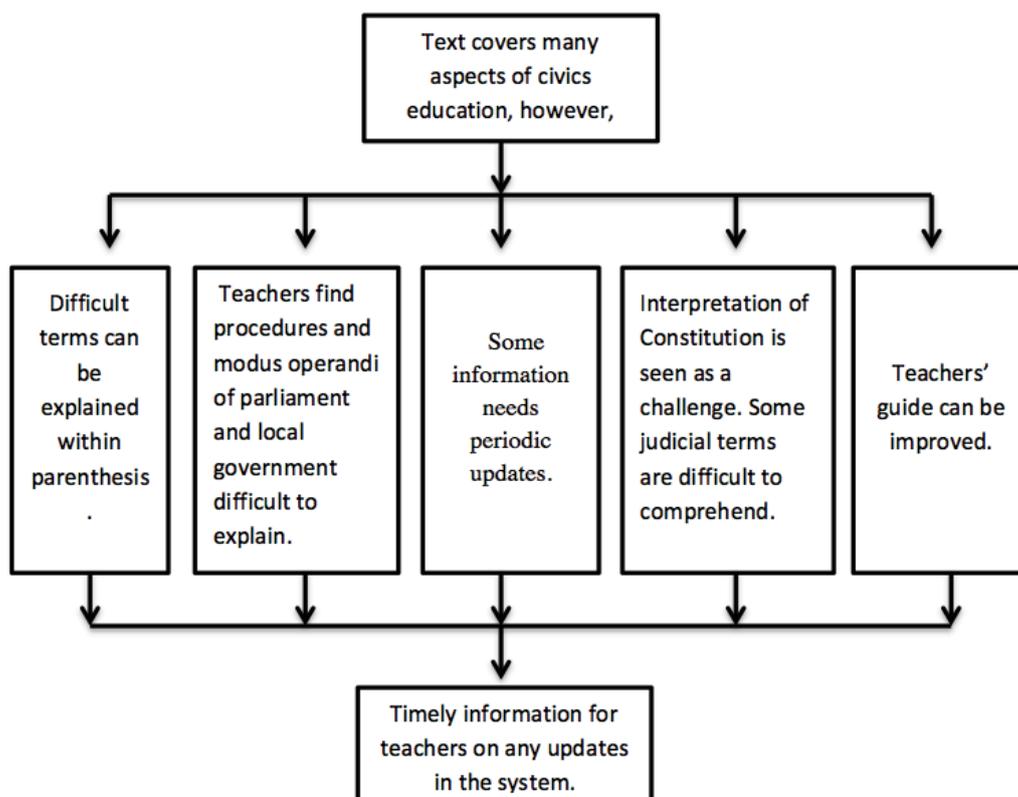


Figure 7.13: Suggestions from teachers on enhancing their knowledge and skills.

There were certain words or phrases that even teachers failed to understand, so they were unable to explain these to the students. In one instance, one teacher from School B said, 'Firstly, teachers do not understand themselves, may be explanation should be given in text is better, if they give little explanation' (B, 1, FI). Another teacher from School I said, 'Sometimes when students ask meanings of certain terms especially judicial terms, we are not able to explain' (I, 1, FI). Therefore, they suggest that the text should have detailed explanations, and meaning of words or phrases could be given in Dzongkha within parenthesis. The difficult terms could also be explained using footnotes in the text

itself, as suggested by one teacher from School I. One teacher from School F said, ‘Terms in civics can be given both in English and Dzongkha’ (F, 2, FI). One teacher from School B admitted the most challenging part for him to teach civics is ‘interpretation of the Constitution. To overcome this problem, maybe they will have to give brief explanation of certain Articles’ (B, 1, FI).

Further, teachers admit their lack of knowledge of the procedures involved in conducting parliamentary sessions and local government deliberations. They say that details of procedures and modus operandi of parliamentary proceedings and local government machineries are not spelt out in the textbooks. When teachers face difficulty in comprehending such procedures, students are also going to have problems in understanding this content. Teachers need to answer a wide range of questions that confront students. They believed that teachers who do not have knowledge tend to follow only the restricted set of activities provided in the textbook where the answers are provided. In this regard, periodic refresher courses for civics teachers, especially on the updates in the government system and the skills to teach these updates, would be particularly useful. The same teacher from School I said, ‘It would be good if civics teachers are provided with training or workshop or seminar where basic terms are made to understand so that we could share with students’ (I, 1, FI). There should be periodic professional development for civics teachers to learn how to best utilise the civics education curriculum or to learn how to most effectively implement the programmes.

Teachers also submitted that there is a need to improve the *Teachers’ Guide*, which they refer to daily before going to class. One teacher from School H said, ‘There has to be some illustrations on things happening around the world, teacher handbook has to be updated to make learning and teaching dynamic’ (H, 1, FI). For the sake of clarity, this teacher from School H means to say that while the teacher handbook should be updated regularly with the latest pedagogical strategies and skills; there should be other teaching materials that should have adequate illustrations with certain pictures, images and graphic representations.

7.3.5 A need for adequate teaching-learning materials

The interview with teachers involved a lengthy discussion on how to make teaching and learning of civics effective. Numerous problems were highlighted and appropriate solutions were suggested, as contained in the figure 7.14 below.

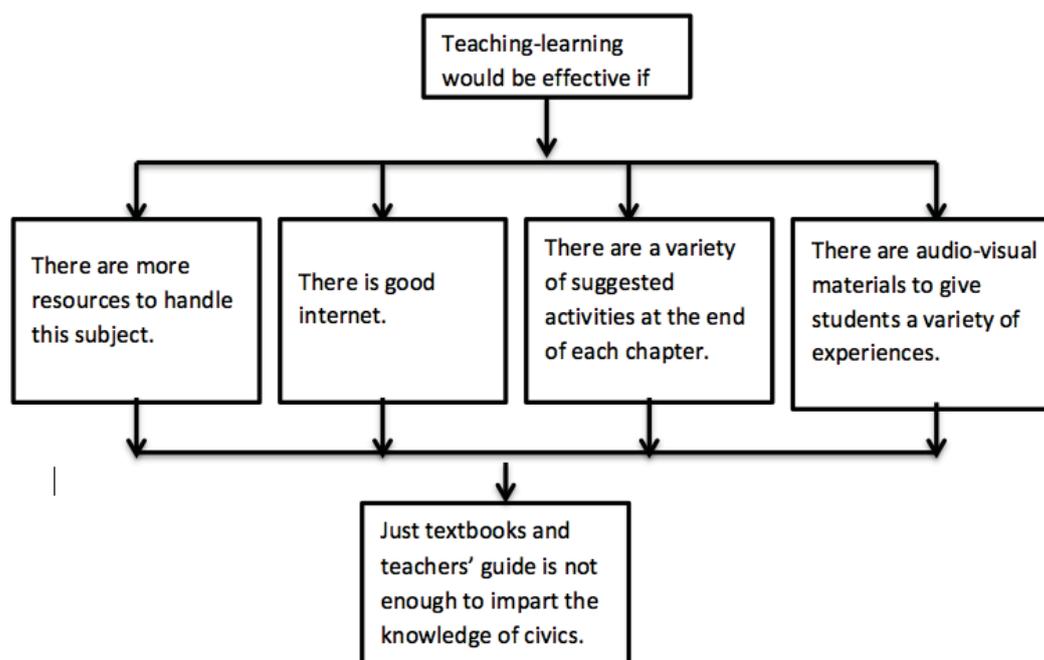


Figure 7.14: Suggested tools to enhance teaching-learning effectiveness of civics

One major hurdle in teaching civics is the lack of adequate teaching materials and additional resources for references. In many schools across the country, access to the internet is either unavailable or very intermittent. Access to 24-hour internet connectivity would definitely provide uninterrupted sources of reference for teachers during their lesson preparation and planning. Equally, any updates could be easily disseminated to the students by the teacher, thereby promoting the internet-aided teaching-learning process.

Currently, the only available materials for teachers are the textbooks and the teachers' Guide. These two documents are not enough to successfully impart knowledge of civics to students. Teachers feel that the activities at the end of each chapter are not enough. One teacher from School F suggests, 'if they (concerned curriculum officers) can add some more activities at the end of the chapter'. The teacher further goes on, 'We can add more questions so that we can give more activities as well as questions' (F, 2, FI).

As a means for students to develop more interest in the subject, audio-visual teaching materials could be introduced by the Ministry of Education. One teacher from school I

said, ‘If we could have video clips or documentary as teaching materials, for example the session in the parliament, how a bill is passed. We just have in writing right now’ (I, 1, FI). Teachers genuinely feel a need for visual teaching aids.

Further, teachers propose to build up their school libraries with enough reading materials as there are not many civics-related books. One teacher from School F said, ‘Civics related books in the library should be strengthened’ (F, 2, FI). Such books, if available, could be a supplementary source of reference for teachers too. The bottom line is that ‘just the text and teachers’ guide only is not enough’, as put in by one teacher from School G (G, 1, FI).

7.3.6 Attractive textbooks generate students’ interest

It was found that textbooks lacked attractiveness to generate students’ interest that almost every stakeholder involved in the data collection suggested a need to improve the physical look of the textbooks, as shown in figure 7.15 below.

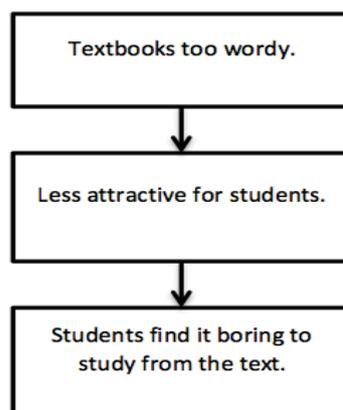


Figure 7.15: Need for attractive textbooks to generate students’ interest

Teachers also admit that students have generally very low interest in studying civics. One of the many reasons for this, teachers agree, is that the textbooks are very wordy with lengthy textual paragraphs. Such text-rich books do not attract students’ interest. As young people, they would like to see pictures or some images occasionally through the pages of the textbooks. One teacher from School G said, ‘We need some changes to make more attractive’ (G, 1, FI). Another teacher from School I suggested, ‘If the text has pictures’ (I, 1, FI). Towards this end, teachers have proposed the need for more illustrations and visual display in the text in order to attract students’ interest.

Teachers are also of the opinion that students find the civics text boring and not of interest to them since their lessons cannot be related to any practical experience. Students fail to realise the connection of civics lessons with real-life situations, mainly for two reasons.

First, many students do not have hands-on experience to practically visualise the civics lessons in terms of real life situations. They would have never witnessed how formal procedures, such as in the Parliament or even at the local government level, are actually conducted in real life.

Second, the textbooks are outdated and many facts need updating urgently. One teacher from School G, when asked if he was happy with the current civics education, said, 'It needs to be updated because some of the information are not very relevant, it is already not valid' (G, 1, FI).

7.3.7 An exit for civics education at Class 10: Deprivations for non-arts students

Just as students themselves acknowledged the importance for them to continue civics education all the way to university, teachers also recognised the significance for students to continue studying civics beyond Class 12. Currently, civics is a compulsory subject for all till Class 10 only. Those students who opt to study the arts subject can continue learning civics till Class 12 while the students who have taken either science, commerce or *rigzhung* after class 10 do not have civics subjects as shown in the figure 7.16 below.

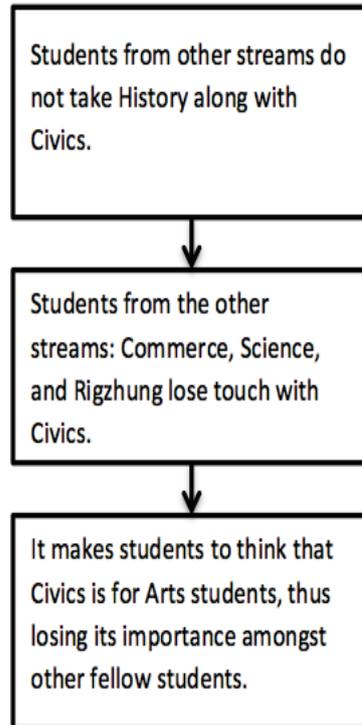


Figure 7.16: Need to mandate civics subject till Class 12.

When civics is studied only by the arts students and not mandated for non-arts students, they develop the wrong impression that civics is not an important subject, such as English or mathematics. Students have the misconception that civics is a part of history and hence not a subject for science, commerce or *rigzhung* students.

Therefore, there is a need to alter this misperception held by students and inform them that civics can be a subject without any connection to history. In reality, civics is a subject that transcends all professions and disciplines. Civics is a study of how society is managed. Society is a fabric that encompasses everybody and every profession, be it engineers, chemists, doctors, accountants, judges, administrators, lawyers and politicians. Thus, ‘whether students are in science or commerce streams, as a Bhutanese, civics is a must to know subject’, according to one teacher from School A (A, 1, FI). This same teacher from School A goes on to say, ‘Because civics is studied with history, students taking science and commerce are not made to take history, which consequently do not have to study even civics. Sometimes, I feel that civics should be integrated with all subjects or it can be independent subject’ (A, 1, FI).

Finally, it was recommended by teachers to make civics as compulsory subject for all so that students can appreciate the importance of the subject as citizens. Some teachers

suggest that it be made compulsory for all till Class 12, while there were a few teachers who even proposed to make civics compulsory till the degree level of education

7.3.8 Convergence in teachers' understanding of civics education

Different teachers had different expressions of their individual understanding of civics education. Nonetheless, there was one common understanding expressed by all the teachers. This one common message that echoed and reverberated amongst the teachers is that civics education reminds citizens of the country they live in and their obligations towards, and privileges from, their society as highlighted in the figure 7.17 below.

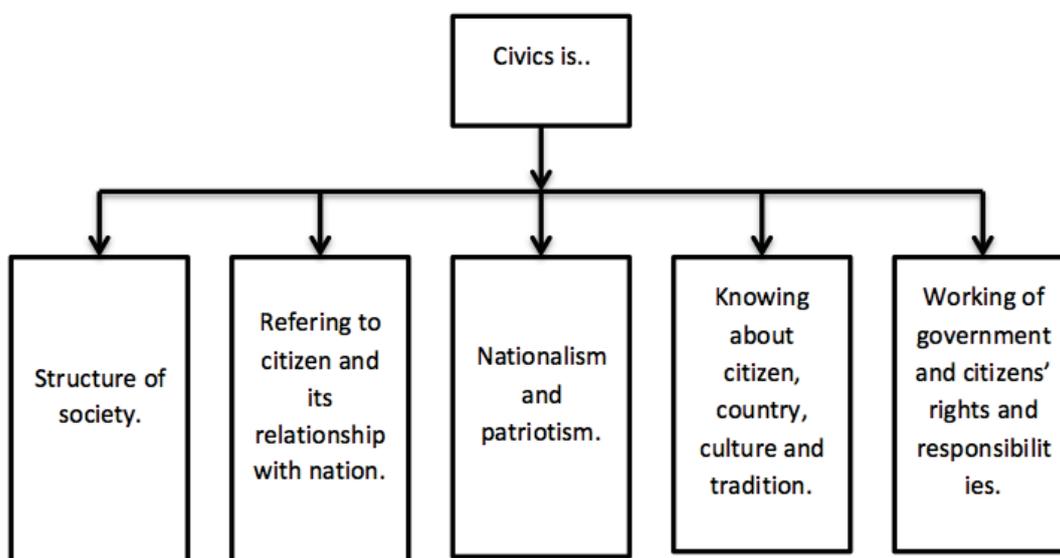


Figure 7.17: Presence of citizenship as core in civics subject

One teacher from School A understands civics education as ‘Structure of society and it refers to citizen of that nation, attachment towards their nation, and responsibility within the boundary’ (A, 2, FI). This teacher places citizens at the centre stage; from this position citizens have certain roles and responsibilities, which should form the basis of a relationship between the citizen and the nation. This view is supported by another teacher from School G when he said that civics education ‘is something to know about our own country, people, culture, everything’ (G, 1, FI).

A teacher from School I thinks ‘Civics is more than learning about offices, it is learning about individuals’ (I, 1, FI). Another teacher from the same school says, ‘Civics

education is working of the government, duties and rights' (I, 2, FI). To sum up, teachers agreed that civics is associated with nationalism, patriotism, culture and individuals.

7.3.9 Lack of clarity for students of civics definition: Teachers' perception

Teachers have one common observation that many students have thoroughly misconceived democracy as the freedom of people to do anything. Most often, citizens would forget that freedom comes with responsibility to utilise that freedom wisely. Freedom does not mean for somebody to do anything one wishes but to lead a life in the society free from inequalities, injustices and unfairness. Perceptions of teachers on how students generally assume democracy is depicted in the figure 7.18 below.

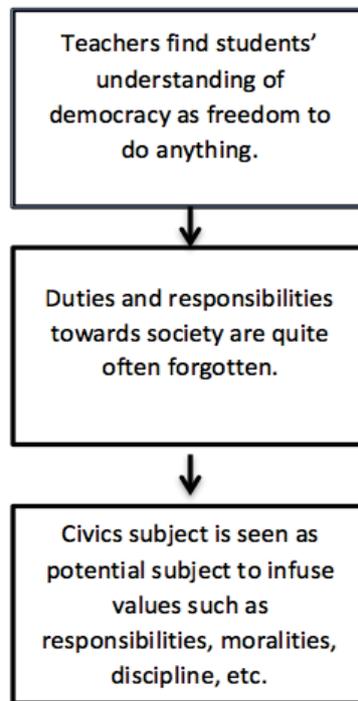


Figure 7.18: Teachers' perception on students' understanding of democracy

The freedom of an individual should be tagged alongside the social responsibility of an individual. Individual freedom and individual social responsibility are nothing but an expression of fundamental rights and fundamental duties as enshrined in the Constitution. Teachers perceive concepts and precepts of fundamental rights and fundamental duties as the basis for values education. If civics education is mainly the study of the Constitution that further dovetails into fundamental rights and fundamental duties, then there is no

denying that ‘values are infused through fundamental duties and fundamental rights’, as stated by one teacher from School I (I, 1, FI).

Values have multiple definitions, understandings and connotations. In Bhutan, values education is synonymous with ‘*Driglam Namzha*’, a Bhutanese etiquette that can be loosely understood as a continuous pursuit of harmonious living in the society. If values education is *Driglam Namzha*, then ‘*Driglam Namzha* is very much Civics’ as per one teacher from School B (B, 1, FI). Another teacher from School G said, ‘*Driglam Namzha* and Civics: It’s all about discipline’ (G, 1, FI).

However, one teacher from School D believes that values are ‘morality which is supposed to be in politicians’ (D, 1, FI). This teacher argues that if values are understood more as morality, then civics through the lens of values education is a subject for politicians. If values education through morality is linked more appropriately with politicians, then it is wrong to connect values education with the concept of *Ley Jumdrey* (Cause and Effect) since *Ley Jumdrey* is a domain under religion and meant for religious personalities.

Nonetheless, teachers agreed that civics education is a potential discipline in itself, and that it focuses on social and individual responsibilities. Social and individual responsibilities are basically the fundamental rights and fundamental duties that are avenues to infuse values into the minds of citizens. To conclude, civics is an appropriate subject to infuse values.

7.4 Interview with Curriculum Officer (CO)

An interview was conducted with the only curriculum officer from the erstwhile Department of Curriculum and Research Development, now the Royal Education Council, an autonomous organisation under the Royal Government of Bhutan. This interview enabled the researcher to derive core themes based on the following viewpoints tendered by the curriculum officer:

- Perception on present civics education in schools;
- Values in civics textbooks; and
- Aspiration for improvement in future.

Core themes extracted from the interview with CO are expounded below.

7.4.1 Civics is a dynamic and evolving subject: A claim by CO

The interview with the curriculum officer (CO) was some form of consolidation and synthesis of, and reflection and authentication on, opinions and evidence shared by other interviewees such as curriculum writers, teachers, and other stakeholders. The CO started with the comment that the civics textbooks are comprehensive and cover all aspects of learning. Many of his statements appeared to admonish views expressed by other stakeholders as evident from the figure 7.19 below.

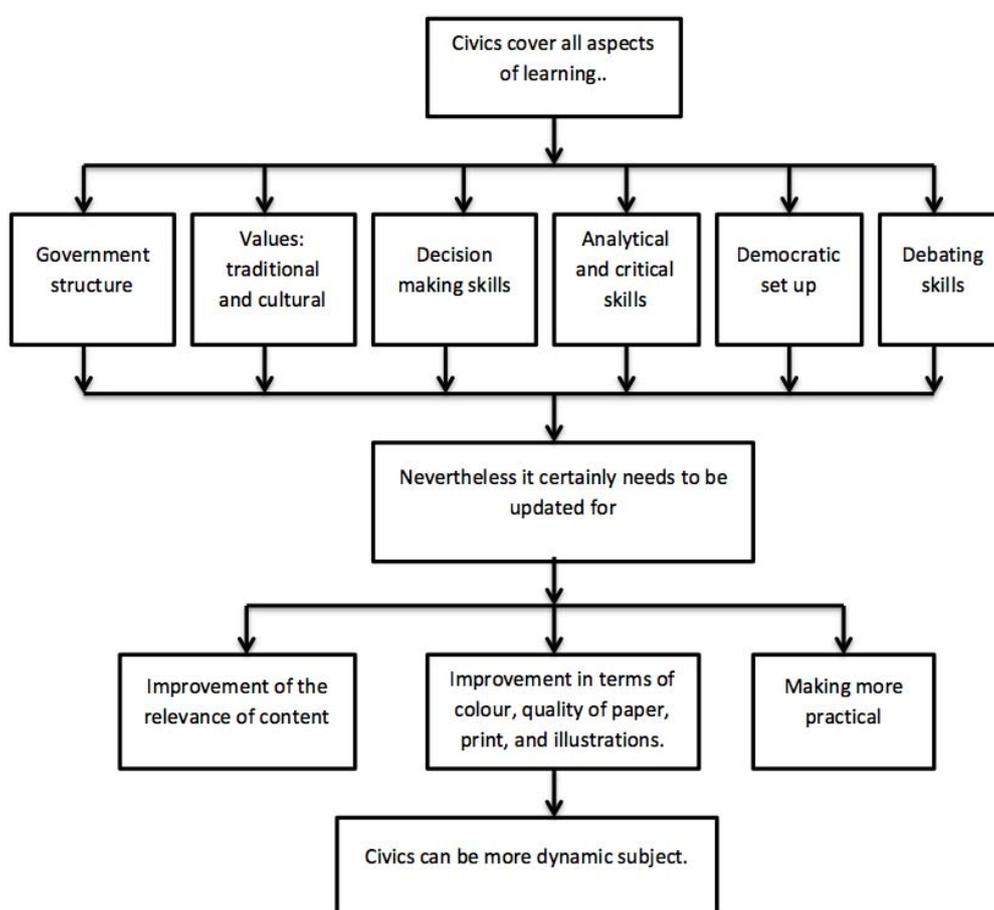


Figure 7.19: Opinions of CO on civics curriculum

On views that the civics curriculum is fairly new in our schools, the CO said: ‘Civics is not new subject in our schools. There was only a shift from Indian Civics to Bhutanese coinciding with introduction of democracy in 2008’.

Asked if our textbooks have values education content that would inculcate sense of responsibility, patriotism and the Bhutanese ethos of *Tha Damtshig* and *Ley Jumdrej* in our students, the CO commented: ‘Civics education in our schools has lots of values, and

culture embedded in the texts ... Attempts are made to make our students analyse, try to instil critical analysis of the government setup' (CO, 1, FI). Views on the importance of instilling analytical skills and critical thinking by students were expressed. The CO apprised that a lot of space and opportunities are created in the classroom to debate and let students come up with their own opinion and conclusions in a particular context. CO asserts: 'We try to teach them [students] the democratic set ups such that whatever the decisions are made do not come from the top but they are given opportunity at their level to make decisions, e.g. even to elect their class captain is done through secret ballot' (CO, 1, FI).

As regards the students' average marks of 56% on the test conducted, the CO reckoned that the 'result would be very authentic if the test was conducted with students up to Class X level' (CO, 1, FI). CO's opinion was sought on whether civics should be mandatory subject up to Class 12 for students of all streams. The CO expressed DCRD's attempt to make civics a crosscutting subject for all streams. However, he said it should be preceded by wider stakeholder consultation and would need support from Ministry of Education. CO said: 'Issues of making civics a crosscutting subject has to involve a lot of discussion and so many professionals have to be involved in order to make such a decision' (CO, 1, FI).

On the need to update the contents of civics textbooks, the CO acknowledges that it is DCRD's mandate to update and improve the relevance of the contents. However, there is the need to firstly have one proper formally approved framework on how to initiate curriculum revision. To this effect, CO expressed: 'At present we don't have black and white curriculum framework for civics education in our system. So we are looking to develop one curriculum framework so that the future revision, improvement and relevance will be guided by the framework and it shall be the guiding document for any revision of curriculum to take place in future' (CO, 1, FI).

CO was apprised of students' low or dying interest in studying civics. One influencing factor could be due to low marks weighting allocated in the examination. When CO was queried about the basis and justifications of allocating 15-20% of total marks to civics he said that this practice was brought forward from the earlier system when Indian Civics was a part of the curriculum. Further, DCRD was kept ignorant of such grievances expressed by students and no such communication was made with them by anybody. CO

remarked: ‘Till now, no feedback has reached our organisation regarding the marks, not even from BCSEA (Bhutan Council for School Examination and Assessment) which is the main agency’ (CO, 1, FI). However, the CO admits that there are contents in the textbooks that are too vast and not matched with commensurate marks. ‘For that certain reason, feedbacks and issues will be taken to the subject committee where the committee will give their justification and ultimately we will take the matter to the higher authority, which is the Curriculum Board’, the CO explains (CO, 1, FI).

Despite being the curriculum officer, the CO was candid: ‘I cannot say this is the best curriculum that we have in our system. I’m anticipating lot many things to improve and make it more relevant, make it practical so that we groom our students in a much better way that we are expecting from them’ (CO, 1, FI). The CO also expressed his views on the need to update the textbooks from every aspect: be it the relevance and practicality of contents and illustrations or the appearance of textbooks in terms of colour design and presentation, paper and print quality. At the end of the interview, there was a congruence of views that civics is a dynamic subject and it needs regular update and revision.

7.5 Curriculum writers’ interviews

Analysis of the interviews with three curriculum writers (abbreviated as W1, W2 and W3 respectively hereafter) gathered four factors to derive appropriate themes from. These four factors, or rather, four sources of themes related to:

- Professional experience of the writers,
- Resources used by writers while the text was prepared, and
- Need to improve both in content and delivery of civics, and
- Any other pertinent issues arising from the interviews.

Core themes derived from the above factors are elaborated below:

7.5.1 Usage of provisional textbooks for too long

The present civics textbooks were written in 2006 when Bhutan was preparing to introduce democracy. Since the Constitution drafting process began in 2001, there were many discussions in the public sphere about the introduction of democracy in the country. By 2006, the draft Constitution was available and other related laws, such as the Election Bill, Local Government Bill, Police (Amendment) Bill, were in the formulation stage. It

was during this period that the present civics textbooks were drafted and printed, with this work being done by a group of individuals who were selected by the Ministry of Education.

This group of curriculum writers, back in 2006, did not have much background and experience in relation to writing a civics text for schools. Thus they had to rely on experiences from other countries and draft laws, as shown in the figure 7.20 below.

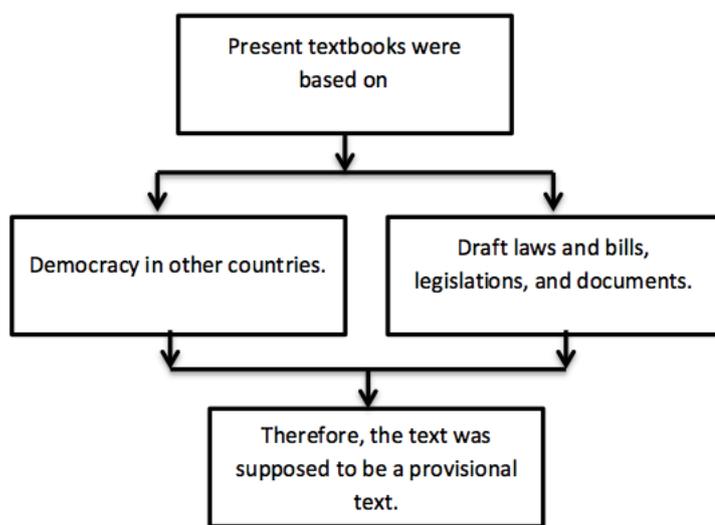


Figure 7.20: References used by the first curriculum writers.

One curriculum writer admitted: ‘the writers were not professional and without any training on the subject’ (W1, FI). Nor did the writers have adequate materials for reference, except those Bills and the draft Constitution. Thus much of what they called on to write the textbooks was the experience of democracy in other countries. The same writer said: ‘these texts were drafted all based on draft legislations and documents, so there could be information error. Also, texts were drafted based on the knowledge of democracy in other countries since we were lacking our own experience’ (W1, FI). In particular, the writers referred to history textbooks, mainly Indian history textbooks to help them develop content for the textbooks. The framework for, and objectives of, writing civics textbooks were all set by the Ministry of Education, which provided the writers with guidance. They were given one month to produce draft textbooks for classes 7 to 12.

The writers expected that the first textbooks produced in 2006 were provisional and that these would be soon updated. However, this did not happen and these same textbooks

have remained in the schools for the last eight years. In developing the textbooks, time was another factor for the writers. They were not allotted sufficient time for in-depth readings and research works before finalising the contents of the textbooks. One writer said: ‘At that time, the time span we were given was also not enough for us to really think on it. Just a month and I think that’s not enough at all whether it was a research or we were just compiling’ (W2, FI).

7.5.2 Ineffectiveness of civics education

Looking at how the civics subject is handled in schools, many writers share their disappointment that nobody is according any importance to the subject. It appears that neither teachers nor students take civics education seriously as succinctly shown in the figure 7.21 below.

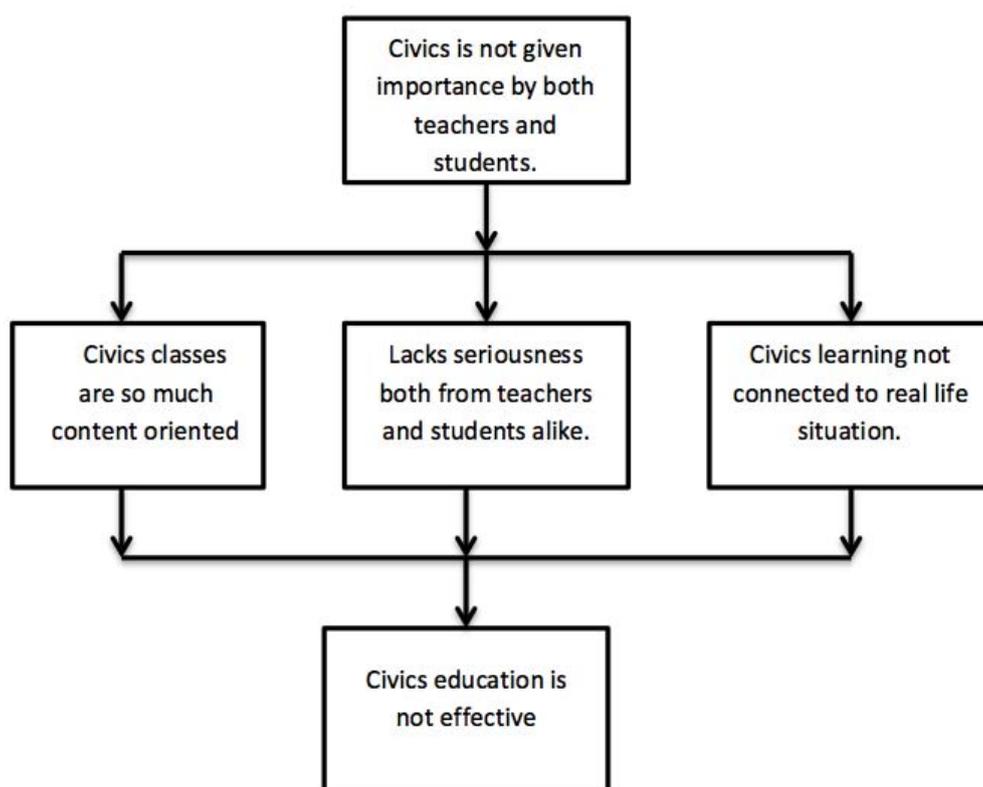


Figure 7.21: Factors leading to backsliding of civics education effectiveness

One writer squarely blames the teachers for students’ casual attitude towards civics. This writer said candidly: ‘at the end, it’s the teachers who are to be blamed because we have not made it fun for children, we have not made it informative enough or something

that can be used practically in their daily lives' (W2, FI). Teachers have failed to make civics classes interesting for students.

Another writer feels that civics education is not effective; it may be because of the wrong approach used to teach in the schools. Writers expressed that the current civics education is too content-oriented and the students are tested on the knowledge from the textbooks. Rather, they would prefer to see civics education focusing more on skills aimed at making better citizens out of the students. Classroom learning should be connected to real life experience. One writer said: 'If we want to make Bhutan civics more effective, I guess, we have to involve children in a real life activity with regard to the things that are happening' (W3, FI).

The writers suggest that the teachers should take the students outside the class to witness the real events taking place. There is a need for change in the teaching strategy, that is, a shift from content orientation to practical learning, which should entail students physically involving themselves in real life scenarios. For instance, the students of those schools in the capital could visit the Parliament during the session and watch the proceedings. Similarly, those students from schools in districts could witness the local government proceedings when these are taking place. Alternatively, teachers may invite *gups*, *mangmis* (deputy gup) and other relevant officials to give talks to the students. Such initiatives would educate the students about the different roles played by different people. All these strategies would promote self-learning, as opposed to the current method that is more inclined towards spoon-feeding the students and making them only prepare for exams. Further, teachers would also be encouraged to provide students with a variety of experiences.

7.5.3 Civics textbooks: Potential avenue for values education

As admitted by writers themselves regarding their constraints during the time of writing civics textbooks in 2006, they realise today that they had not thought beyond fundamental rights and fundamental duties to connect civics to value education as shown in the figure 7.22 below.

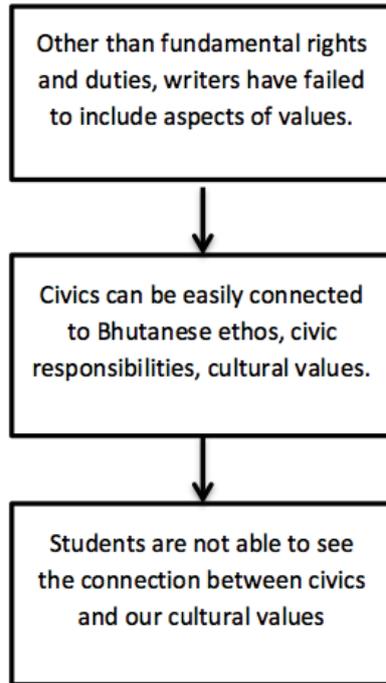


Figure 7.22: Values education is more than just fundamental rights and duties

Today, eight years after the publication of the new civics edition, writers appreciate that it is actually possible to impart value education from every chapter of the civics textbooks. Perhaps, the writers were too unprepared or they possessed neither the requisite civics-writings experience and skills nor the necessary materials. One writer said: ‘In hindsight, we have not thought much on values that time, except that the writers agreed to build upon fundamental rights and duties in the classrooms’ (W1, FI).

On a positive note, curriculum writers converged to one common belief that one can easily connect our Bhutanese ethos – *Tha Damtshig* and *Ley Jumdrey* – to fundamental rights and duties, which are the cornerstones of our Constitution. If civics education, through study of fundamental rights and fundamental duties of our Constitution, is a values education, then the study of Bhutanese ethos is also a value education. From this perspective, one writer said: ‘We can beautifully link civics education with our values, that is strongly engrained in our culture’ (W3, FI). This writer further said that civic responsibilities and awareness in the student is the strongest value to produce effective citizens. This further goes on to say ‘they (students) need to be responsible, they need to be free thinker, they need to be analytical, and critical’ (W3, FI). Otherwise, our students in schools will continue reading civics text without being able to connect the contents of the textbooks to our existing age-old cultural beliefs and ethos centring on civic

responsibilities, harmonious living, and due considerations for others in the neighbourhood and beyond.

7.5.4 Need for improvement of the textbooks

As the present civics textbooks were written in 2006 by a group of writers who were not equipped with either individual writing skills and experience, or with necessary reference materials, it is now time that these textbooks are revised with updates and improvements. There are reasons aplenty to recommend rewriting these civics textbooks comprehensively as emphasised in the figure 7.23 below.

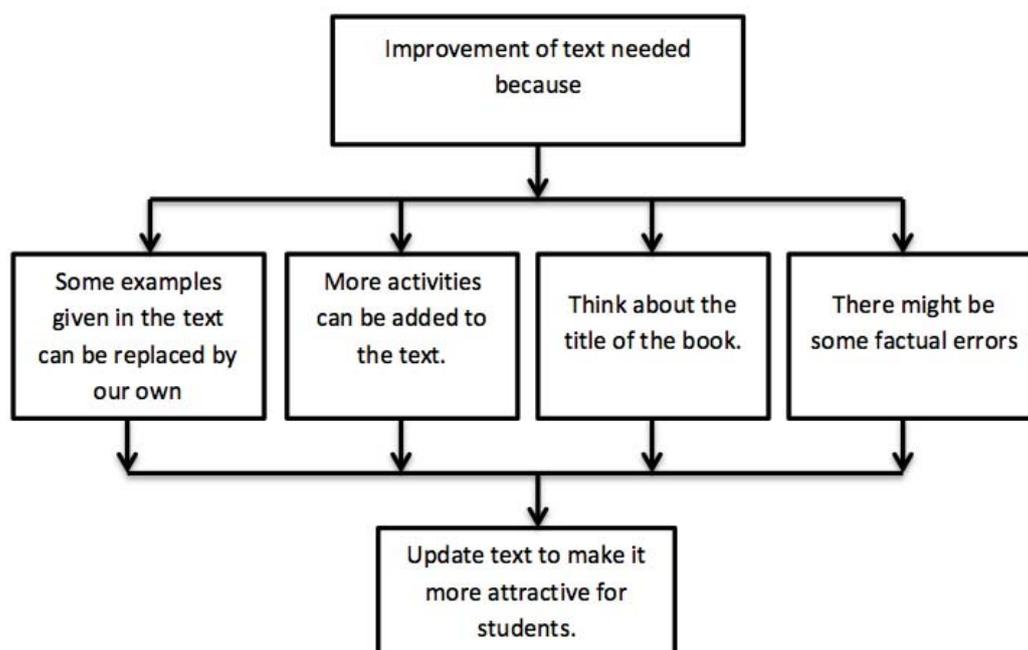


Figure 7.23: Reasons to improve civics textbooks

Many examples, instances and illustrations were drawn from the events that had unfolded in other countries. Principles of democracy were based on beliefs about democratic structures in other countries. Writers borrowed ideas from Indian civics and now it is time we contextualised to our own system of government.

Further, themes under the chapters, if any were contextualised within our own Bhutanese situation, were all based on the draft Constitution, Bills and other documents existing prior to 2006. Certainly, some specific provisions of those Bills were not included in the eventual legislation endorsed by the new Parliament. In addition, we already have experienced two rounds of parliamentary elections, one in 2008 and the

second in 2013. One writer said: ‘Having experienced two rounds of elections in the country, there has to be thorough review on the content and the content has to be changed because initially when we wrote, we were referring the history textbook, Indian history textbook and that was what we looked at but now we need to look at our context what is needed, what is not going right, and then looking at this, we really need to review the whole textbook’ (W3, FI).

Writers agree with both students and teachers about the low exam weighting accorded to civics, which is one of the main demotivating factors for students. This low weighting actually also dictates teachers’ lesson planning and the real teaching taking place in the classroom. Many times, teachers were blamed for using an inactive lecture-method of teaching civics in the class. A writer said: ‘Teacher comes to the classroom and then just read the textbook and they do not understand and do not enjoy anything. I guess children are not interested’ (W3, FI). However, teachers are inhibited from exploring other methods of teaching as there is literally very little time allocated for civics teaching in the 3-period week which has to accommodate world history, Indian history and Bhutan history. Given both the low weighting and minimal time available, civics teaching is a big challenge for teachers.

So the question is how to make civics interesting for the students and how to justify increasing the weightings. One writer suggests that the teachers use a project approach where children can be involved. Such project works would entail students investigating what they can really do themselves for a theme chosen for the project work. Accordingly, students could be graded with additional weightings beyond the 15-20% currently allotted. One of the writers said that through such project works students ‘can make conclusion and then what can happen is, they understand the situation better and then marking can also be done on that’ (W3, FI). A project work format for teaching civics would enable students to feel that they are not only learning contents but also the skills that are needed to become effective citizens of the country.

Writers agree that it is unfair to make a general history teacher teach civics in the school, and the lack of specific training in civics education makes many teachers ill-prepared to teach this subject. However, it may be extremely difficult for the government to deploy designated civics teachers in the schools. Therefore, as an alternative solution, one writer suggested, ‘while the Ministry of Education may not be able to depute one

designated civics teacher in every school, but they can propose a new module on ‘Teaching of Civics’ in our Colleges of Education. By this, there will be minimum or zero cost implication on the Ministry’ (W1, FI).

As regards the content, scope and title of the textbooks, writers also agree that: ‘there is a scope to expand the title and include wider thinking’, as stated by one writer (W1, FI). He further goes to say that civics should be a mandatory subject for all streams till Class 12. Both students and teachers also made this suggestion.

Another area to improve on the textbooks is the design of the book. This involves redesigning the cover page, formatting of textual paragraphs and inserting images and ‘happier’ pictures. One writer commented: ‘The cover page is so dismal. Looking at it only, the children won’t want to read. There is nothing exciting, so dark looking picture, may be they could have had other happier picture of children or adults, not just the Parliamentarians there’ (W2, FI). Further, the textbooks are too wordy. Editing to shorten and tighten the text to retain the child readers’ interest and enthusiasm is needed. Taking into consideration all the above observations pointed out by writers, there is a need to update textbooks to make them more attractive for students.

7.6 Curriculum-based stakeholders’ interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with seven curriculum-based stakeholders representing five constitutional bodies (abbreviated as C1, C2, C3, C4 and C5) and two parliamentarians (abbreviated as MP1 and MP2). The basis of stakeholder selections is explained in Chapter 5. Themes were drawn out of the stakeholders’ interview based on the following areas proposed by individual stakeholders. These themes are elaborated in the flowcharts below.

7.6.1 Civics textbooks: Perceived incomprehensive with skewed content

Stakeholders were given the results of the student test and their opinions on these results were sought along with their overall perspective on civics education. Stakeholders expressed that the essence of civics education should be broad and include society, government, politics and democracy as highlighted in the figure 7.24 below.

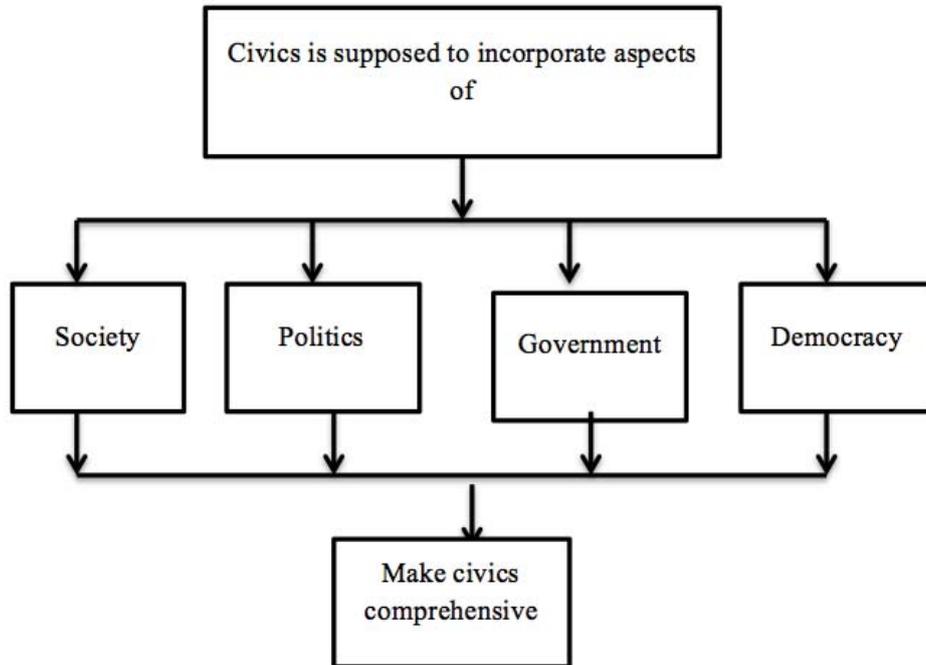


Figure 7.24: Comprehensiveness of civics subject

One stakeholder said, ‘The Ministry of Education has responded to the introduction of parliamentary democracy by integrating in civics textbook information about institutions, structures and processes of democracy. By civics textbooks, I mean those textbooks from primary to secondary classes which incorporate aspects of society, politics, government, democracy etc. although the title of the textbook may not be ‘Civics’. For example, ‘Social Studies’ in lower classes also have chapters on civics education’ (MP2, FI). He further said that the focus of civics education is more on central institutions, less on the local. Thus, there is more bias towards parliament, government and judiciary in contrast to local government institutions and processes (MP2, FI).

7.6.2 Less priority accorded for civics

One single opinion shared by the majority of the stakeholders was the general perception that both students and teachers alike were not devoting the desired level of attention, time and interest to learning and teaching civics respectively. It was opined that the low level of students’ interest, complemented with teachers’ lack of enthusiasm in teaching civics, was due to lack of motivation linked to the low weighting of marks in the examinations as shown in the figure 7.25 below.

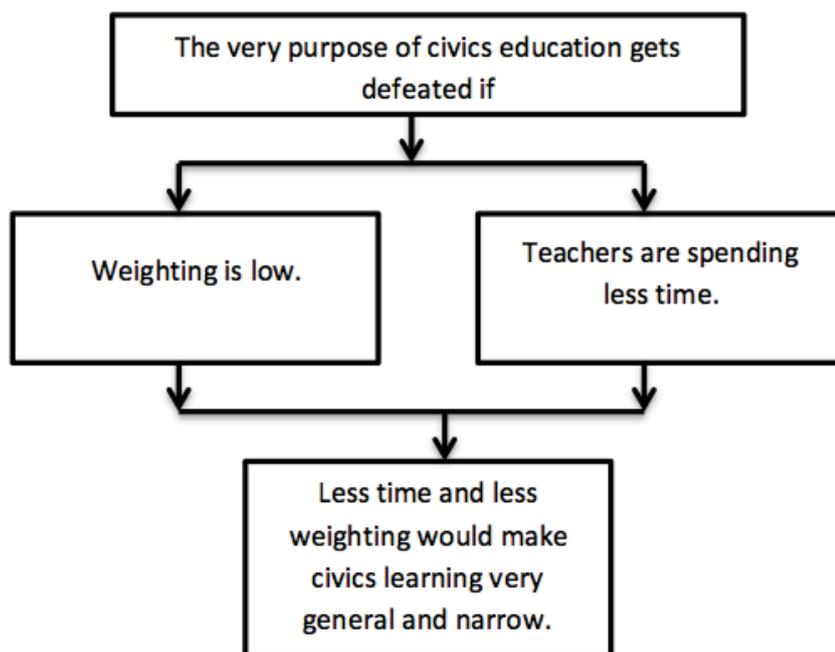


Figure 7.25: Low examination weighting and time constraint as the negative factor for learning civics

Stakeholders have the idea that students do not want to sacrifice their limited study time on civics, which contributes only 15-20% in the examination. The fact of the matter is students' interest in any subject is generally determined by the amount of marks they can score in the examination. Obviously students' interest in civics is low in schools as the subject is allotted very low weightings in the examinations. While the teachers tend to teach civics just enough to enable students to write their examinations for 15-20% of the total marks, students also learn the civics text mainly to pass the examination. The harsh reality is that civics education does not tap into a genuine desire to learn. Ultimately, this approach leads to very shallow learning without much deeper understanding of the ultimate rationale underpinning the subject. This was very explicit when one stakeholder from the judiciary commented: 'if the weightage is very minimum students or obviously teachers also may be like they would take it very generally and very narrowly, not going into deeper understanding' (C1, FI).

MP2 further observed, 'the language of civics education is English whereas everyday aspect of democracy is lived, expressed and interpreted in Dzongkha. Bhutanese children learn about Bhutanese democracy through a foreign language medium. Language is not neutral. Thus, nuances, symbols and even meanings transform in the process of teaching.

For example, democracy is translated as *mangtso*, which means ‘community (has) priority’ or ‘community matters’. On the other hand, the focus is more on individual’s right and duties, less on community. Therefore, deeper thought should be given to civics education as a whole’ (MP2, FI).

Stakeholders also feel that the importance accorded to civics is not commensurate with the overall objectives the subject is expected to achieve. The objectives of learning civics in schools should extend beyond merely passing the examinations. Given this research demonstrates the students study mainly for examination results, with similar lack of commitment and seriousness from teachers, one option for improvement is for the government, through the relevant authority, to reconsider the weighting accorded in the examinations. A stakeholder from the Royal Civil Service Commission (RCSC) remarked: ‘The very purpose of civics education gets defeated when the overall school education (civics) programme is weighted less. And also, when the allocation of period is less’ (C2, FI). Therefore, such opinions from the stakeholders support the conclusion that the low weighting for civics is seen as a hindrance in generating the desired level of interest in the students and teachers alike.

Further, in order to involve deeper learning of the subject, a stakeholder recommended the positioning of civics as a totally different subject apart from history at the high school level and above (C2, FI). Stakeholders generally expect civics education to groom our youth, the future citizens, with an understanding of legislation and legislative procedures, how laws are interpreted and implemented, and to promote citizenries who understand rights and duties. To quote stakeholder C1: ‘Civics merits a separate subject because it matters with democracy in transition. Our youth and future citizens must be groomed to understand not only the system of governance, also in making them understand about the nitty-gritty of legal system and also promoting them into a citizenry where they will understand all the rights, duties and also to know how laws are made, how laws are implemented, and how laws are interpreted. What the social problems are including crimes, youth violence that we are facing with our urban youth in terms of drugs, other abuses like sexual abuse. That way, it really merits a separate subject’. (C1, FI). MP2 also observed that civics education is more peripheral compared to other subjects. He said, ‘It is not taught as a separate subject but as part of history or social studies. This contrasts with the larger national energy and commitment to the seriousness of democracy project’ (MP2, FI).

To realise civics as a separate subject and with an increased examination weighting, stakeholders have also proposed a re-examination of the content of civics textbooks. They suggested more focus to be given to Bhutan history and civics rather than Indian history. A stakeholder representing Royal Audit Authority (RAA) said: ‘there is no need to study Indian and world history when we have our contents to study like our own Constitution, roles and functions of executive, legislature, judiciary and the entire government machinery’ (C5, FI).

7.6.3 Need for improvement in the textbooks

As the civics textbooks were drafted and published before 2008, much of the content is now outdated. Stakeholders feel strongly there is a need to update textbooks to maintain the relevance of the civics curriculum to the prevailing laws and regulations. This is shown in the figure 7.26 below.

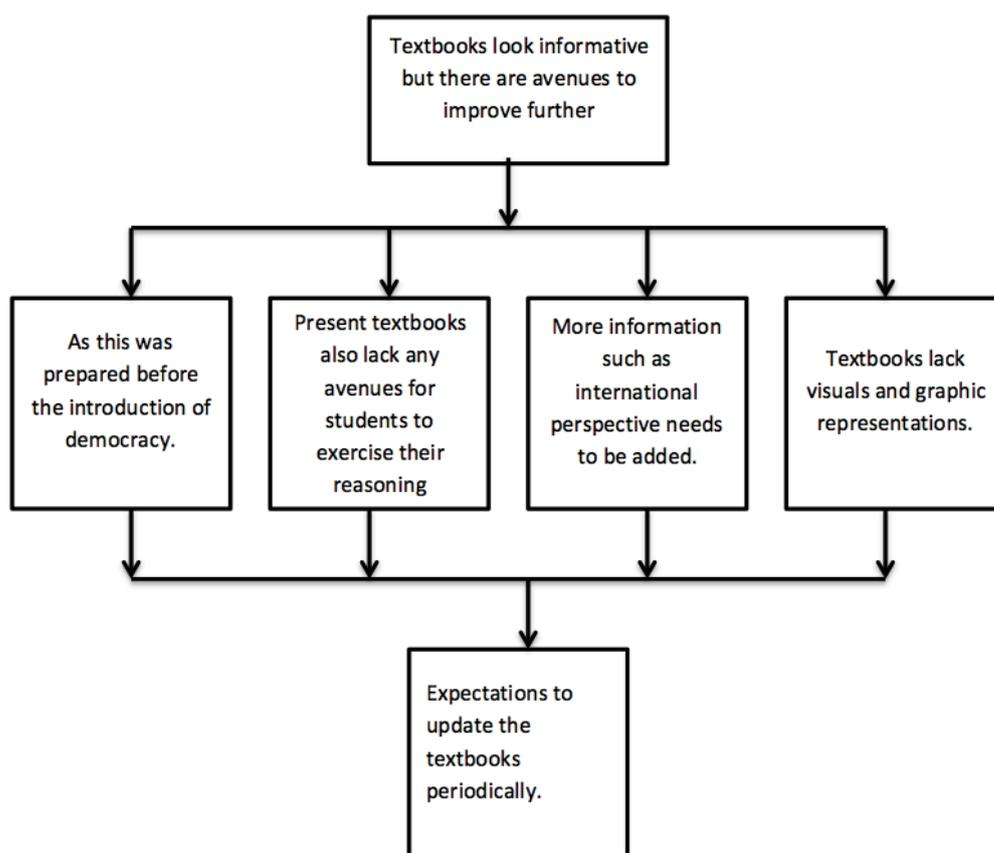


Figure 7.26: Justifications to update textbooks

MP2 is of the opinion that it is high time that civics should be updated. He said, ‘Civics education has latched on to the more institutional and structural aspects. It has

focused less on dynamics. This is understandable because the writing and publishing of civics textbook in 2007-08 was done when the lived experience of democracy had to yet unfold. Although the processes and dynamics are now more real and experienced after eight and half years of democracy, civics textbooks and education have not been improved to incorporate them' (MP2, FI). A stakeholder from the Election Commission of Bhutan (ECB) also expressed a desire to introduce election related issues in the civics curriculum and remarked: 'Present texts were written before the ECB's time. Need to review chapters to resequence logically for all grades' (C3, FI). For instance, the earlier laws prior to 2008 and resultant rules and regulations provided the tenure of elected post as three years. However, the Constitution and other laws related to election amended the tenure of any elected post to five years. The civics textbooks, which were written in 2006, still mentioned the term of local government and parliament as three years. According to a stakeholder, this discrepancy between legal provisions and the civics textbooks was pointed out by ECB to the civics curriculum officer in 2009 and further stated: 'Upon our comments, they (DCRD) have revised in the subsequent editions making it as five years' (C3, FI).

Stakeholders' opinions that the present textbooks lacked any avenue for students to exercise their reasoning potential were shared during the interview. One stakeholder from the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) feels there is no space provided in the textbooks where students are promoted to think beyond the textual provisions. For instance, C4 points out that textbooks should focus more on how students understood issues such as transparency and accountability. C4 said: 'As citizens, how can they (students) promote transparency? Why transparency is important? What are the accountability measures existing in the current system?' (C4, FI).

There is a need to incorporate international perspectives in the civics textbooks. Even though the writers of civics textbooks back in 2006 had referred to the global experience when writing some chapters, some stakeholders still find the textbooks lacking necessary international perspectives. A stakeholder points out: 'Principles of Good Governance and its four pillars, such as Transparency, Accountability, Efficiency, and Professionalism need to be included in the curriculum. Measures like Assets Declaration, Audit Clearance, etc., refer World Bank and OECD (Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development) websites on Good Governance' (C4, FI). C4 emphasises the need for parallel inclusion of international perspectives and Bhutanese ethos and recommends:

‘there is a slight confusion between features of Good Governance and values. One can refer to World Bank’s literature on Good Governance’ (C4, FI).

Equally, stakeholders have underlined the need to improve the overall visual presentation of the textbooks starting from the cover page by using images, cartoons, flowcharts and other illustrations for children to generate interest. A stakeholder observed: ‘The text is too “dry”, needs more illustrations, needs to make more visual’ (C4, FI). This observation is further reinforced when one stakeholder, a member of parliament also commented on the need for textbooks to be made animated and relevant to daily life. MP1 said: ‘Design of textbooks needs improvement. Texts are very wordy and gloomy, which are unattractive for students to read and learn. Texts should be made more animated and make it relevant to daily life’. This MP1 goes on to say: ‘the cover page is not eye-catching. The text looks very text-based’ (MP1, FI). This concern is also shared by stakeholder in another expression: ‘... need to improve the text outlook, with visuals, graphic representations, images and cartoons, etc. (C1, FI). It is again expressed by C3: ‘... need to improve right from the cover page to sequencing of chapters and topics right from Class 7 upwards to facilitate coherent understanding by students’ (C3, FI).

There is a need for consultative meetings amongst textbooks developers, parents and students. Stakeholder C4 said: ‘If DCRD updates, there should be consultative meeting amongst developers, parents and students. Students’ views should be taken. ACC wants to integrate values at the utmost’ (C4, FI). Similarly, C3 also emphasises ‘working with DCRD and other stakeholders including parliament to promote awareness on democracy’ (C3, FI). C3 further said: ‘Outputs of such consultations need to be incorporated into civics texts’. There is a consensus on the need for a wider consultation amongst relevant stakeholders and agencies to understand the different roles of different posts and institutions, which will ultimately lead to a proper understanding of democracy. C3 further commented: ‘every stakeholder has certain role to play in democracy. Sustaining and strengthening of democracy is not just ECB’s role’ (C3, FI).

7.6.4 Shallow content on constitutional organisations

Just as curriculum writers and teachers themselves agreed on the importance of encouraging practical learning for students in schools, stakeholders voiced their common concern in support of making civics learning practical, participatory and interactive as highlighted in the figure 7.27 below.

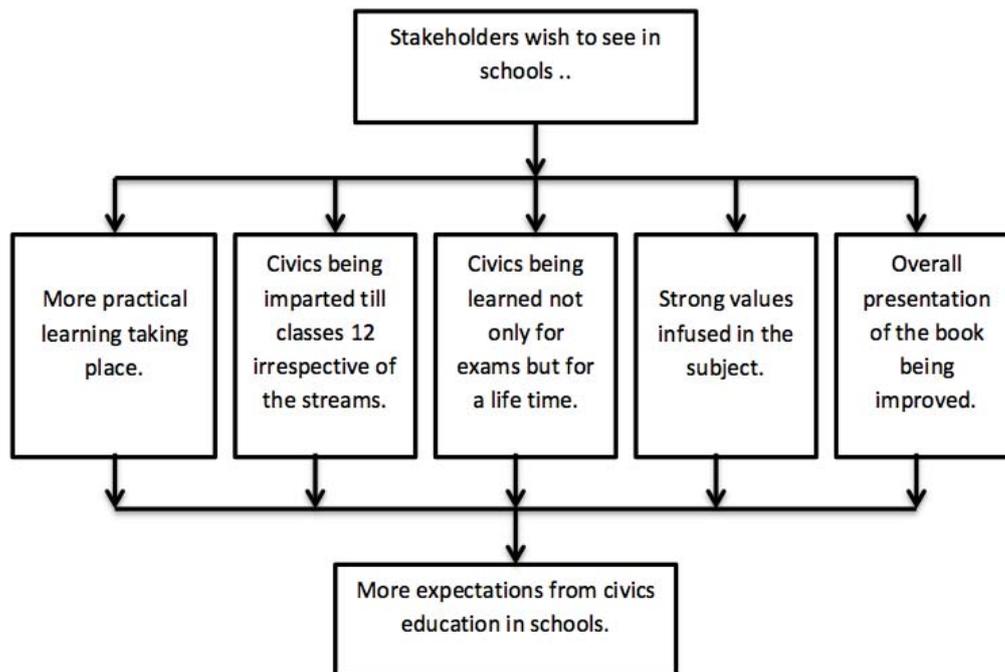


Figure 7.27: Expectations of stakeholders from constitutional organizations.

Remarks like ‘lack of hands-on and practical learning in schools’ by C2 (C2, FI), ‘need for additional information on judiciary in the text’ by C1 (C1, F1), and ‘They [students] don’t know where they fit in the overall structure. All these leading to lack of interest from students’ as expressed by MP1 (MP1, FI) are strong indications that the textbooks contain just theoretical narrations and lack practical application. Therefore, this general feeling of lack of civics knowledge in students, despite the existence of the subject from 2008, suggests the need to incorporate hands-on experience sessions in the classrooms. For instance, C1 said: ‘Civics learning should be practical, like guest lectures by Justices and students visit to courtroom during hearing sessions’ (C1, FI). C1 further said: ‘we encourage courtroom visits and even allow students to attend public trials and hearings. Our Supreme Court now has opening hours for visitors on Friday afternoons.

They can also request our judges serving in our local communities so they can visit and have first-hand experience and interact with our judges and court staff' (C1, FI).

In the interview, C3 explains ECB's involvements in schools through the Democracy Club, which was initiated to substantiate and complement civics learning in schools and to provide hands-on experience to students. C3 said: 'ECB initiated co-curricular activity called "Democracy Club" in schools which actually substantiates and complements on all those civics learning. We have guidelines for Democracy club' (C3, FI). ECB has conducted capacity development workshops for club coordinators and trained students on Democracy Club management. C3 further identified that, as requested by some teachers, ECB had even supplied electronic voting machines (EVM) and all those compartments for ballot to actually demonstrate casting of votes so that learning becomes practical. These are some of the initiations of ECB to 'make learning as interactive as possible' in schools (C3, FI). However, C3 maintains that once the Ministry of Education incorporates such practical aspects into the curriculum, the ECB would discontinue having Democracy Clubs in schools (C3, FI).

Besides creating civics as a separate subject of its own, some stakeholders also argued that it be made mandatory for students of all streams till class 12. While C2 said: 'Civics curriculum may be extended as a compulsory subject for all students (including science and commerce as well) up to Class 12' (C2, FI). However, MP2 laments that civics is not continued to the higher classes. He said, 'because civics education is confined to lower classes, the tendency is to teach everything in the lower classes. This makes comprehension difficult for children. On the other hand, there is no opportunity to learn more as students age and go to higher classes. For example, other lessons increase and diversify in content from lower to upper classes. But civics remain more or less fossilised' (MP2, FI).

Stakeholder C3 remarked: 'Mandatory civics for all streams up to Class 12 – ECB is on dialogue with DCRD on this issue' (C3, FI). C3 shared ECB's ongoing consultation with DCRD on the proposal that civics be a compulsory subject for all students, at least at the basic level of civics education, since civics is important to prepare students to be responsible and assume an active role in the democratic process (C3, FI). To this end, ECB urged the Ministry of Education to lead the discussion with a policy framework.

Considering the mandates the state has imposed on constitutional organisations through legal provisions in the Constitution, the stakeholders emphasised the importance of textbooks to be as comprehensible as possible on all constitutional organisations. In fact, each interviewee representing their respective constitutional organisation emphasised the need to include the roles and responsibilities of their respective organisations comprehensively in the textbooks. For instance, C5 said: ‘There is a confusion between the functions and jurisdiction of RAA in the present text’ (C5, FI). C3 identifies that there is nothing on general voter education in the textbooks. ECB would support schools to conduct practical lessons, if required, mainly for professional development of teachers. This was in response to students’ wish to be taught by a trained civics teacher. C3 quickly added: ‘We would need support and guidance from the Ministry of Education as to how to go about engaging teachers’ (C3, FI). Wary of one common misperception that democracy, election and formation of government is the sole responsibility of ECB, C3 rebukes: ‘There is a need of collaborative efforts from all stakeholders covering both pre and post election period. Of course, MoE should always lead for the school education on civics and democracy’ (C3, FI). C3 shares that, in Singapore, the civics curriculum contains all the necessary information and education about election, voting, government, etcetera such that there is no need for any voter education on the eve of elections, as opposed to massive voter education taking place in Bhutan before the election (C3, FI).

Civics education should inculcate values to produce patriotic citizens who are concerned with the security and sovereignty of the nation. A stakeholder from RCSC said: ‘RCSC wishes to inculcate such values in students’ mentality and there is a need to produce students with multifaceted talents to become better civil servants’ (C2, FI).

Stakeholders believe that civics education should encompass human values, such as fair play, impartiality, faith and confidence in rule of law, infusion of Bhutanese ethos, concept of GNH, *Ley Jumdrey* in relation to doctrine of reciprocity (or ‘reap what you sow’). MP2 stated:

The attempt by the education establishment to infuse GNH values into curriculum has resulted in doing away with the value education curriculum assuming them that they are the same. There are no defined GNH values. What little exist in abstraction are taught as something distanced, objective and removed from the values of the person or the individual. For example, conservation is taught as a GNH value. But it

does not connect with traditional values or source of values in terms of respect for all life forms, respecting environment in its own right rather than as being incidental to human well-being etc. Individual rights or fundamental rights are not taught in the context of interpersonal relationship and values such as *Ley Jumdrey* and *Tha Damtshig*. Thus, the personal, moral, ethical and social values are relegated to concerns of subjects like *Dzongkha* as if they are incompatible with civics education. In other words, civics education is presented more as that of the society, the other, the institutions etc. and less of the personal and the individual. Reconciling them also needs reconciling of the way we teach values. But first we need to problematize what GNH values mean today and overcome pretensions that they are different from the values taught through traditional subjects. (MP2, FI)

Stakeholder C1 said: 'Educational institutions and schools are the first place to groom students by making them aware of terms like fair play, equal justice, without bias or prejudice, impartiality, accountability, transparency, and the entire judiciary proceedings' (C1, FI). Issues like asset declarations, audit clearance, and professionalism and topical issues such as women participation in elections and in democracy should find a place in civics education. Opinions were expressed regarding the need to link modern democratic principles with traditional and customary beliefs. C3 said: 'ECB is currently working on women's participation in the election process. People always talk about tradition and culture that actually bars women from active participation because they always believe in that a public office is always a man-area' (C3, FI). So there is the need for efforts to change people's attitude in light of prevailing tradition and culture so as to best suit with the present democratic process.

As regards incorporation of aspects of good governance in the civics curriculum, stakeholder C5 expressed the relevance of spelling out the vision, mission and functions of the RAA in Civics textbooks (C5, FI). C5 said: 'Improve the content on RAA under the relevant chapter focusing more on how RAA promotes accountability and transparency for overall promotion of good governance' (C5, FI). C5 goes on to say: 'More reference is required to the Audit Act which basically sums up on how RAA functions, how Auditor General is appointed' (C5, FI).

In fact, the premise that transparency and accountability are the basic tenets of democracy is echoed by different stakeholders. Commenting on the chapter on parliament, MP1 expressed a need to elaborate on the mandates and roles of the two Houses of Parliament so that students understand, for example, how the National Council's roles differ from those of the National Assembly (MP1, FI). MP1 further

commented: ‘The chapter on National Council (NC) should also include on how the NC as House conduct its mandates – not just through sitting in the House during the session but on how the individual Members do their daily duties, i.e., within the Parliamentary Committee’ (MP1, F1). Further, it was repeatedly observed that the civics textbooks merely mentioned different organs of the government but lacked any elaboration on how each of the institutions impact society, the daily life of the people and the overall running of the government machinery.

Interviews with stakeholders led to one significant deduction that the present civics textbooks focus much on ‘who’ and ‘what’ but lack anything on ‘why’ despite the fact that these issues are pertinent for the country and the people. It is as important to emphasise the objectives behind introducing the civics curriculum as it is to ensure comprehensive incorporation of different aspects and issues. C4 said: ‘Values need to be integrated in civics education. Text spells who and what but lacks why certain things are important’ (C4, FI). The civics curriculum should guide the nation on what values and practices should shape our country and the people over the next 30 to 40 years. Values education imparted through the civics curriculum should hold the national identity. Emphasising the need to have clarity of thought on the objectives of the civics curriculum, MP1 said: ‘Value education should hold our identity. Students should figure out their own roles in their lifetime for the country. Values shape your mentality and that actually shapes the whole society’ (MP1, FI). MP1 continued: ‘Civics learning is narrowly taken as study of government structure. Rather, civics learning should enable students to understand their roles in the society. What their responsibilities are as citizens of the country is missing in the texts’ (MP1, FI). MP2 advised to make civics education ‘to be more personalised, less abstract. For example, children may know about number of MPs, Houses of Parliament and local governments. But they would not know who their MPs are from their villages, what the issues in their towns and villages are and how their MPs raise them. Children also do not know whether their MPs are from the ruling or opposition parties’ (MP2, FI).

In view of all these opinions and recommendations shared by the stakeholders, there is a need to update the textbooks. The revision of textbooks should not be a one-off exercise but a regularly occurring activity where the contents match national progress, unfolding circumstances and contemporary ideologies, concepts, values and principles that underpin the existence of society and societal structures.

7.7 Conclusion

A total of 27 themes were drawn from semi-structured interviews, which were conducted with 78 interviewees covering 54 students and 13 teachers from nine schools, one curriculum officer, three curriculum writers, an official each from five constitutional bodies and two parliamentarians. Many themes have elements of commonality while there are some divergent opinions in some of the themes. To conclude the chapter, the themes are summarised below for proper understanding of the overall concerns raised by the stakeholders.

Broadly, common themes can be grouped under four categories while divergent themes can be sub-grouped under three categories. These are briefly recapitulated below. Details with nuances, causes, and implications are elaborated in Chapter 9.

Themes with elements of commonality are:

1. Low priority accorded to civics education: This concern mainly boils down to lesser examination weightings accorded to the civics text. With just 15-20% of total allocated marks to civics, students devote lesser effort to studying civics as compared to other subjects. This leads to lesser time from teachers, as they have to judiciously allocate their limited time amongst four history subjects. Obviously with lesser marks allocated to civics, teachers are allotted with fewer numbers of periods to teach, regardless of the size of syllabus in the curriculum. As a result, teachers have to often rush in the civics class to expedite coverage of syllabus.
2. Unappealing civics textbooks: All the interviewees expressed their disappointment with the look of civics textbooks. Starting from a very unattractive cover page to unappealing formatting of chapters and letter fonts, every single interviewee agreed that the civics textbooks were not published to entice young students to read and obtain new knowledge.
3. Shortcoming of content: Even the writers themselves agreed to the opinions expressed by other stakeholders that the contents of the textbooks are outdated and incomplete. Facts need to be updated while the chapters merit incorporation of values education.
4. Incompetent teachers: Competency of teachers was questioned by all stakeholders, including the teachers themselves. Teachers are in need of professional development in the subject.

Themes with divergent opinions:

1. Continuity of civics education: While all the stakeholders converged on the idea that Class 10 should not be the exit point for civics education, different views were expressed on whether the civics education should be extended to Class 12 or beyond to the university curriculum.
2. Deployment of only civics-expert teachers: It was mainly the students who expressed a need for teachers who are trained in civics and teaching the civics subject only. But other stakeholders justified on economic reasons that it would be very extravagant for the government to train teachers just for civics when the nation is running short of teachers in our schools. Therefore, some stakeholders rather suggested that our education colleges could develop one extra module for teaching civics.
3. Divergent views on civics education: Various forms and levels of understandings on civics education were expressed by different stakeholders. This ranged from understanding civics as study of democracy, politics and governance to study of patriotism, brotherhood and nation-building.

Elaborations of these various expressions are further analysed and contextualised in Chapter 9.

Chapter 8: Commentary on Bhutan Civics textbooks

8.1 Overview

This chapter is an offshoot of the preliminary research exercise. The initial research plan did not have any intention for a detailed examination of Bhutan Civics textbooks.

However, the unfolding interim findings that surfaced as the research progressed made the researcher firmly believe that leaving these civics textbooks aside would create a severe void in the outcomes of the research. As the main objective of the research is to understand students' knowledge and stakeholders' perspectives of civics education in Bhutan, the research entailed conducting of:

- Literature review of civics and citizenship education around the world;
- Knowledge test and semi-structured focus group interview with students;
- Semi-structured interview with civics teachers and other relevant civics curriculum-based stakeholders such as curriculum writers, curriculum officer, and other significant stakeholders; and
- Extensive reading of Their Majesties the Kings' speeches that carried many important national aspirations of far-reaching bearings on the people and the country.

These processes necessitated the researcher to provide comments on the content of the civics textbooks. Therefore, this chapter emerged as an additional product; hence, it may not necessarily have a link with the research methods elaborated under Chapter 5. This chapter provides a list of commentaries on the Bhutan Civics textbooks, albeit within the bound of the researcher's limited intellectual capacity.

Some considerations arising during the course of research that encouraged the researcher to visit civics textbooks are explained below.

His Majesty's speeches: His Majesty the 5th King said during the 3rd Convocation ceremony of Royal University of Bhutan,

Today I speak on behalf of our teachers and students – our teachers will always be committed and dedicated teachers – our students will always be diligent and loyal students – but it is the duty of parents, policy makers and the government to put the right tools in their hands – the right books, the right curriculum, the right direction. For this we must first ask ourselves where do we want to go as an economy, as a democracy, as a nation. In other words, what is the Vision for Bhutan? Then we must build an education system that nurtures people with the right skills, knowledge and training to fulfill this Vision. The sooner we realize this the better. (Wangchuck, 2009, paragraph 6)

His Majesty's aspirations and many other royal speeches prompted the need to visit the civics textbooks' contents to confirm if such far-reaching national aspirations are conveyed through the curriculum.

Literature review: Different scholars have articulated different understandings on the concept of civics and citizenship education, which in turn influence the content of the textbooks. Generally, civics education is expected to provide knowledge, skills, values and disposition (ACARA, 2012). Therefore, it merits ensuring if the Bhutan Civics textbooks have necessary features of civics education.

Student test: It was noticed from the test that students were confused between the answers provided in the textbooks and the updated information they get from outside source. For instance, during the time of test construction, some factual errors were noticed in the textbooks, which will be discussed in the later part of this chapter.

Student interviews: Students expressed that they were learning more from external sources than from the information provided in the textbooks. They also expressed that they would prefer to have illustrations, fun facts, and pictorial designs in the textbooks instead of wordy textbooks. Further, they vented that mere learning from textbooks did not provide them with opportunities for participation. Guilfoile and Delander (2014) point out that textbooks should facilitate the development of needed civic skills. Therefore, there was a need to validate students' observations about the textbooks.

Teacher interviews: Teachers unequivocally stated a need to update the textbooks to maintain pace with periodic legislative updates and emerging legal settings. Therefore, it became obligatory to find out information, facts and figures in the textbooks that needed revision.

Stakeholder interviews: Stakeholders commented that the current civics textbooks have avenues to improve further in terms of content and activities for students to trigger and exercise their reasoning potential. They also opined that there is room for inclusion of international perspectives in the textbooks. Thus, it became imperative for the researcher to read through the textbooks.

Based on the above rationale, civics textbooks of classes 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 were read and cursory commentaries on individual chapters of civics textbooks are provided in this chapter based on the study of Smith, Fountain, and McLean (2002) on *Civic Education in Primary and Secondary Schools in the Republic of Serbia*. This document has been found relevant to use as an example as the experts have come together to review and evaluate Serbia's newly introduced civics education. Some of the recommendations provided in the documents are relevant to provide for the improvement of Bhutan's civics education. Other than the above-mentioned reason, there is no concrete resemblance to Bhutan. This document is an evaluation report on the introduction of civic education to the school curriculum in the Republic of Serbia for the period 2001–2002. The report shares some key observations:

- Some of the specific developments in Serbia leading up to the introduction of civic education in the schools;
- Whether the civic curriculum in Serbia contains international concerns, such as those envisaged in the UN Decade for Human Rights Education; and
- Critical commentary on the civics education programs for primary and secondary schools.

However, for the purpose of this chapter, reference was made to only one chapter in the report, that is, Chapter 3 entitled 'Commentary on the Civic Education Curriculum'. This chapter contains commentaries on the comparatives of Serbia's civic education against international norms and standards, teacher qualification to teach civic education,

goal and objectives of civic education both in primary and secondary, and manuals for teachers. Then they have provided suggestions under each commentary for future development of the curriculum.

In a similar pattern, a study of Bhutan Civics textbooks for this chapter was carried out with the purpose of understanding the overall objectives of the civics education. This required the researcher to further understand in particular the following issues from the textbooks:

- Specific outcomes of each topic;
- Whether the content of each topic matches the overall objectives and the specific outcomes;
- Since civics is about participation, if the activities at the end of each chapter involve participatory activities;
- How values are taught under each topic; and
- The comments on textual information. The textual errors highlighted in this chapter are in accordance with the views expressed by the Chairperson of the Constitution Drafting Committee, Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan, Acts, and Rules and Regulations.

Just as Smith, Fountain, and McLean (2002) have commented topic-wise, this chapter contains comments under each topic covering the above five points. It is essential to first understand the overall objectives of Bhutan civics education as reflected in the civics textbooks and in the Teachers' Guide. Overall objectives of Bhutan civics education are separately mentioned under two headings: objectives mentioned under Teachers' Guide and objectives mentioned under civics textbooks.

8.2 Bhutan Civics Classes VII & VIII: A Supplementary Textbook

(Provisional Edition 2008, Reprinted 2009, 2010 and First Edition 2012)

The textbook comprises two parts, viz. Part 1 for Class VII and Part 2 for Class VIII. Part 1 discusses Forms of Government and Part 2 is about Constitution and the Citizen. At the time of writing this chapter, there was no published Teachers' Guide for Classes 7 and 8 civics textbooks. Therefore, comments made, if any, for Classes 7 and 8 are made with reference to the textbook only.

8.2.1 PART 1 for Class VII: Forms of Government

The learning objectives from the textbook are

- Differentiate the types of Democratic Government;
- Identify the branches of the Government and Constitutional Bodies;
- Explain the specific functions of the branches of the Government and the Constitutional Bodies;
- Explain how Constitutional Bodies ensure Good Governance; and
- Identify the roles of the Armed Forces (CAPSD, 2008).

It was observed that the content of Part I generally matches with the above stated objectives. The concepts of direct democracy, indirect democracy, presidential and parliamentary form of government are discussed in detail. Students are provided not only with definitions of constitutional bodies and branches of government, their brief roles and responsibilities are mentioned in the textbooks. Students are further familiarised through this chapter with defence forces of the country.

Since civics and citizenship has three components, knowledge, skills and values, it was observed that the chapter focuses more on providing knowledge and not so much on skills and values. There are some general skills provided through activities such as listing, explaining, drawing and participating in quizzes. There is one activity that encourages participation where students are asked for their preference and reason to work in constitutional office. Explicit values are not mentioned other than the roles of constitutional bodies, which ensure good governance and help to administer governance machinery efficiently, free and fair election of people representatives and equitable development of the country.

Further, there are some avenues for improvement in the factual content of some sub-topics, as mentioned below. Comments made are indicated against the page number and the title of the specific topic for easy cross-reference to the textbook. This format is followed throughout this chapter.

Comments on textual information

1. Page 3 (Government)

The second sentence states: ‘This group of people works according to the laws of the country and as per the Directive Principles of State mentioned in the Constitution.’

The text needs to be reviewed to change a mention of ‘Directive Principles of State’ to ‘Principles of State Policy’ as stated under Article 9 of the Constitution. This is repeatedly observed in other parts of this textbook as well as in the textbooks of higher classes.

2. Page 5 (Figure 1.1 Structure of Bhutanese Government)

The flowchart can be improved to show clarity on the holders of constitutional offices by including Chief Justices and Drangpons of the Supreme Court and High Court. While they are independent under Judiciary, they are also holders of constitutional offices (Article 31.2 a and b) ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008).

Further, the flowchart could also improve its comprehensiveness by incorporating autonomous agencies under Executives but not under any Ministry. Autonomous agencies are not reflected in the flowchart.

3. Page 9 (Figure 1.5 Figure displaying relation among different constitutional bodies)

The figure inadvertently shows the Election Commission in the centre with linkages with other constitutional offices and also as linkage with itself. Perhaps, this could be a printing oversight. Further, the figure could also possibly incorporate the Supreme Court and High Court as the Chief Justices and Drangpons are constitutional office holders as enshrined under Article 31.2 of the Constitution.

8.2.2 PART 2 for Class VIII: Constitution and the Citizen

The learning objectives from the textbook CAPSD (2008) are:

- Define Constitution;
- Write the features of the Constitution;
- Write the importance of Constitution;
- Define citizens;
- Write citizenship laws of Bhutan; and
- Explain why a citizen must vote.

It was observed that the content of Part 2 matches with the above stated objectives as the content delivers what the Bhutanese constitution is and how it is introduced to people. Some of the features and importance of a constitution is explained in this chapter. Values

such as fundamental duties and rights are mentioned for students to learn. Values of participation, such as fundamental duties of a citizen for the welfare of people and to uphold the interest of the nation, have been put across for students to be aware of. Regarding another instance where participation of a citizen is encouraged, voting, the information in the textbook makes students aware of how one should understand candidates, the political affairs and election process to cast a vote responsibly. The importance of rules for any activity is imparted through one class activity at the end of the chapter.

However, it was again noticed in Page 18 under ‘Directive Principles of State Policy’ that it needs to be changed to ‘Principles of State Policy’ as stated under Article 9 of the Constitution. In fact, this error appears repeatedly in the textbooks. On the whole, there is a need to align textbook content with the texts of the Constitution both in letter and spirit.

8.3 Bhutan Civics Classes IX – X: A Course Book

(Provisional Edition 2008, Reprinted 2009, 2010, 2011)

This textbook, entitled as a Course Book, consists of three units, each unit comprising two or more chapters. Unit One and Two are offered in Class IX and Unit Three in Class X. There is a separate Teachers’ Guide for Classes 9 and 10, which is the provisional edition of 2008 and reprinted in 2014. Hence, traces of updated versions of facts can be found in the Teachers’ Guide as opposed to the earlier editions of textbooks. For instance, the earlier version of DYT and GYT has been updated as DT and GT respectively. As the textbook is divided into two parts for Classes 9 and 10 separately, discussions and commentaries are also provided separately hereunder.

8.3.1 Class IX

As per the overall learning objectives provided in the introduction page of the civics textbook and as per the Teachers’ Guide (CAPSD, 2008), students will be able to understand:

- The gradual development towards parliamentary democracy in Bhutan;
- The background, drafting process, and salient features of the Constitution;
- Meaning, features and significance of fundamental rights and duties;
- Meaning, formation and role of political parties; and

- The need, types and the process of election.

In addition to the above overall objectives, each chapter has its own learning objectives listed in both the textbook and in Teachers' Guide. The content of the text in the chapter has been examined to gauge if it matches with the intended objectives stated in the textbook and the Teachers' Guide, as detailed below.

Unit One: Constitution

Chapter One: History of the Constitution in Bhutan

Both the students' textbook and the Teachers' Guide have their own learning objectives as below, where students are expected to:

- Explain the evolution of Monarchy in Bhutan;
- Explain the background and benefits of the establishment of DYT and GYT;
- Write the significance of devolution of power in 1998;
- Explain the need to have public consultations with regard to the Constitution; and
- Write the significance of our Constitution (CAPSD, 2008).

Comments on Objectives

Except for the first objective, the content of the text generally seems to have all required topics to fulfil the objectives. The chapter does not discuss evolution of monarchy, i.e., no mention of pre-1907 political events. The text only describes the political reforms after 1907. Even the Teachers' Guide does not have any description of pre-1907 political events, although the topic 'Evolution of Monarchy in Bhutan' is reflected under Lesson 1, which is covered under learning activity. Therefore, it is imperative upon the teacher concerned to ensure that students learn about the evolution of monarchy in Bhutan through the classroom activity, if the learning outcome is to be fulfilled. The chapter conveys to the students that Bhutan's transition from absolute monarchy to democratic constitutional monarchy was unique, unlike other countries where democracy has been pursued as a result of civil unrest. However, both the content and the activities do not seem to encourage participatory skills. It is more focused on providing knowledge to be learned by students.

Comments on textual information

1. Page 1 (Introduction)

Line 3-4 states: ‘The makers of our Constitutions studied the Constitutions of more than 50 countries ...’. In order to convey correct historical information, the sentence may be amended to inform the students and general readers that the Constitution Drafting Committee had actually studied Constitutions of more than 100 countries (Tobgay, 2015). This is similarly observed in the later part of the chapter as well.

2. Page 2 (3rd Paragraph)

The 3rd paragraph reads: ‘The Lodroe Tshogde was entrusted with the responsibility of advising the King and the Council of Ministers on all matters of national importance’. There is a need to confirm if there was a Council of Ministers then in 1965.

3. Page 4 (Submission of the first Draft to His Majesty)

The researcher observed an abrupt jump of events from 9 December 2002 to 21 March 2005 on the drafting of the Constitution. The chapter needs to include events that unfolded between these two dates for students to understand the events sequentially with their significance.

4. Page 5 (Significance of the Constitution)

The 1st paragraph, 2nd sentence reads: ‘The Constitution is important to the Bhutanese because of the following reasons: It opens with a *Preamble* where the ... people for all time.’ The paragraph needs appropriate changes to focus on the importance of the Constitution. Otherwise, the paragraph could suggest that opening of the Constitution with a *Preamble* is the importance of the Constitution.

5. Page 6 (1st Paragraph)

The second sentence reads: ‘In order to promote the unity and integrity of the people in different parts of the country, the Constitution introduces single citizen in Article 6 and allows freedom to vote for all citizens above 18 years of age and who are mentally sound’. This sentence suggests that the main intention for a single citizenship policy is to promote unity and integrity of the people and to allow freedom to vote. While the need to promote unity and integrity of the people cannot be ruled out, the intention of Article 6 has no connection with freedom of voting. Voting seems to be out of context under Article 6. Further, Article 6 forbids a Bhutanese citizen to hold dual citizenship ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008).

6. Page 6 (2nd Paragraph)

- i. The 2nd sentence reads: ‘This would inspire the state to work for the good of the people and establish social and economic democracy in the country’. But, it does not explain what is social and economic democracy, which needs further clarification for students’ understanding.
- ii. The 4th sentence reads: ‘The Supreme Court has been made the guardian of the rights of the people’. In this regard, it is felt that firstly, this information appears disconnected from what is being discussed here in this paragraph, which is about the Directive Principles of State Policy. Secondly, if it is still to be mentioned here then perhaps, it may be suggested to instead mention that the Supreme Court is the guardian of the Constitution and the final authority on its interpretation (as per Article 1.11) ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008).
- iii. Last sentence reads: ‘The State gives Fundamental Rights and protects the rights of the citizens, enabling the people to perform their duties to the state. This would assure and enhance Good Governance to realize the vision of Gross National Happiness’. It needs to be explained as to how the state giving fundamental rights to the people actually enables them to perform their duties to the state. Further, it is not clear as to how providing fundamental rights to the people would enhance good governance to realise the vision of GNH.

Unit One: Constitution

Chapter Two: The Salient Features of the Constitution of Bhutan

The overall learning objectives of the students’ textbook and in Teachers’ Guide are given below.

- Explain the meaning of Preamble;
- Describe the main features of the Preamble;
- Justify the inclusion of Preamble in the Constitution and its significance;
- Explain the elements that consolidate and make the Kingdom of Bhutan;
- Elucidate the criteria of becoming a Monarch in Bhutan; and
- Explain the importance of the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Constitution (CAPSD, 2008a; DCRD, 2008a).

Comments on Objectives

The students' textbook (Page 14 -15) contains four paragraphs of descriptions on Spiritual and Cultural heritage. The same is also mentioned in the Rationale of the Teachers' Guide. However, the learning objectives seem to be missing in both the documents. Values such as peace, non-violence, compassion and tolerance are mentioned in this chapter. The importance of preservation of spiritual and cultural heritage has been shown as essential means to safeguard independence of the nation. The chapter functions as a knowledge provider and participation skills need to be strengthened both in content and activities.

Comments on textual information

1. Page 9 (Salient Features of the Constitution of Bhutan)

There does not seem to be any salient features according to the title of the sub-topic, except the sudden mention of the preamble, in the text. A couple of salient features, suggested for inclusion here, are provided below.

- Article 2(6), which requires Druk Gyalpo to step down and hand over the Throne to the next heir upon reaching the age of 65; and
- Article 5(3), which mandates the State to preserve and conserve minimum of 60% of the country's total area under forest cover for all time ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008).

2. Page 11 (Figure 1.2.1 Main Features of the Preamble)

There is a need to revise the figure if the Preamble contains any connection to 'Basic Objectives of Democratic Constitutional Monarchy'.

3. Page 12 (4th Bullet)

The sentence 'The territory of Bhutan shall comprise twenty Dzongkhags, each Dzongkhag consisting of Gewogs and Thromde' should be read as 'Gewogs and Thromdes' as it is theoretically possible to have more than one Thromde in a Dzongkhag.

4. Page 12 (11th Bullet)

The sentence reads: 'The Supreme Court shall be the court of record ... its interpretation'. While it is technically not wrong to mention here that the Supreme Court shall be the court of record, it seems more suitable to mention under Unit Three, Chapter Three on 'The Judiciary' since it is spelt under Article 21. Clauses under Article 21 are mentioned at greater detail under Chapter Three of Unit Three.

Unit One: Constitution

Chapter Three: Fundamental Rights and Duties

The learning objectives from the textbook and Teachers' Guide are

- Explain the meaning of fundamental rights and duties;
- Identify the different types of fundamental rights;
- Describe the relationship between fundamental rights and duties;
- Discuss the significance of fundamental rights and duties;
- Give reasons for incorporating fundamental rights and duties in the Constitution;
- Use their fundamental rights reasonably; and
- Provide reasons for the incorporation of fundamental duties in the Constitution (CAPSD, 2008a; DCRD, 2008a).

The content of the chapter generally seems to fulfil the above objectives. Students are provided with the concept of fundamental rights and duties. Besides knowledge, values such as preservation and protection of country's sovereignty, abiding by the law, tolerance, safeguarding public property, refraining from harming other persons, not abusing women and children, and helping people and country in times of need are discussed in detail in the chapter. The activities after the chapter are mostly based on recollection of knowledge. Participatory activities can be strengthened in this chapter to impart in-depth knowledge on fundamental duties and rights.

Comments on textual information

Page 18 (Classification of Fundamental Rights)

In the first bullet on 'Right to Equality', Clause 11 should also be mentioned along with Clauses 1, 8, 13, and 15 as the paragraph actually already talks about its content, i.e., equal pay for equal value of work. Further, Clause 13 is mentioned while its constitutional provision of right to have material interest resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production is not included in the text ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008).

Unit Two: Election and Formation of Political Parties

Chapter One: Formation of Political Parties

Both the textbook and the Teachers' Guide have the same learning objectives where students are expected to:

- Give the meaning of a ‘political party’;
- List the prerequisites for a political party;
- Explain the formation of political parties; and
- Discuss the roles of the political parties (CAPSD, 2008a; DCRD, 2008a).

The content of the chapter generally seems to fulfil the above objectives. However, the chapter seems to focus more on the procedures of the formation of political parties, which means more focus on providing knowledge. There is one activity which encourages participatory skills, i.e. preparing a manifesto by students. There is a possibility of incorporating values such as team spirit, commitment and cooperation.

Comments on textual information

On page 28, under the Conclusion, the second sentence states: ‘In order to form a political party, it needs to fulfill certain pre-requisites as mentioned in the Constitution and as per the law of Bhutan.’ This sentence seems to suggest that the Constitution is different from the ‘law of Bhutan’, which may create confusion for the students.

Unit Two: Election and Formation of Political Parties

Chapter Two: Election

Both the textbook and the Teachers’ Guide have the same learning objectives where students are expected to:

- Analyse the need for election;
- Explain the types of election;
- Describe the source of funding and the process of campaigning; and
- Explain the voting and election procedures (CAPSD, 2008a; DCRD, 2008a).

The chapter seems to be more appropriate if entitled as ‘voter education’ instead of ‘election’. It provides knowledge on procedures of election. Some values such as right to vote and fair election are mentioned. The chapter has the avenue to include participatory activities which is missing in the activity part.

Comments on Objectives

1. At the end of this chapter, there is a question on how a political leader or a candidate would use the fund provided by the Election Commission for the campaign. There seems to be lack of information in both the textbook and in the Teachers’ Guide. This might

create difficulty for the students to answer. The alternatives could be if students are made to explore through other activities.

2. The Teaching-Learning activity provided in the Teachers' Guide procedure, under Activity 1: Visual Aids (Knowledge, Comprehension and Evaluation) requires the teacher to show a video on a mock election conducted at Paro College of Education. Since the nation has witnessed two rounds of parliamentary elections, it is suggested to see the relevance of such election campaign activity and update the Teachers' Guide accordingly.

Comments on textual information

1. Page 30 (Introduction)

The 3rd sentence reads: 'Election for the National Council is held only on the completion of the term of office'. This sentence may create confusion for students as it mentions 'on the completion of the term of office'. There is a need to update the information in accordance with the National Council (Amendment) Act of Bhutan 2014, Sections 11 and 15A (Royal Government of Bhutan, 2014).

2. Page 31 (3rd Paragraph)

The 3rd bullet reads: 'Elections enhance leadership abilities in the candidates ... This provides an opportunity to the candidates to practice and demonstrate their leadership skills'. The word 'practice' needs rethinking as this could potentially convey to students that assuming elected posts is a leadership training job.

3. Page 32 (Election procedures of Bhutan)

The text mentions only elections relevant to National Assembly election and not much on election for National Council and Local Government. Therefore, types of election should encompass all possible elections in the country.

4. Page 32 (Primary election)

The 1st sentence reads: 'Primary Election is the election where many political parties contest to get seat in the Gyalyong Tshogdu'. This sentence merits reviews to verify if the political parties contest in the primary election for a seat in the Gyalyong Tshogdu or to qualify for the General Election. (Refer Article 15.6 of the Constitution).

5. Page 32 (Bye-election)

There is a need to confirm if it is 'bye'-election or 'by'-election.

6. Page 33 (Election Campaign)

The text mentions election campaigns relevant to only the political party elections for National Assembly, and does not mention election campaigns for National Council and Local Government. Therefore, the contents need to be revised so that election campaigns for individual candidates contesting for National Council and Local Government are also incorporated.

7. Page 34 (Funding)

The text mentions the campaign fund relevant to only the political party elections for National Assembly, and nothing is mentioned on the election campaign fund for National Council. Therefore, the text needs to be revised to include election campaign fund for individual candidates contesting for National Council. Further, there is also a need to mention that there is no state campaign funding for candidates contesting for Local Government election (Royal Government of Bhutan, 2008).

8. Page 34-36 (The Constituencies)

Figure 2.2.2 may also have to include Dzongkhags as the Constituencies for National Council elections, Dzongkhag Thromdes as Constituencies for Thrompon elections, Thromde Tshogde Tshogpa Demkhongs for Thromde Tshogde Tshogpa election, Gewog for Gup and Mangmi elections, Chiwogs for Tshogpa elections, and Yenlag Thromdes for Yenlag Thromde Thuemis.

8.3.2 Class X

As per the overall learning objectives provided in the introduction page of the civics textbook, students will be able to understand the

- Organisation and functions of Legislature, Executive, Judiciary, the constitutional bodies, and civil service within the political system;
- Structure and roles of Gyalyong Tshogdu and Gyalyong Tshogde;
- Relationship between Gyalyong Tshogdu and Gyalyong Tshogde;
- Formation and dissolution of the government;
- Roles and significance of ruling and opposition parties;
- Composition and functions of the executive branch of the government, semi-autonomous and autonomous bodies;
- Expected code of conduct of civil servants;

- Evolution of laws;
- Structure, features and functions of constitutional bodies and their relationship with other organs and bodies;
- Organisation, functions and the need for local government;
- The mechanism of checks and balances for good governance; and
- Good Governance in the context of Gross National Happiness and Democracy in Bhutan (CAPSD, 2008a).

In addition to the above overall objectives, each chapter has its own learning objectives listed in both the textbook and in the Teachers' Guide. The content of the text in the chapter has been examined to gauge if it matches with the intended objectives stated in the textbook and the Teachers' Guide, as detailed below.

Unit Three: The Government

Chapter One: The Legislature

The learning objectives identified under the textbook and Teachers' Guide (CAPSD, 2008a; DCRD, 2008a) are

- List and explain the role of Gyalyong Tshogdu and Gyalyong Tshogde;
- State the criteria for membership in Gyalyong Tshogdu and Gyalyong Tshogde;
- Evaluate the main features of Gyalyong Tshogdu;
- Explain the functions and power (Legislative, Financial, Control over Executive, Election, Amendment, Judicial, etc.) of the Parliament;
- Scrutinise the procedure of the passing of a bill;
- Describe the formation of Gyalyong Tshogdu and Gyalyong Tshogde and their relationship;
- Discuss critically the role and significance of the Ruling and Opposition Party in a democratic society;
- Explain the impeachment of the members of the parliament; and
- Demonstrate the process of passing the bill;
- Tell the role of the National Assembly, the National Council, Druk Gyalpo and the Speakers; and
- Describe the formation and the prerequisites of the political parties.

Comments on Objectives

The students are provided with information on the structures of government and the function of each institution. Therefore, this fulfils the objectives provided in the textbook as well as in the Teachers' Guide. However, the topic on Political Parties (Page 44 – 45) appears to be a repetition as there is a complete chapter on Political Parties in Chapter One of Unit Two. The content seems to lack values and skills building. Even the activity at the end of the chapter appears to encourage students to recollect the information provided in the textbook.

Comments on textual information

1. Page 40 (Introduction)

The last sentence reads: 'The Legislature will consist of the National Council (Gyalong Tshogde) and the National Assembly (Gyalong Tshogdu)'. The sentence needs a review to align with Article 10.1 of the Constitution that states 'There shall be a Parliament for Bhutan in which all legislative powers under this Constitution are vested and which shall consist of the Druk Gyalpo, the National Council and the National Assembly' ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008, p. 38).

2. Page 40-41 (Membership criteria of the Parliament)

Fifth Bullet (Page 41): 'Have attained the age of twenty five years'. This criterion needs addition to include the maximum age of sixty-five as well as per Article 23.3(c) ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008).

3. Page 41 (Box 3.1.1 The Government)

The flowchart needs to be improved to avoid unintended communication as follows:

- i. Under 'Executive' the flowchart wrongly suggests that Ministers are under Autonomous Bodies, which needs to be corrected.
- ii. Under 'Judiciary' the flowchart wrongly suggests that other Courts/Tribunals are under Dzongkhag Court and Dungkhag Court, and could further inadvertently mean that the Dzongkhag Court and Dungkhag Court shall be the authorities to entertain appeals against the judgments, orders, or decisions made by such other Courts and Tribunals, which needs to be corrected.
- iii. Under 'Constitutional Bodies' the flowchart wrongly suggests that the hierarchy of power flows from Royal Audit Authority (RAA) to Royal Civil Service Commission

(RCSC) to Election Commission to Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC). Since these four constitutional bodies are equal and have same juridical status under the Constitution the flowchart needs to be amended to reflect their equal status and basis of their respective legal existence.

4. Page 42 (Powers and functions of the Parliament)

The fifth Bullet, Amending Power reads: ‘The Legislature can amend some provisions of the Constitution by a simple majority with the assent of the Druk Gyalpo’. The text requires correction to reflect the correct Constitution amendment procedure as provided for under Article 35(2) of the Constitution, which states that a motion to amend the Constitution ‘shall be initiated by a simple majority of the total number of members of Parliament at a joint sitting and, on being passed by not less than three-fourths of the total number of members in the next session at a joint sitting of Parliament, the Constitution shall stand amended on Assent being granted by the Druk Gyalpo’ ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008, p. 109).

5. Page 43 (Gyalong Tshogdu - National Assembly)

The 4th sentence reads: ‘The number of elected members from each Dzongkhag will be reviewed after every ten years to take in and reflect the changing population’. The text needs to be reviewed to incorporate that the National Assembly shall have a maximum of fifty-five members, as provided for under Article 12(1) of the Constitution ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008).

6. Page 44 (Relations between the two Houses)

This paragraph needs to be revised to reflect that neither of the Houses is bestowed with any additional power than the other. It is not true that the Constitution has given any additional power to National Assembly owing to its greater strength of members as compared to National Council. Any additional power of the National Assembly from National Council, if perceived, could be due to the different mandates of each House. Such vital yet subtle differences should be discussed so that the students understand the two Houses of Parliament in their own right and purpose of existence.

7. Page 44 (Political Parties)

2nd Paragraph: It needs to be corrected that the political parties in Bhutan have not organised rallies and political processions during the election campaign as it is just not in the Bhutanese culture and psyche.

9. Page 44 (Functions of Political Parties)

It is confusing for a reader to see these two sub-topics under this Chapter Legislature. The researcher views that these topics are already covered under Chapter One of Unit Two, Page 25-29.

Unit Three: The Government

Chapter Two: The Executive

The learning objectives under the textbook and Teachers' Guide (CAPSD, 2008a; DCRD, 2008a) are

- List the major functions of the executive branch of the government;
- Explain the three types of executives;
- Describe the main body of the executive branch;
- Assess the recent changes in our system of Government with special reference to the executive;
- Define the 'Central Administration' and 'Autonomous Body';
- Explain the background and functions of autonomous bodies;
- Describe the composition, appointment, tenure and functions of the Lhengye Zhungtshog; and
- Describe the different ministries and the autonomous bodies.

Comments on Objectives

The content focuses on functions of cabinet ministers and different ministries. However, it has been observed that there is a mismatch between learning objective of 'explaining the three types of executives' as opposed to just two types of executives, such as 'hereditary executives' and 'political or temporary executive', being mentioned in the text on page 47. In addition, the objective to 'assess the recent changes in our system of Government with special reference to the executive' appears to be vague as to what is exactly meant by 'recent changes in our system'. The term, democratic values, is mentioned to indicate that any procedure is based on democratic values. As usual participatory skills need to be strengthened as this subject is to build citizenship.

Comments on textual information

1. Page 48 (Lhengye Zhungtshog)

2nd Paragraph reads: 'Lhengye Zhungtshog is the council of ministers'. This needs a review if Lhengye Zhungtshog is still a Council of Ministers in the present context.

The phrase ‘Council of Ministers’ is repeatedly and lavishly used in the textbooks wherever there is a reference to the Cabinet of the Government. In the past under the absolute monarchical rule, the King was the head of both the Government and the State. The Cabinet then comprised the King, Ministers including the Prime Minister, and the Royal Advisory Councillors. Since the size of the Cabinet extended beyond the actual ministers, perhaps for expeditious decision-making purposes, the Prime Minister and his Ministers formed another group within the bigger cabinet, known as Council of Ministers.

However, post 2008 the cabinet comprised just the Prime Minister and the Ministers, who were all elected members of National Assembly from the Ruling Party. The cabinet does not have the King and other non-ministerial members. Therefore, the usage of the phrase ‘Council of Ministers’ has become irrelevant and redundant after the introduction of Parliamentary Democracy. Accordingly, this phrase should not be mentioned any more in the text and should be replaced with the term ‘Cabinet’.

2. Page 50 (The Prime Minister)

It is not mandatory that the Prime Minister should be the leader of the ruling party. Article 17(1) states that the ‘Druk Gyalpo shall confer Dakyen to the leader or nominee of the party, which wins the majority of seats in the National Assembly, as the Prime Minister’ ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008, p. 63). Again, mention of ‘council of ministers’ here too, which is redundant in the present context, needs to be amended.

3. Page 53 (Other autonomous bodies)

i. Administrative Tribunals: There is a need to review if the Administrative Tribunals are accountable to the Prime Minister. Article 21(16) states that the Parliament may, by law, establish impartial and independent Administrative Tribunals ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008).

ii. Royal University of Bhutan: There is a need to review if the Royal University of Bhutan is accountable to the Education Minister.

iii. Board of Corporate Affairs: There is a need to review if the Board of Corporate Affairs still exist in the present context, and then validate if it is accountable to the Minister of Trade & Industry. Further, the name of the Ministry is also changed from Trade & Industry to Economic Affairs.

Unit Three: The Government

Chapter Three: The Judiciary

The learning objectives of the textbook and Teachers' Guide (DCRD, 2008a) are:

- Comment on the evolution of laws from the time of Zhabdrung till now;
- Explain the major functions of the judiciary;
- Distinguish the different features of Bhutan's judicial system;
- Describe the current structure of the judiciary of Bhutan;
- Analyse the relationship with other bodies;
- Define laws and justice;
- Relate country's laws to the Buddhist Natural Laws;
- Identify the types of jurisdiction of Thrimkhangs;
- Describe the judicial reforms; and
- State the reason for reformation.

The content of the chapter generally seems to be fulfilling the above learning objectives. However, there is a need to include explicit mention of major functions of the judiciary. Further, the terms 'other bodies' in the textbook's learning objective 'Analyse the relationship with other bodies' is not clear. Strong values with regard to the origination of laws of Bhutan are mentioned in this chapter. According to these laws, people are to live by following the sixteen virtuous acts and the ten pious acts. If these two topics are discussed in detail by teachers, it is perceived to be an apt chapter to educate students on Bhutanese values. Besides providing knowledge on judiciary and values that influenced the judiciary system of Bhutan, it could have participatory skills, such as case studies and letting students give judgement.

Comments on textual information

1. Page 55 (Introduction)

The Constitution is inadvertently referred to as the draft Constitution. It is no more a draft since its formal adoption on 18 July 2008.

2. Page 57 (Judicial System)

i. It is not correct to state that His Majesty is the final court of appeal with powers to commute sentences and grant pardon. This could wrongly suggest that the convicted party to the court case would have an automatic judicial access of final appeal to the Throne,

which is neither the legal intent nor the inherent principle enshrined in the Constitution. Article 2.16(c) states that the King, in exercise of His Royal Prerogatives, may grant amnesty, pardon and reduction of sentences. This is a Royal Prerogative, which a convicted citizen would not have an automatic legal access to appeal to the King beyond the Supreme Court. Article 21(7) categorically states that the Supreme Court of Bhutan shall be the highest appellate authority to entertain appeals against the judgments, orders, or decisions of the High Court in all matters and shall have the power to review its judgments and orders ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008).

ii. There is a need to ensure if it is still correct to say that the Gups, Chimis, and Barmis are the officials who administer justice at the Gewog level. This was the situation in the country prior to 2008.

3. Page 58 (Figure 3.3.1 Judicial System in Bhutan)

Figure 3.3.1 needs to be aligned with Comment 2 above.

4. Page 58 (Supreme Court)

Article 21(5) states that the Drangpons of the Supreme Court shall be appointed from among the Drangpons of the High Court or from among eminent jurists by the Druk Gyalpo, under His hand and seal, 'in consultation with', 'not on the recommendation of', the National Judicial Commission. Hence, it needs to be corrected ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008).

5. Page 59 (The Gup/Barmis)

It needs to confirm the legal status of Gup/Barmis as stated in the text as mentioned in Comment 2.ii above.

6. Page 60 (Supreme Court)

Fourth bullet states: 'It has jurisdiction to deal with disputes relating to fundamental rights'. This needs to be aligned with Article 1.11 which states: 'The Supreme Court shall be the guardian of this Constitution and the final authority and its interpretation'.

Therefore, its jurisdiction cannot be limited to the fundamental rights ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008, p. 3).

7. Page 61 (Salient features of our Judicial System)

Appeal System: There needs a correction to reflect 'ten working days' instead of 'ten days' for a litigant to submit an appeal to the higher appellate court.

8. Page 62 (Genja – Agreement)

The paragraph under Genja (agreement) mentions: ‘ A Genja is an agreement between the parties concerned. It is written evidence of a consent duly signed by them and their respective Jabmis (Solicitor). It is an agreement enforceable by law’. It is suggested to include ‘legal stamps affixed’ in the sentence.

9. Page 62 (Negotiated Settlement)

The paragraph needs to be amended to incorporate the provisions under Article 21.16 which states: ‘Parliament may, by law, establish impartial and independent Administrative Tribunals as well as Alternative Dispute Resolution centres’ (“Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan,” 2008, p. 76).

Unit Three: The Government

Chapter Four: The Constitutional Bodies

The learning objectives of the textbook and Teachers’ Guide (CAPSD, 2008a) are:

- Tell the background history of the constitutional bodies;
- Explain the structure of the constitutional bodies;
- List the roles of the constitutional bodies; and
- Explain the process of impeachment, and
- Explain the composition, importance, and functions of all the four constitutional bodies.

Comment on objectives

Student Activity 2 asks students to list three criteria to hold the constitutional office while the text states only two criteria. Otherwise, the content generally seem to fulfil the above objectives. Values related to each constitutional body have been provided as knowledge with function, for instance, the Royal Civil Service Commission ensures that civil servants render professional support service, guided by the highest standards of ethics and integrity to promote good governance and social justice. General skills, such as debating and listing are focused in the activities at the end of the chapter.

Comments on textual information

Page 68: Last sentence of the second paragraph wrongly mentions that the current Commission is chaired by one of the members on a three monthly rotational basis. This

needs correction in accordance with the provision of Article 26 of the Constitution on Royal Civil Service Commission.

Unit Three: The Government

Chapter five: Local Government

The learning objectives of the textbook and Teachers' Guide (DCRD, 2008a) are:

- Explain the election and nomination of the members of the Gewog Tshogde, Thromde Tshogde and Dzongkhag Tshogdu;
- Describe their main roles;
- Speak on the historical process of the formation of the Local Government;
- Write about the members, eligibility criteria, and terms of office, responsibilities and powers and the removal procedures of the gewog members;
- Discuss the Gewog Tshogde meeting procedures;
- Discuss the members, eligibility criteria, terms of office, responsibilities and powers;
- Speak on the Dzongkhag Tshogdu meeting procedures;
- Write about the composition of the members of Thromde Tshogde; and
- Talk on the relationship between Thromde Tshogde, Gewog Tshogde and Dzongkhag Tshogde.

Comments on objectives

i. To enable students achieve the learning objective, the chapter needs to incorporate the nomination procedures for the election of members of the Gewog Tshogde, Thromde Tshogde and Dzongkhag Tshogdu, which is missing from the present content.

ii. The chapter also needs to incorporate explicitly the roles and responsibilities of Thromde Tshogde members.

iii. Student Activity 3 requires students to seek permission from the Dzongdag to attend the Dzongkhag Tshogdu (DT) as an observer. Technically, Dzongdag does not have legal authority to invite an observer to attend the DT. In fact, the Dzongdag is not even a member of the DT and he/she also attends DT as an observer himself (Royal Government of Bhutan, 2009).

Just as any other chapter students' participations and civics values require strengthening both in content and student activities.

Comments on textual information

1. Page 71 (Background)

There is a need to incorporate some historical background on the structure of local government from 1980 to 2008 with mention of erstwhile Dzongkhag Yargye Tshogchungs (DYT) and Gewog Yargye Tshogchungs (GYT) in the text.

2. Page 72 (Gewog Tshogde)

There is a need to review the first paragraph to include Chiwogs as composition of many villages. It is wrong to say that Gewog comprises villages. It is villages that form into one Chiwog and several Chiwogs make up one Gewog.

3. Page 72 (Members of the Gewog Tshogde)

It is not correct to include Yenla Throm representative as one member of the GT. Article 22.6 states that one elected representative from Dzongkhag Yenlag Thromde is one of the members of Dzongkhag Tshogdu ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008).

4. Page 72 (Observers)

The text states a fixed list of officials who can attend the GT as observers. The local government legislations and related by-laws do not prescribe a fixed list of observers. It is at the discretion of the GT Chair (Gup) to invite an observer. Therefore, anybody can be an observer to attend the GT proceedings depending on the invitation from the Gup.

5. Page 73 (Eligibility)

The entire text under eligibility needs to be aligned with criteria enshrined under Section 21 of the Local Government Act of Bhutan 2009.

6. Page 73 (Terms of Office)

The text needs to be amended to update the terms of all elected offices to five years instead of three years.

7. Page 74-75 (Responsibilities and Powers of the Gup, Mangmi and Tshogpa)

The entire text needs to be aligned with roles and responsibilities as per the provisions of the Local Government Act of Bhutan 2009, which was amended in 2014.

8. Page 75 (Removal of Gewog Tshogde members)

The text needs to be amended aligning with relevant provisions under election laws.

9. Page 76 (Gewog Tshogde Meeting Procedures)

The text needs to be reviewed to update the procedures as laid down in the Local Government Act of Bhutan 2009 and the Local Government Rules and Regulations 2012.

10. Page 77 (Administrative Powers and functions of Gewog Tshogde)

The text needs to be reviewed to incorporate list of powers and functions as enshrined under Section 54 of the Local Government Act of Bhutan 2009.

11. Page 77 (Financial Powers of Gewog Tshogde)

The text needs to be reviewed to incorporate list of powers as enshrined under Section 55 of the Local Government Act of Bhutan 2009.

12. Page 77 (Regulatory Powers of Gewog Tshogde)

The text needs to be reviewed to incorporate list of powers as enshrined under Section 53 of the Local Government Act of Bhutan 2009.

13. Page 78 (Dzongkhag Tshogdu)

The text needs to be reviewed to align the content with the provisions of the Local Government Act of Bhutan 2009 and the Local Government Rules & Regulations 2012.

14. Page 78 (Observers)

The text states a fixed list of officials who can attend the DT as observers. The Local Government legislations and related by-laws do not prescribe a fixed list of observers. It is at the discretion of the DT Chairperson to invite an observer. Therefore, anybody can be an observer to attend the DT proceedings depending on the invitation from the Chairperson (Royal Government of Bhutan, 2009).

Further, the text needs to be reviewed to rectify wherever necessary. For instance, the observer does not have a legal authority to intervene during the discussion.

15. Page 79 (Eligibility)

It is legally impossible for all elected members of Gewog Tshogde to become members of Dzongkhag Tshogdu. Article 22.6 categorically states that only the Gup and Mangmi as the two elected representatives from each Gewog can become members of the Dzongkhag Tshogdu ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008).

16. Page 79 (Terms of Office and Election Criteria, Powers and Functions of Chairman of Dzongkhag Tshogdu)

The entire text under these sub-topics needs to be updated in accordance with the provisions of Local Government Act of Bhutan 2009, which is amended in 2014.

17. Page 79 (Regulatory Powers and Functions of Dzongkhag Tshogdu)

The text needs to be reviewed to incorporate list of powers as enshrined under Section 50 of the Local Government Act of Bhutan 2009.

18. Page 80 (Administrative Powers and Functions of Dzongkhag Tshogdu)

The text needs to be reviewed to incorporate list of powers as enshrined under Section 51 of the Local Government Act of Bhutan 2009.

19. Page 81 (Financial Powers and Functions of Dzongkhag Tshogdu)

The text needs to be reviewed to incorporate list of powers as enshrined under Section 52 of the Local Government Act of Bhutan 2009.

20. Page 81-82 (Dzongkhag Tshogdu Meeting Procedures)

The text needs to be reviewed to incorporate list of procedures as enshrined under Chapter 8 and Chapter 9 the Local Government Rules & Regulations 2012.

21. Page 82 (Thromde Tshogde)

The text needs to be reviewed to incorporate background information in line with the provisions of the Local Government Act of Bhutan 2009 and the Local Government Rules and Regulations 2012.

22. Page 83 (Members of Thromde Tshogde)

There needs an amendment as it is not possible for anybody to become a member of Thromde Tshogde other than those as enshrined under Articles 22.8, 22.9 and 22.10 of the Constitution.

Unit Three: The Government

Chapter Six: Gross National Happiness (GNH) and Good Governance

The learning objectives of both the textbooks and Teachers' Guide (DCRD, 2008a) are:

- Define Gross National Happiness
- State and explain the four pillars of Gross National Happiness
- Critically examine the Good Governance as the most important pillar

- Explain the significance of the features of Good Governance within Gross National Happiness.

The content of this chapter generally seems to be fulfilling the above objectives. However, there can be one objective on the importance of GNH where students can reflect on philosophy that guides the entire development process in the country. The chapter has explicitly mentioned human values for students to reflect and translate their understanding and practice of the positive values in work and conduct.

Comments on textual information

1. Page 86 (Figure 3.6.1 Four Pillars of Gross National Happiness)

The Figure needs to be reconsidered to ensure its conformity to the existing format and title description of the four pillars of GNH. Also, there is a need to review the descriptions and numbers of themes under Good Governance.

2. Page 86-91 (The Four Pillars of Gross National Happiness)

The content under each pillar needs appropriate updating of information on activities undertaken by the government of the day to promote respective pillars.

3. Page 88-92 (Good Governance)

The contents may need to be updated and realigned with the current or latest programmes and activities undertaken by relevant responsible agencies. For instance, sub-topics like Human Resource Development, Professionalism, and Motivation merits realignment with the ongoing activities of Royal Civil Service Commission (RCSC). Similarly, there are areas where contents require alignment with other relevant agencies like the Anti-Corruption Commission and Royal Audit Authority (for Transparency and Accountability), Cabinet Secretariat for discussions under E-governance and with GNH Commission for features of Good Governance (CAPSD, 2008a). To sum up, this chapter may need a significant review to holistically improve the content and sequential linkages of sub-topics discussed.

8.4 Bhutan Civics Classes XI & XII: A Course Book

(Provisional Edition 2008, Reprinted 2009, 2010)

This textbook, entitled as Course Book, consists of seven chapters. The first three chapters are offered in Class 11 and the remaining four chapters in Class 12. There is a

separate Teachers' Guide for Classes 11 and 12, which is the provisional edition of 2008 and reprinted in 2014. Hence, traces of updated version of facts can be found in the Teachers' Guide as opposed to the earlier editions of textbooks. As the textbook is meant for Classes 11 and 12 separately, discussions and commentaries are also provided separately hereunder.

8.4.1 Class XI

As per the overall learning objectives provided in the introduction page of the civics textbook and as per the Teachers' Guide (DCRD, 2008b, 2008c), students will be able to understand and analyse the:

- Definition and attributes of society, State and Nation and their relationships;
- Forms of Government and their merits and demerits in relation to the form of Bhutanese Government;
- Types and characteristics of Constitution; and
- Merits and demerits of Constitution in relation to the Bhutanese Constitution.

In addition to the above overall objectives, each chapter has its own focus of learning objectives listed in both the textbook and in Teachers' Guide. The content of the text in the chapter has been examined to gauge if it matches with the intended objectives stated in the textbook and the Teachers' Guide, as detailed below.

Chapter One: Society, State and Nation

Learning objectives both from the textbook and Teachers' Guide (DCRD, 2008b, 2008c) are:

- Define Society, State and Nation;
- Tell the attributes of Society, State, Nation and Government;
- Differentiate between State and Nation;
- Tell and explain the essential elements of society and State; and
- Differentiate between Nation and State.

The contents of the chapter generally seem to match with the above objectives. The values such as building relationships amongst individuals and development of educational, moral, cultural, social, economic, religious and political aspects to all round development of human beings have been emphasised under the topic Society. Students

are further made to understand how sovereignty is the soul of the State. Values such as ethnic, geographic and political unity are also discussed under the topic Nation. Teachers can take more opportunity to share more values as writer, such as Türkkahraman (2014) believes that most of the social problems in society, home and schools are due to lack of value-related education. The most effective way to avoid social problems is by undergoing efficient teaching of values. This chapter appears to be appropriate for imparting social and national values to students. Teachers can look into having participatory skills in this chapter because even activities at the end of chapter seem to focusing on knowledge.

Comments on textual information

1. Page 1 (Definition of a Society)

The chapter talks about definitions of Society, State and Nation. However, right after the definition of Society, there are descriptions of comparisons between Society and State. For better understanding of the differences between Society and State, both the Society and State should be defined sequentially. After definition and brief additional descriptions of both Society and State then comparisons between Society and State should be made. Such sequential descriptions would aid students in understanding the topics.

2. Page 4:

The population of China, India and Vatican City need to be updated and corrected accordingly.

Chapter Two: Forms of Government

Learning objectives both from the textbook and Teachers' Guide (DCRD, 2008b) are:

- Contrast Democratic Government from non-Democratic Government;
- Differentiate between direct and indirect forms of Democratic Government;
- Tell the merits and demerits of Democratic Government;
- Explain and give examples of non-Democratic Government;
- Compare Bhutanese form of Government with other forms of Governments;
- Define and classify Government according to Aristotle;
- Explain the types of Monarchy;
- Explain forms of dictatorial government; and
- Explain the Bhutanese form of Government.

Comments on objectives

The content of the chapter generally seems to match with the above objectives. The content under the Bhutanese form of government shows gradual development of Bhutan's democratic constitutional monarchy from dual system under Zhabdrung's reign and from absolute monarchy. This can provide student opportunities to understand and appreciate the peaceful transition from one system to another. However, there is also possibility to include citizens' role in making Bhutan's democracy a successful and vibrant democracy. Both content and activities, besides having information on forms of government, can have activities designed for students to develop participatory skills in a democratic society

Comments on textual information

1. Page 8 (1st Paragraph)

It reads: 'In the earlier Chapter, we have seen that different forms of Government exist in different countries'. But the earlier Chapter One does not have any mention of different forms of Government. Therefore, this needs correction. Perhaps, it might have meant to earlier classes and not chapters.

2. Page 10 (Under Democratic Government)

In the midst of discussing democratic government there is a sudden mention of feudalism. Such random mention of a totally different topic may confuse students.

3. Page 16 (Bhutanese form of Government)

The paragraph reads: 'Till recently, the form of Government was Monarchy ...'. This may suggest to students that Bhutan had monarchy in the past and not anymore, which is not correct. The fact is Bhutan still has a monarchy but the form of government has changed from absolute monarchical form to the democratic constitutional monarchy form of government.

Chapter Three: Constitution

Learning objectives both from the textbook and Teachers' Guide (DCRD, 2008b) are:

- Classification of constitution;
- Merits and demerits of different types of constitution;
- Characteristics of good constitution; and
- Constitution of Bhutan.

Comments on objectives

The chapter meets its objectives, and values are imparted through the topic Merits of Bhutanese Constitution. As in other chapters, general skills such as comparing and analysing are evident in the activities but participatory skills still need to be strengthened.

Student Activity 1 requires students to answer questions about the Constitution including amendments of Articles or Schedules for the greater good of the country and the people. The activity is worded in such a manner that the National Assembly, which is one of the two Houses of Parliament, alone can amend the Constitutional provisions. Bhutan has two Houses of Parliament, the other House being National Council, with equal roles and mandates for law making. Only the Money and Finance Bill can originate in National Assembly and they have prerogative either to accept or reject proposals from National Council. Therefore, as both Houses have equal authority for legislating any other law, neither House can singly amend the Constitution.

Comment on textual information

Page 25:

The text mentions twelve merits of the Constitution. These appear to be more of features of Constitution than merits. This needs correction as well.

8.4.2 Class XII

As per the overall learning objectives provided in the introduction page of the civics textbook and as per the Teachers' Guide (DCRD, 2008b) are students will be able to understand the:

- Powers and roles of the Monarch in parliamentary democracy and his relationship with the Council of Ministers;
- Understand the positions and powers of the Prime Minister;
- Understand the composition, appointment, powers and functions of the Council of Ministers;
- Understand the meaning, importance and categories of Directive Principles of State Policy;
- Understand the meaning, characteristics, roles and significance of civil service in a democratic nation;
- Meaning, characteristics, roles and significance of bureaucracy in democratic nation; and

- Understand the recruitment, classification and promotion procedures of the civil service and the role of Royal Civil Service Commission.

Chapter Four: The Role of the Monarch in a Democratic Constitutional Monarchy

Learning objectives both from the textbook and Teachers' Guide are

- Describe the qualification of ascension (Democracy) to the Throne and the term of reign;
- List the members of the Council of Regency and state its functions;
- Tell the role and powers of the Monarch in a Parliamentary Democracy;
- Examine the significance of the Monarch in a Parliamentary Democracy;
- Analyse the link between Monarch and the Council of Ministers;
- Tell the importance of the Oath of office;
- Explain the Royal privileges and entitlements with examples; and
- Differentiate between the Council of Regency and the Privy Council (DCRD, 2008b, 2008c).

Comments on objectives

There seems to be a typographical error in the first learning objective (word 'Democracy' is out of context). However, all the learning outcomes are matched by the content provided in the chapter. Values such as unity and respecting the constitution in the interest of the welfare of people are mentioned in the text. Activities at the end of chapter are all knowledge-based questions. Participatory questions still need to be encouraged.

The chapter explains about the Royal Privileges and Entitlements stated in Article 2.13 but does not have specific mention of Article 2.16 on the Royal Prerogatives. Although three of the five Royal Prerogatives are mentioned under Judicial Power on Page 31 the chapter merits review to include all five Royal Prerogatives under one separate sub-topic. Further, it is technically incorrect to classify the Royal Prerogatives under Judicial Power of the Monarch, as His Majesty constitutionally does not assume any 'Judicial Power' except His authority to appoint Chief Justices and Drangpons of Supreme Court and High Court by warrant under His hand and seal as stated under Article 2.19(a)(b)(c) and (d) ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008, pp. 12-13).

Comments on textual information

1. Page 28 (Term of Reign)

The text may further refer to Article 2.7 of the Constitution.

2. Page 30 (1st Paragraph)

It reads: ‘Moreover, the Privy Council consisting of two members appointed by the Monarch and one member nominated by the Lhengye Zhungtshog ...’. However, Article 2.14 states that the Privy Council consists of two members appointed by the Druk Gyalpo, one member nominated by the Lhengye Zhungtshog and one member nominated by the National Council ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008).

3. Page 30 (Legislative Power)

The text mentions eight legislative powers of the Monarch. Some of these powers appear more of features of how Druk Gyalpo attends the Parliament rather than the legislative power. There is a need to segregate the actual powers from these procedural matters.

4. Page 31 (Executive Power)

The text mentions a list of executive powers, which merits revisit as this appears a list of appointments by the Druk Gyalpo.

5. Page 31-32 (Judicial Power)

There is confusion between the Royal Prerogatives and judicial power, which needs a review. Further under (c), it is stated that the Monarch can grant citizenship, land kidu and other kidus through copies of Kashos forwarded to the National Council for reference and record. This may need a special review to validate ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008).

6. Page 32 (Financial Power)

In addition to Druk Gyalpo’s prerogative to use relief fund for urgent and unforeseen humanitarian relief, there is a need to add Druk Gyalpo’s power to proclaim a Financial Emergency, on written advice from the Prime Minister, when the country’s financial stability or credit is threatened, as provided for under Article 33 (8) ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008).

Chapter Five: The Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers

Learning objectives both from the textbook and Teachers’ Guide (DCRD, 2008b) are:

- Explain the appointment, position and power of the Prime Minister;
- Illustrate the composition and appointment of the Council of Ministers;

- Explain the powers and functions of the Council of Ministers; and
- Analyse the significant responsibility of the Council of Ministers in ensuring the Security and sovereignty of the Nation and wellbeing of the People

Comments on objectives

The content as well as activities at the end of chapter focus on providing information on how ministers are appointed, their tenure and their roles. Other than skills such as discussing, examining, explaining and comparing, one does not find participatory skills and values.

Comments on textual information

1. Page 36 (Term of Office)

It is mentioned: ‘However, the Prime Minister can consult the Monarch to dissolve the Parliament if he or she is reluctant to resign’ (DCRD, 2008c, p. 36). There is an ambiguity with regard to the statement as Article 17.7 states that the Government will be dismissed by the Druk Gyalpo if a vote of no confidence is passed by not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of the National Assembly ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan," 2008).

Further, in the same paragraph, there is a need to revisit the text to confirm the statement whether the Prime Minister can also be impeached by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court as per law for wilful violation of the Constitution.

2. Page 37 under sub-point (h)

The text mentions that the Prime Minister is the leader of the ruling party. This does not seem true as no provision in the Constitution forbids other members of the ruling party, besides the Prime Minister, to be the leader of the ruling party.

3. Page 39 (Formulation of National Policies)

Last sentence states that the policies and programmes formulated by the ruling party should also focus on their party manifestos. This may be revisited to confirm if the provisions of the Constitution support this view that ruling party’s election manifestos should be a part of national policies and programmes.

Chapter Six: Directive Principles of State Policy

Learning objectives both from the textbook and Teachers’ Guide (DCRD, 2008b) are:

- Explain the meaning of Directive Principles of the State Policy;
- Differentiate between Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy;
- Identify different categories of Directive Principles of State Policy; and
- Tell the advantages of having the Directive Principles of State Policy.

Comments on objectives

The content of the chapter generally appears to have all required topics for fulfilling the learning objectives. The chapter allows students to understand that there is a guideline, which directs government while framing policies and laws. The importance of Principles of State Policy is conveyed to the students to encourage students to have faith in policies and laws that are formulated by the government. Principles of State Policy do not allow those who are in power to act according to their whims. Further, it encourages citizens to be the watchdog to check if government is working for the welfare of people, society and nation. The chapter still needs to focus on building skills of students.

Comments on textual information

Other than removing of word ‘directive’, no factual errors were seen.

Chapter Seven: Civil Service in a Democratic Constitutional Monarchy

Learning objectives both from the textbook and Teachers’ Guide are:

- Define Bureaucracy;
- Explain the characteristics of Bureaucracy;
- Discuss critically the significance of Bureaucracy;
- Examine the role of Bureaucracy in a Democratic Nation;
- Describe the recruitment, classification and promotion procedures of civil servants and role of Royal Civil Service Commission; and
- evaluate the significance of bureaucracy.

Comments on objectives

The content of the chapter generally appears to have all required topics for fulfilling the learning objectives. Students are able to understand the importance of civil servants in enhancing good governance as civil servants ensure the continuity of the administration of the state. Values are imparted such as once a person becomes a civil servant, they should have a sense of duty towards the Bhutanese and should strive for the highest

standards. Further, this chapter focuses on being efficient, transparent, accountable and fair in the civil service. One of the activities encourages students to interact with head of the school, which may help students to develop interviewing skills.

8.5 Consolidation of commentaries

As supplementary to chapter-wise specific commentaries provided in the preceding pages, a few comments that appear ubiquitous across the civics textbooks from classes 7 to 12 are highlighted here. The textbooks from classes 9 to 12 were also noticed to be heavily supported by Teachers' Guide. Efforts have been made to update both the textbooks and Teachers' Guide. However, there are areas for further improvement, which are highlighted in this chapter.

Terms such as Directive Principles, Council of Ministers, Chimis, and DYT/GYT are repeatedly observed. Comments are made only in a few instances to avoid repetition. Nonetheless, these few comments would have significant bearing on similar errors across the textbooks. As stated in the beginning of this chapter, numerous ideas and expectations were provided from the literature review, such as civic participation. Guilfoile and Delander (2014) state in regard to the USA that civics teachers following traditional teaching styles do not stimulate creativity in the minds of students. Lectures were the most common method of instruction and students spent the majority of time listening to their teachers' iteration from a text, memorising facts and historical events. Lecture can be effective strategy for instruction but developing skills and disposition is necessary to produce engaged citizens. The class should provide students with opportunities to engage as citizens now rather than focusing on how they may engage as citizens in future.

Specific concerns about being Bhutanese and national aspirations for citizens were reinforced through the Royal Speeches. Stakeholder interviews also suggested various issues that need inclusion in the textbooks. As a suggestive tool to ensure that all the concerns drawn from the above research activities are factored in during the textbook revisions, Doğanay (2012, pp. 19-39)'s Curriculum Framework for Active Citizenship is found appropriate and relevant to refer herewith. The author has prepared this curriculum framework by referring to many scholars, such as Audigier, Birzea, Veldhuis, and other important scholars. This framework appears to have necessary elements that would guide development of the civics curriculum generally. The framework, as shown below, suggests broadly three dimensions under which there are sub-categories. It is viewed that

these sub-categories have the elements of a democratic citizen, which are unequivocally expressed by scholars and authors, curriculum writers and stakeholders, teachers and students, and more importantly, these elements converge with the far-reaching national aspirations discussed in the Royal Addresses of His Majesty the fifth King of Bhutan.

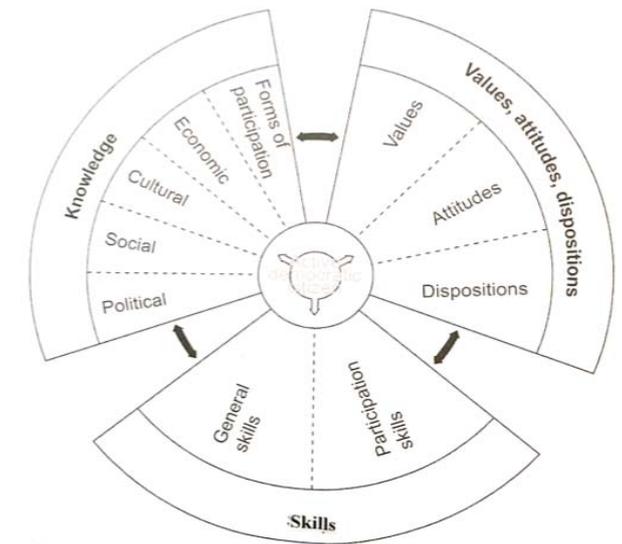


Figure 8.1: The main categories of democratic citizenship education curriculum
Source: (Doğanay, 2012)

The three dimensions from the Doğanay’s categories of democratic citizenship education curriculum are Knowledge; Skills; and Values, attitudes, and dispositions.

The sub-category components under each broad dimension are:

1. Knowledge

Political Knowledge:

- Basic concept, principles and institutions of democracy;
- Political and legal system;
- Concept of civics and citizenship;
- Citizens’ rights and responsibilities;
- Political decision-making at local, national and international level;
- Media literacy and the roles and responsibilities of media; and
- National and International security.

Social Knowledge:

- Social Relation; and
- Social welfare, security, health etc.

Cultural Knowledge:

- History and cultural heritage of own country;
- Different cultures in the local, regional, national and global context; and
- Preservation of the environment.

Economic Knowledge:

- Economic rights;
- Economic principles and consequences of economic development;
- Key financial matters and associated economic literacy; and
- Sustainable development locally and internationally.

Forms of Participation:

- Knowledge of the forms of political, social, cultural, and economic participation to life.

2. Skills**General skills**

- Critical thinking;
- Critical examination of information;
- Distinguishing statements of facts from an opinion;
- Reaching a balanced judgement, decision or point of view based on critical examination of information and reasoning; and
- Defending reached position
 - i. Problem-solving
 - ii. Decision-making
 - iii. Creative thinking
 - iv. Inquiry skills
 - v. Communication skills
 - vi. Using media in an active way

Participation skills

- Monitoring and influencing policies;
- Resolving conflicts in a peaceful way;
- Participating in voluntary–civil organisations as a member;
- Displaying democratic leadership;

- Handling all kind of differences including gender, social, cultural and religious;
- Engagement in protecting environment; and
- Ethical consumption and boycotting unethical products.

3. Values, attitudes and dispositions

Values

- Acceptance of the rule of law;
- Respect for human dignity and rights;
- Believing in peace, social justice, and equality;
- Rejection of all kinds of discrimination;
- Believing in preservation of environment and in sustainable development; and
- Valuing freedom and fairness.

Attitudes

- Commitment to truth, open mindedness, peace and constructive solutions to problems;
- Feeling responsible for own decisions and actions;
- Commitment to the value of mutual understanding, cooperation, trust and solidarity;
- Sense of belonging; and
- Commitment to sustainable development.

Dispositions

- The intention to participate actively in the community.

Upon scanning through chapters of the Bhutan Civics textbooks, in terms of the above three dimensions, they appear to focus more on Knowledge followed by Values, and very little on Skills. Both the textbooks and the Teachers' Guide tend to emphasise knowledge even though values are articulated as the learning objectives. However, even where the values are mentioned in the textbooks, they are imparted as knowledge and not being infused into the student's day-to-day life, which could have prompted students to internalise. For instance, values such as integrity, trust, responsibilities, to mention just a few, are stated to have important roles to play in the organisation and administration of the nation, instead of encouraging every citizen to internalise these values (DCRD, 2008a). Nonetheless, it is mandated by 'Educating for GNH' that every teacher is

expected to consciously infuse GNH values through their own teaching subjects. To attract students' attention, some activities such as quiz, case study, riddle or some illustration could be inserted in between the content to break the monotony of continuous feeding of information.

Civics education is all about participation. However, it has been observed that there are very few avenues for encouraging participation either through the activities in the textbooks or in the Teachers' Guide. But it deserves a mention here that there are general skills, such as analysing, discussing, explaining, examining, and comparing. However, there are some participatory skills where the curriculum needs to strengthen. Further discussions on curriculum, including observations noted from the textbooks, will be deliberated in detail along with other findings in Chapter 9.

Chapter 9:

Discussion: Integration of findings and recommendations

9.1 Introduction

This study aimed at finding out the learning and teaching experiences on civics education in Bhutan, for which it became essential to discover the international perspective on the overall civics education. During the course of literature review, it revealed how civics and citizenship education is defined, the status of this education at present and the challenges that this subject is facing despite its importance given by policy makers. Thus, Chapters 2 and 3 explored the international concept of civics and citizenship in order to place the Bhutanese concept in a broader context. In the process, Asian concepts of civics and citizenship education were explored along with Western concepts. Although there are differences in the concept of civics and citizenship internationally, aspirations of every nation are common: to produce informed and active citizens. According to Department of Education Employment and Workplace Relations (2010), Australia, active citizens are those who uphold democratic values; act with moral and ethical integrity; appreciate the national history, cultural, traditional and religious beliefs; committed to national values, justice and participation in civic life; and work for the common good, particularly sustaining and improving the natural and social environment.

The findings from the quantitative and qualitative data collection in Bhutan and the literature review are discussed in this chapter. Views of a few participants, as examples, are quoted herein where appropriate, to provide readers with voices of participants on key issues of discussions (Refer Chapters 6 and 7). This chapter consists of three parts: Part One focuses on the aims of the research; Part Two on the overall findings from the research; and Part Three on recommendations, limitations and way forward.

9.2 Part One: Context/background

After the introduction of the revised civics curriculum in 2008 and the launching of ‘Educating for GNH’ in 2010, a preliminary literature review on civics education in Bhutan was undertaken. Initial objectives of this preliminary literature review were three-fold:

1. Understand the status of civics education in Bhutan after the introduction of parliamentary democracy in 2008;
2. Understand the process of ‘Educating for GNH’ initiative within the civics curriculum; and
3. Understand the stakeholders’ views on civics education in the country.

To this effect, a key research question ‘*what are Bhutanese stakeholders’ experiences and perspectives of civics education in Bhutan?*’ was framed. This key research question would be answered through the following four sub-questions (see Chapters 1, 4 and 5).

1. What are the current circumstances of civics and citizenship education in Bhutan?
2. In the current situation of civics and citizenship education, what knowledge have Bhutanese students gained?
3. How do relevant stakeholders in Bhutan perceive the match between their intentions for civics education and the reality of student and teacher experiences in civics education?
4. What implications do these understandings have for the ongoing development of civics education in Bhutan?

9.3 Part Two: Commonalities of practices and challenges

Analysis of data collected in Bhutan actually conformed to majority of observations and issues discovered from the international literature review. It was observed that the challenges and practices found in Bhutan did not vary much from the international situations some of which are elaborated below:

Low priority: Internationally civics and citizenship education is not accorded a high priority, although this is an area considered important by policymakers, the general public and teachers. For instance, 24 national case studies in the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA)’s Civics Education survey revealed that

the status and the priority given to civics and citizenship education is low (Torney-Purta et al., 1999). This indicates a tension exists between the declaration of principles and the implementation of policies. In addition, Bîrzéa et al. (2004) in their study on education for democratic citizenship policies in Europe showed a similar gap between the education for democratic citizenship policy statement and practice in European countries overall.

Internationally there is limited time allocated to civics and citizenship education. For instance, in Australia, Henderson (2013) found civics and citizenship education was generally recommended to be allocated only 20 hours of timetable for each level per year. This has been seen as a challenge to deliver an adequate level of civics and citizenship education. Judging by its importance, the subject deserves more than 20 hours. To support Henderson, Professor Murray Print believes that given the importance of the subject area, an allocation of 40 hours annually would be appropriate and realistic (Donnelly & Wiltshire, 2014). Similar situation was also observed in Bhutan too which is discussed in detail under section 9.3.1 of this chapter.

Delivery approaches: Three approaches are used to deliver civics and citizenship education in different countries. These, according to Kerr (1999a), are:

- Having specific civics and citizenship education subject as in Singapore,
- Integrating civics and citizenship education content into small number of other subjects as in New South Wales, Australia, and
- Integrating civics and citizenship into all subject studied as in England.

Kerr (1999a) identified these three main approaches as separate, integrated and cross-curricular: as a specific subject, as part of a broader course, such as social science or social studies and as citizenship neither specific nor ‘part of integrated course, but permeates the entire curriculum and is infused into subjects’ (p.16). Where civics and citizenship is taught as a separate subject, there are concerns that this may lead to an overcrowded curriculum and this concern needs to be considered before recommending this particular approach. In the Australian context, the Australian Primary Principals Association (APPA) have expressed concern over the overcrowded curriculum for schools and have proposed a strategy to reduce overcrowding in the curriculum (Australian Primary Principals Association, 2014). In contrast, where civics and citizenship education is integrated into all areas of the curriculum there is a risk, as

explained by Print (2015) that the area of study may become lost and disappear altogether. As regards Bhutan's case, elements of all three approaches can be seen in our education system which enables providing of wholesome education to students (Refer Chapter 3, Section 3.9 for details).

A back seat for civics and citizenship education: Subjects such as mathematics, science and accountancy, which are thought to prepare students for the job market, are given major emphasis in the curriculum. This means that civics and citizenship is often accorded secondary importance in most of the countries. In America, civics and citizenship education is described as 'pushed to the back burner' (Guilfoile & Delander, 2014, p. 3). The subject faces the same fate in Bhutan as well. Except those students who aspire to becoming politicians, students generally have failed to appreciate the overall importance of civics subject (Refer Chapters 7 for details).

Ways of imparting values: There are two important ways of imparting values through civics and citizenship education (Kerr, 1999a). Values education underpins civics and citizenship education and values can be taught explicitly or implicitly (the latter attempts to be values neutral but, as argued in Chapter 3 this is rarely possible). Jenkins (2012) defines explicit values teaching as clearly outlining what the learning goals are for the student, and offering clear, unambiguous explanations of the skills and information structures they are presenting. In contrast, implicit values teaching is where the teacher does not outline such goals or make such explanations overtly, but rather simply presents the information or problem to the student and allows the student to make their own conclusions and create their own conceptual structures. Students assimilate the information in the way that makes the most sense to them. Participants in Kerr's study expressed that countries such as Singapore and Korea, which use a values-explicit approach, were much clearer about the aims of citizenship education than those countries which follow values-neutral (Kerr, 1999a)

Hoy (1945) comments that citizens are interested in civics because it concerns their relation to the community, and this is a point which must not be lost while teaching. However, it is not easy for teachers to deal with values, skills and knowledge. Darling-Hammond (2007) state that teaching looks simple from the perspective of students who see a person talking and listening, handing out papers, and giving assignments. Invisible in both of these performances are the many kinds of knowledge, unseen plans, and

backstage moves that allow a teacher to purposefully move a group of students from one set of understanding and skills to another over the space of many months. On a daily basis, teachers confront complex decisions that rely on many different kinds of knowledge and judgement and that can involve high stake outcomes for students' future.

The aim of civics and citizenship education is to produce informed and active citizens. To achieve this, teaching and learning should be participative, interactive, and thought-provoking. In order to cultivate a commitment to civic participation and to become active members of vibrant communities, students need regular opportunities to engage in civic learning activities from preschool through college. Students cannot be expected to be civically engaged simply by reading from the textbooks (Guilfoile & Delander, 2014).

It is clear that Bhutan is not the only country to face challenges with regards to civics education. The issues discovered in the literature review were echoed during the conduct of this research through the interviews with students, teachers, writers and other stakeholders. However, there is one difference in Bhutan imparting civics and citizenship education that is not evident in other contexts and that is the introduction of 'Education for GNH' by the Royal Government of Bhutan. This explicit values base has a significant impact on civics and citizenship education in Bhutan. Now the biggest challenge that remains ahead is to ensure every Bhutanese, through formal or non-formal education, understands GNH as it is intended and accordingly internalises the values so that these form the basis of their behaviour as citizens.

9.3.1 Research sub-question 1

What are the current circumstances of civics and citizenship education in Bhutan?

The present civics curriculum mainly targets students from Classes 7 to 12, with compulsory civics education for all till Class 10. As the title suggests, the curriculum has little coverage of citizenship. It is therefore unarguably a study of civics but there are traces of elements of citizenship education in the curriculum. Saltmarsh (2005) in America points out that civics education is not only the study of structure and processes of government and the obligation of citizens, but also a study of the historical foundations of the country and the emergence of American democracy. Similarly, Bhutan Civics includes a component that addresses the emergence of democracy in Bhutan. A teacher in school D said:

Actually it is citizenship education, the main purpose of studying civics is to make the child a good citizen and they should be able to take up their responsibilities of a citizen, their duties and what they are supposed to do for the nation and what they are getting from the nation. They should be well aware of it if they want to be the right citizen of the country. I prefer to call citizenship education. As a citizen what they are supposed to know, it is all there in the textbooks. (D, 1, FI)

The status of the current circumstances of civics education in Bhutan based on specific observations is elaborated below.

Perceived low priority

As mentioned earlier, civics education in Bhutan is included as one of the four sub-parts of the overall history subject. History comprises Bhutan Civics, Bhutan history, Indian history and world history. However, these four components are not allocated an equal share of weightings in the examination. Bhutan Civics is allocated 15%-20% of marks in the annual examination. With as many as 8 to 12 different subjects for Classes 7 to 10, lesson periods for the week have to be shared amongst these subjects. As a result, the history subject gets a share of three periods a week. These three periods then have to be shared amongst the four sub-subjects of history. Thus, civics and citizenship education receives, on average, less than one period a week.

Therefore, with such a restricted time available for civics, teachers are compelled to further reprioritise the already scarce time. This process of dividing and sub-dividing periods of limited time is perceived to be an underpinning cause of declining quality in teaching and learning not just in civics but in all history subjects. Mismatch between the expectations from schools and the actual implementation is revealed when all the stakeholders during the interview expressed the paramount importance of this subject but the reality in schools showed otherwise. Almost all the teacher participants expressed that there is no choice but to follow lecture method in trying to cover the syllabus. Teachers having to prioritise covering the entire syllabus increases the likelihood that they will focus on teaching strategies that take less time even though they might be known to be less effective. Consequently, student learning is limited. With constraints in time, teachers are not even able to implement the activities stipulated in the Teachers' Guide, let alone exploring additional teaching-learning materials. It was found that teachers are aware that the activities provided in the Teachers' Guide are very relevant and would help student learning, however, in the interest of time, many activities have been found neglected. It appears the root cause of poor quality of civics education rests ultimately with the low

examination weighting and time constraints. In Bhutan, notwithstanding the government's intention of providing holistic education to youth, the teaching-learning approach is still predominantly examination-oriented and summative, and students are obviously bound to devote more attention to subjects with higher examination weightings. This leads to systemic (although unintended) sidelining of civics. In view of this systemic sidelining of the subject, students perceived civics as unimportant, primarily due to three factors:

- Teachers accord less time to teaching civics;
- Civics has a low examination weighting; and
- Students generally have a poor appreciation of the importance of civics education in their personal lives. Interviews with students confirmed that most studied civics for examination purposes only and a few with the aim to join politics.

Teachers admit that the limited attention they accord to civics lessons was mainly because of lesser time available for the subject. This opinion is further supported by the stakeholders who claimed that students' low interest level in civics was complemented with teachers' lack of enthusiasm to teach civics. Stakeholders squarely attributed the low examination weighting as the cause for low motivation for both teachers and students on the subject. Students also, on the other hand, do not blame their teachers for the limited attention they accord to civics. Students argue this level of attention is justifiable given the low examination weighting as there are three more history subjects contributing to their respective examination. In the small amount of time available, teachers are forced to teach in ways that may lead to compromising the quality of learning. Even the test result appeared to support the above perceptions as the result revealed that only 9.6% of students who sat for test could score above 70% and 63.4% of students had scored marks below 60% (Refer Chapter 6).

Lacunae in the present civics curriculum

Teachers' interviews indicated that many teachers have created their own definition of civics and citizenship concepts that they use during the civics lessons. A teacher from school G defines civics and citizenship education as a subject which encompasses everything about our own country, people and culture (G, 1, FI). The individual definitions of these teachers were compared with international perceptions in the analysis. It was interesting that many teachers' views are in consonance with international

opinions. For instance, Prior (2006) defines civics and citizenship as education designed to produce good citizens who are well-informed and have a positive disposition towards being actively engaged in the community. However, it is dismaying to note that many students have vague ideas on what civics education is all about.

Also discouraging is the revelation that even some teachers seem to have a limited understanding of the concept. A teacher participant is of the opinion that Bhutanese ethos has no relation to civics and citizenship education. He remarked: '*Ley Jumdrey* belongs to religion, therefore, we cannot include in civics. *Driglam Namzha* is already there in Bhutan history but it is ok if it is included in civics also' (E, 1, FI). However, it is encouraging to discover that some teachers can relate Bhutanese ethos to civics education. For instance, another teacher said: 'Civics is all about discipline (*Driglam Namzha*), it is highly related' (G, 1, FI).

Equally, there are some students who displayed a greater understanding of civics and citizenship education, such as student from school F said: 'It's not just about politics and government ... it's also about us citizens' (F, 2, FG). Ura (2009) reminds us that the education system in Bhutan should pay attention to values, as they are central to our cultural perspective. As an educator, the teacher therefore should completely be involved in the ethical development of students. Values education is an overriding need of the society and it should be schools' priority (Griffith, 1984). The test result too revealed, although not very significant, that out of 10 topics tested, students had the lowest achievement level in Fundamental Rights and Duties, and GNH and Good Governance. These two topics are apparently related to values and becomes a matter of concern (Refer Chapter 6 and Appendix 16 for details).

On the whole, the majority of students who participated in the research thought of civics and citizenship education as the mere study of government structure, politics, and public institutions only. They believed that civics was useful only for those who would join politics and that they would only learn how the government is run. Further, teachers also shared their observation that students generally viewed democracy as addressing freedom of individuals and that responsibilities of citizens are quite often forgotten or not understood. Similar misunderstandings, or rather misconceptions of democracy, are actually not just an issue for the students alone. Current Chairman of the National Council, Dr. Sonam Kinga, said that democracy has been perceived and articulated in the

form of demand and respect for resource allocation (UNDP, 2012). This suggests that misconceptions such as those held by students in this study are held more broadly across the population. Such limited understanding of democracy by citizens has been identified internationally in the past: for example, one study in Australia reports a school child thinks that his or her responsibility is over once the school election for prefects is completed (Hoy, 1945). One stakeholder in the current study, C3 reprimanded: ‘People should not just equate democracy with election. Need to understand different roles of different posts and institutions for proper understanding of democracy. Every stakeholder has certain role to play in democracy. Sustaining and strengthening of democracy is not just ECB’s role’ (C, 3, FI).

It was determined through the interview data that those students who showed interest in civics are actually those who aspire to join politics. This appears to indicate those who would work in offices entailing a typical 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. job would not need to study civics. Some students assumed that the content of the civics textbooks is suitable for politicians. In contrast, a stakeholder from the Royal Civil Service Commission (RCSC) took a broader perspective that for any job, civil servants or politicians, civics and citizenship education is essential.

Civics and citizenship education is a broad subject. As elaborated in Chapters 2 and 3, civics and citizenship education broadly cover three components, knowledge, skills and values, which are inextricably intertwined with each other. As stated earlier, most teachers indicated their understandings that these three basic elements were all components of the education they needed to deliver, but students did not appear to have the same understanding. This suggests the importance of addressing students’ lack of clarity in relation to the basic objectives of learning civics. The rationale for civics is not clearly articulated in the curriculum thus there is a need to stress the ‘WHY’ aspect of civics and citizenship education.

As identified previously, students assumed study of civics is for those who had political aspirations only. The basis for this judgement could be the content of the textbooks. Given the content of the textbooks mostly covers government structures, institutions and overall governance systems, that is, the knowledge aspect of civics education, it is not unreasonable for students to assume this is the main focus of the course. The textbooks have little or no significant information about the inherent values

and benefits of civics and citizenship. Values, if any, found in the textbooks are there just for the sake of providing knowledge but no supplementary content is provided to help students internalise values nor apply them to their daily lives. Similar finding is shared by Sherab (2014) in his case study involving four schools where he observed that the schools focussed more on infusion of GNH values through extra-curricular programmes, such as cultural, literary, campus greening, meditation and other activities. However, it was found that very minimal attention was paid to infusion of GNH through curriculum programmes.

Ura (2009, p. 12) reported that information in the textbooks emphasises details about high post holders such as *dzongda* (district administrators), *thrimpoens* (judges), ministers and their ceremonial attire like *kabneys* (scarves) (See Chapter 4). He wrote that discussion on values remained poor and underdeveloped. Further, the textbooks contain little information on the participation aspects of democracy. A teacher from school F also said: ‘looking at the present curriculum, civics is all about government, election, roles and tenure of member. We also need to inculcate civic values in Bhutanese citizen’ (F, 1, FI). Literature reviews (Refer Doğanay, Chapter 8) report that there are two skills needed to help students internalise knowledge learnt – general skills and participatory skills. While traces of general skills are seen in the textbooks, very few participatory skills are seen in either the textbooks or the Teachers’ Guide.

However, despite the existing content focusing more on government structures, institutions, and systems, this content is relevant since a citizen has direct connection with the government. Both the teachers and students should appreciate the benefits associated with knowing government structures and the systems underlying such institutions. Without this knowledge, there is a risk of developing cynicism and a disjunction between citizens and the people engaged in the management of government institutions. Popkin and Dimock (1999) argue that more knowledgeable citizens tend to judge the behaviour of public officials using their judgements about their own conduct as a guide while less knowledgeable citizens are more likely to view public officials’ blunders as signs of bad character or poor performance (Refer Chapter 2 for detail). To avoid such undesirable cynicism and to make learning of civics more relevant to students’ lives, a careful reframing of the civics education programme must be carried out (Babb, 1995).

Guilfoile and Delander (2014, p. 6), in relation to America, suggest that students get deeper understanding from:

- Examining the unique relationship between history, government, law, and democracy and how they work together and support one another;
- Why we have the system of government we have;
- What sacrifices our forefathers made to secure that system;
- What democracy truly means; and
- The crucial role that every American plays in sustaining it.

Review of the civics textbooks and the Teachers' Guide revealed a gap between the reality, the content and teaching-learning activities stipulated in the curriculum documents and the ideal situation identified in the literature (as cited above). This results in students failing to appreciate the relevance of the subject in their lives despite the importance of the subject. Teachers also need to connect the content with the lives of students through their lessons. This would require an updated Teachers' Guide so that the teaching-learning activities are able to draw relevance of the classroom activities to the real life situations and so that the guide offers suggestions, which address best practice in teaching and learning. The civics lessons should not be confined to classroom learning about government structure and institutions but should extend to real life scenarios outside the school boundaries. Stakeholder MP1 said:

It makes world of difference when you know where it can be applied. Civics learning is narrowly taken as study of Government structure. Rather, civics learning should enable students to understand their roles in the society. What their responsibilities are as citizens of the country is missing in the texts. They don't know where they fit in the overall structure. (MP1, FI)

This would merit a review of the civics curriculum altogether, right from the title of textbooks to development of chapters and topics.

If civics education were to be based on the current content of the textbooks entitled 'Bhutan Civics', this may not be particularly problematic as the syllabus itself would expect teachers to teach existing government structure and institutions and accordingly expect students to learn the topics contained in the chapters of the textbooks. However, this alone is not enough to build active citizens. Civics comes along with citizenship education. The literature review, as detailed in Chapters 2 and 3, suggests the need to

combine civics and citizenship education if the ultimate objective is to produce active and knowledgeable citizens. Thus, the curriculum requires incorporation of citizenship aspects, which basically includes both knowledge and disposition to participate in the public sphere. This should then entail changes not just in content but in the title as well.

The curriculum should broaden the scope of study and encompass all three areas of knowledge, skills and values. Further, skills should include both general as well as participatory skills, and values should include attitudes and dispositions. All literature reviews, be they Western or Eastern or even within the diverse Asian cultures, suggest that civics and citizenship cannot be separated. Therefore, inclusion of citizenship is necessary to enable students to appreciate the relevance of the subject.

In the Bhutanese parlance, civics education should include GNH aspects. Only with citizenship concerns incorporated in the curriculum can the nation produce better citizens. Having the citizenship component along with civics components will encourage students to know how individuals can contribute to the nation-building, as Powdyel (2008, p. V) defines civics 'as a powerful nation-building discipline'. Powdyel (2008, p. V), former Education Minister of Bhutan, in the Foreword message in civics textbooks continues: 'Civics should inspire an appreciation of the need to develop the necessary qualities of head and heart that help young men and women to live as good fellow citizens in a democratic society that is based on the principle of mutual respect and trust'. All these suggest the desirability of including citizenship components in the textbooks and the curriculum. Ura (2009) argues that the content of textbooks is central and crucial in influencing both the role of teachers and students in values education, as textbooks are pivotal to both teachers and students.

The research in this thesis suggests that the current curriculum and textbooks are not operating to equip students with the knowledge and values articulated in the introductory part and the Foreword of the textbooks written by the then Education Minister. Therefore, it is observed that Bhutan Civics textbooks may have elements of 'necessary qualities of head' but lack a 'heart' part of the quality to help young men and women to live as fellow citizens. In simplest terms, the textbooks do not guide the students about how they can be active citizens.

The overall objective of civics, in the introduction to the textbooks, states: 'to be able to contribute to the democratic process it is fundamental that the Bhutanese youth

understands democracy and its elements in the Bhutanese context from their early stages of education' (CAPSD, 2008, p. VI). This also suggests that the textbooks writers have focused on democracy and its elements and not much on values essential for individual citizens. Therefore, in line with the introductory statement, the values are missing from the textbooks.

Further, both the students and some teachers indicated that they regarded values as more related to religion and spiritual viewpoints and thus believed that values should not be a part of civic and citizenship learning. However, in opposition to this viewpoint is the nationwide programme 'Educating for GNH', which was launched with the aim of inculcating wholesome student development. Despite this programme, some teachers and most of the students indicated they thought otherwise and instead expressed their desire not to mix spiritual values with politics. This perception reflects a lack of conceptual understanding of the relationship between civics and citizenship education and values. Wright (1962) clarifies the association between spiritual, rather than religious, values and citizenship morality. He said:

In Australia the Church has taken a leading role in offering guidance and spiritual inspiration to the people, and its teaching set moral and ethical standards of great value. A good deal of religion is concerned with the development of one's attitude to one's fellow men and the responsibility of the individuality to his God. Much of the democracy in our communities is based on this conception. (p. 2)

Ura (2009, p. 3) also supports this concept: 'The Buddhist approach of moral development places an acute emphasis on reducing negative emotions to embrace inclusiveness and our relationship with the communities.'

Uninviting textbooks for children

Another common thread in the findings from all the research participants was on the unappealing nature of the civics textbooks. Participants felt the textbooks are too wordy with reader-unfriendly letter font size, no illustrations, and with occasional drift from the sequential order of chapters and topics. Textbooks are heavy in content with factual information and do not attract students' interest. Interestingly, the writers of the textbooks agreed with this finding. Writers actually expressed their concern with the limitations they perceived in the textbooks they had developed. They suggested the textbooks should ideally have interesting pages such as fun facts, cartoons, activities and illustrations that would appeal to young readers. A writer said: 'Pictures also need to be very interesting,

activities more relevant to our context' (W, 3, FI) and another writer said: 'Cover page is so dismal looking as the book only – the children won't want to read – there is nothing exciting – so dark, grim looking picture – maybe they could have had other happier picture of children, adults' (W, 2, FI). One of the stakeholders said: 'Very wordy and gloomy texts, which are unattractive for students to read and learn. Texts should be made more animated and make it relevant to daily life. The text looks very gloomy. The cover page is not eye-catching. The text looks very "text based"' (MP, 1, FI). However, one writer pointed out the textbooks were developed as provisional versions and these should have been updated long ago (W, 1, FI).

The stakeholders' opinion with regard to overall appearance is further supported by different writers and experts such as Fang (1996), who says that illustrations:

- Contribute to textual coherence when well integrated with print or through providing referential cues for the text;
- Reinforce the text to motivate the reader, promote creativity, foster aesthetic appreciation, entice readers and help interact with text;
- Provide mental scaffold for the reader; and
- Delight the reader, capture attention, teach concepts: it is imperative that teachers, textbook writers and illustrators are more sensitive to the information conveyed through the interplay of print, pictures and readers.

Drew and Sternberge (2005) noted that when a text is published and the book is designed and printed, it becomes a physical manifestation not just of the ideas of the author, but of the cultural ideals and aesthetic of a distinct historical moment. The book as an object is comfortingly substantial in its content and its material presence. At a time when so much information is dispersed in virtual form, it is especially important to examine the book as a distinctive object reflecting a marriage of the author's words and the designer's vision. The cover is a book's first communication to the readers; it is a graphic representation of its content. According to d'Astous, Colbert, and Mbarek (2006) even when readers buy books, besides focusing on author and publishers, they also focus on the book cover as it delivers direct as well as indirect information about the book's quality and content. Book historians have given importance not only to the text contained within a book but also to physical details of the paper, type, binding and notations on the book. If the marketing of books is to be successful, it is imperative that sellers consider

the book and its marketing in a visual context (Matthews & Moody, 2007). Yampbell (2005) states that covers must be innovative and refreshing for young adults. These views provided by different scholars can help shape improvements in the textbooks.

Considering all the above views, it becomes apparent that the textbooks failed to attract students.

Thus the research suggests that students have not been able to appreciate the overall relevance of civics to their lives, save for those future aspirant politicians, mainly because the content of the textbooks focuses on government structure and institutions. Even teachers pointed out that students find the civics subject very boring mainly because the textbooks are filled with facts to learn and these facts have not been updated. Students did not value the subject, as they perceived it as not contributing to their ability to obtain employment after graduation. This perception is not just Bhutan-centric. It is evident even in countries like Australia where the Senate Standing Committee on Employment Education and Training (1989) reported that citizenship education bears the stigma of being regarded as the subject for the less academic pupils and not many pupils from the academic streams take it. The report further mentioned that many teachers choose to omit the topic on the ground that it is difficult to make it interesting and that pupils find it boring. However, Babb (1995) argues that if the curriculum is solidly organised and the classroom lessons are approached energetically and enthusiastically by teachers it is bound to appeal the students and be perceived as relevant to their lives. This concern, which has been seen as an issue internationally, is discussed in Chapter 2.

Inadequate professional development opportunities for teachers

Some teachers admitted that as the contents are mostly on procedural matters, they themselves would not know all the details. For many teachers this subject was not part of their initial training and they have received no in-service training to update their content knowledge. As a consequence teachers may omit certain materials or simply teach to the text. A teacher from school I said: ‘...there are some words which we don’t understand also and there is ..., that students don’t take interest in this, even like our textbooks, ... dates and the information are all outdated’ (I, 1, FI). This results in poorer learning opportunities for students. Added to this is that lack of teacher knowledge often resulted in the teacher relying on outdated information contained in the textbooks, leading to poorer outcomes for students.

Therefore, there is a need to upgrade the competencies of teachers. They need regular professional development opportunities and field visits to acquaint them with recent developments in the country. His Majesty the King clearly identified the need for ongoing teacher education in His statement: ‘...You cannot tell children to be strong if you are not strong yourself. If you don’t know anything about the subject that you are teaching how much of it are you going to give to your students, you cannot give what you do not have...’ (BBS, 2014, paragraph 2).

The Ministry of Education carries the responsibility of enhancing the capacity of teachers, but other agencies can also contribute towards developing competent teachers in schools. It will be more efficient and effective if different agencies conduct refresher courses on new developments emanating from their respective organisations. For instance, the Parliament could initiate programmes to disseminate new legislation to teachers and students. Likewise, the judiciary could disseminate new judicial developments and landmark decisions. Be it new legislations, policies or policy implementation, plans and programmes, it would be very effective not just in the quality of dissemination but would help share the burden of Ministry of Education if the respective agencies could contribute with their specialised skills and allocated resources. Therefore, it should be the responsibility of the state as a whole to support the ongoing development of teachers.

Interviews with teachers and students also revealed a lack of appropriate teaching-learning activities being implemented in schools. For instance, students expressed their wish to learn civics in animated ways. Teachers felt the lack of time to deploy all available teaching strategies was a major barrier to achieving this. On the whole, students’ wish-list for learning civics lessons included (but was not limited to) the following suggestions:

- Teachers to be well versed in constitutional provisions;
- Teachers to be well trained in teaching civics;
- Civics to be taught in animated ways; and
- Civics lessons to be supplemented with video conferencing, video clips, interacting with people, and field trips, etcetera, to have more comprehensive learning.

All these are indications that students are unsatisfied with the prevailing practices of teaching-learning activities in civics. Thus, content, teacher and teaching have not been able to fulfil the students' expectations. Students think that it will be beneficial if their teachers explore different teaching-learning materials and strategies so that they retain their interest. However it is necessary to balance this with the limitations within which teachers are required to work. They have time constraints as well as limited or no professional development opportunities to enhance their subject knowledge and teaching expertise. In addition, the exam weighting placed on civics influenced teachers' decision-making about the time they allocated to teaching content.

Underutilisation of students' learning and knowledge absorptive capacity

Interviews with students indicated there is immense learning potential to improve student understanding and commitment in civics education. The study found they were full of excitement from being members of Democracy Club. Some students shared knowledge, skills and values they had learned through their hands-on learning as participants in the Democracy Club. They showed their excitement and had stories to share about the Democracy Club in their schools. Some students that in Democracy Club, they not only focus on the norms and stick to the written statement but also relate to our day to day life with combination of the practice and theory they have learned (A, 6, FG). In other words, Democracy Club is students' preference as a way in which the civics and citizenship education is currently being delivered. Such benefits are available to only the students who are club members. Democracy Club appears to have only limited membership, suggesting that this benefit is restricted perhaps to the number of students that the club can take in.

Therefore, it is essential that the activities rendered through Democracy Clubs are replicated in classroom teachings. Alternatively, schools should devise other appropriate pedagogies to deliver comprehensive civics and citizenship education so that students benefit. To this end, the Education Ministry and Royal University of Bhutan should be tasked to design appropriate education pedagogies. Perhaps the existing 'Educating for GNH' could be reinforced and integrated more clearly into civics education, bringing out inherent components of citizenship educations.

Currently, teachers find it difficult to teach civics and students find it difficult to learn civics. There is a chain effect from teachers to students. Students indicated they found

topics in the civics textbooks filled with difficult terminologies, with ‘hard words, bombastic words’ (E, 2, FG) that they could not easily understand. Students wanted to see live events through visits to places such as Parliament and local government, so that they could understand the meanings of such ‘hard and bombastic words’ in their proper context. Also, students appreciated the role of media, which gave them opportunities to learn about current events and how and what they were learning in class was enacted in practical reality. Students from School A, C, D, G, and H admitted that they actually learned more from outside sources than the classroom lessons. This suggests that the students actually have potential to learn more about civics and citizenship so long as there is a comprehensive curriculum supported by appropriate education strategies and pedagogies.

Scanty teaching-learning activities

Teaching-Learning practices across all nine schools were found to be very similar, as revealed both through test and interview. This is most likely because teachers were using the same teaching materials for civics lessons. For instance, interviews with teachers revealed that all the teachers use the same Teachers’ Guide that was developed by the Ministry of Education. This is reflected in a degree of uniformity in student outcomes, particularly when comparing achievement across the regions. Further, interviews with both students and teachers suggested that the delivery method was very similar. It was felt through interviews that teachers surely do not get time to explore teaching strategies outside of the Teachers’ Guide and activities specified at the end of each chapter.

Writers of the guide were concerned that this might be the consequence of producing didactic and dictation-oriented strategies, and this was articulated clearly by one of the writers. There was a concern that production of such a Teachers’ Guide might develop complacency within teachers and may block individual teacher’s creativity. Interviews indicated that most teachers use either the Teachers’ Guide or the activities provided in the textbooks. It was also found that the most frequently used teaching-learning approaches were discussion and presentation in most schools. This was mainly due to time constraint that teachers could not even cover the activities suggested in the textbook and the Teachers’ Guide, let alone exploring other approaches and strategies.

This bears out the writers’ concern that teachers would be less likely to explore their own strategies of teaching as long as the content of the curriculum is delivered. On the

other hand, writers were also cognisant of the reality of the situation where the present civics textbooks were fairly new, that teachers were unskilled in this content area and thus would need additional support. Therefore, a middle path is suggested where Teachers' Guides can be provided to the schools but teachers should also be equally encouraged to supplement the Teachers' Guide with their individual creative teaching methods. Individual teachers' initiative to create personal supplementary teaching practices, besides the textbooks and Teachers' Guide, should be apprised and recognised by the relevant school principals and other monitoring agencies. Teachers can be supported in these efforts by in-service training and perhaps linked into networks where they can engage in professional conversations about their pedagogies.

9.3.2 Research sub-question 2

In the current situation of civics and citizenship education, what knowledge have Bhutanese students gained?

As elaborated in Chapters 6 and 7, knowledge of students was assessed through test and semi-structured focus group interviews. Students' knowledge was assessed on different topics from Bhutan Civics. Overall performance by students was then assessed by regions (Eastern, Western and Central), by category (government and private), by streams of study (arts, commerce, science and rigzhung), by location (urban and semi-urban), by gender (boys and girls), and by status (boarder and dayscholar).

Average score of 56.17% in the test

There are ten different topics as detailed in Chapter 5 (Table 5) The findings are based on test and interviews. It was observed by curriculum-based stakeholders that overall test performance by the students was marginal, with an average score of only 56.17%. This performance by students matches with a common opinion shared in the interviews that students have limited enthusiasm for the subject. Students expressed during the interviews that their main purpose of studying civics was to pass the examination. This suggests it will be extremely challenging for students to obtain the civics education necessary for active and participatory citizenship and also difficult for teachers to retain students' interest. Ideally the principal reason for studying civics should be for a higher purpose, that is to fulfil their responsibilities as citizens (Obenchain & Pennington, 2015).

Visible gaps between government and private schools

Overall student achievement across the nine schools and the regions was not very different but there were differences in topics of interest. However, in terms of schools by category (public-private), while the students in both the categories responded in a similar manner during the interviews, there was variation in response between the teachers of private and government school.

It was noted that the teachers of private schools did not appear to have extensive knowledge (content) nor well-articulated pedagogies. As mentioned in Chapter 6 private school teachers may not necessarily have formal training, so these problems are probably related to lack of relevant training.

Although there was no difference in responses between students from government and private schools during the interviews, students from private schools scored lower in the test in all ten topics. This suggests that it is important that teacher training colleges and the Ministry of Education address this through provision of relevant support. For instance, teachers of private schools can participate in any in-service teacher development programme coordinated and initiated by the Ministry of Education and the Royal University of Bhutan. In addition, the Ministry of Education could:

- Require private schools to recruit teachers with a minimum of Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) certificate;
- Mandate private schools teachers to attend in-service training;
- Work out professional upgrading of teachers in private schools through government subsidies (e.g. cost sharing);
- Provide need-based professional development (instructional pedagogies and teaching strategies);
- Support private school teachers to participate in curriculum revision and provide perspectives from private schools;
- Encourage private schools principals to be proactive in networking with the Ministry of Education with regard to teacher development and quality of teaching; and
- Encourage collaboration amongst private schools to share good practices.

Performance by students

Region-wise, the Eastern region performed better in topic 2 (The Constitution), topic 4 (Government) and topic 9 (GNH and Good Governance). It appears that students in eastern schools have shown greater interest in these topics. When further analysis differentiated streams of study, it was found that science students performed better on all topics when compared to students from the other three streams of study. The next best are the students of arts who did fairly well in Democracy, Constitution, Government, GNH and Good Governance, and Parliament. Students of commerce and rigzhung have lower test scores than students from the other two streams. Factors that might have influenced the better performance from eastern region and by science students are not known. This provides an avenue for future researchers to study. On other topics, performance by schools of all three regions was similar.

On the whole, students had poorer performance in topics such as the Constitution, Fundamental Rights & Duties, and GNH & Good Governance than in other topics, which suggests that students need more help to understand these topics. This is concerning in relation to GNH as this is such an important concept for Bhutan. Students' poor knowledge on GNH was further confirmed when one student during the interview admitted her embarrassment about not knowing the four pillars of GNH. A student from school B confessed that he/she was ashamed for not knowing the pillars of GNH (B, 5, FG). Such lack of knowledge is found in students of other countries as well. For example Babb (1995) identified that some Australian students too were embarrassed by not knowing the names of the two Chambers of their Parliament. Addressing this lack of knowledge is a responsibility of the state, government and the Ministry of Education given that this subject is of national importance. At the very least all students in Bhutan should know the household slogans such as the four pillars of GNH.

Observation through interviews

During the interviews, it was observed that students had the idea that if they were aiming to become a politician, they would have to be thorough in their study of civics. However, some students did not restrict the need for civics knowledge just to those wishing to become politicians but rather connected civics more broadly to what it means to be Bhutanese. A few were quite clear that civics can make them informed citizens, which will result in them able to become active and responsible citizens. One student from school B expressed his aim of studying civics in this manner: 'I think learning civics for

me, it makes me live as a good citizen, in me it kind of, rekindles a sense of patriotism, a sense of nationalism so that is a great thing, that is my motif of learning civics.’ This statement is positioned as an ideal understanding of the importance of civics education and is a position that ideally would be held by all the young citizens.

Students were very clear about how they would like to learn civics. One student from school I expressed that simply reading and explaining makes them doze off in the class. They knew that civics is a subject that could be full of activities, such as exploring ideas through debate, field visits, lectures by guests, and using media extensively. They said that they would like to go out and interact with people (I, 1, FG). A student from school C said:

to be frank, I have literally forgotten what I have learnt in Classes 7 & 8. However, I feel that I have bit of knowledge but the knowledge I have is not from class but from the interaction with other people. Sometimes, I feel that I am learning even from taxi drivers. They seem to know more and it is good to interact with them’. (C, 1, FG)

Students might not have displayed the knowledge of what they want to learn but they were very clear on how they want to learn civics.

At the beginning of the student focus group interviews, students identified civics learning as important only for those aspiring to become future politicians and as a study of government structures providing knowledge meant for adults. However, towards the end of interview sessions, students began to express a broader understanding. They knew that every single citizen should acquire knowledge to live in communities in harmony and to uphold the nation’s sovereignty. As a result of the conversation amongst them, some students developed the desire to take up civics education to the college level. This suggests the benefits of peer discussion and the value for teachers in letting students interact in the class in a similar manner. The group conversation helped student reframe their thinking of the topic.

9.3.3 Research sub-question 3

How do relevant stakeholders in Bhutan perceive the match between their intentions for civics education and the reality of student and teacher experiences in civics education?

The initial opinion of the researcher was that there would be varying perspectives from different stakeholders and in particular it was expected that the views from other

stakeholders would be different from those of teachers and students. However, surprisingly not much variation in opinion was observed during the interviews. Students' learning experiences, teachers' teaching experiences and the views of curriculum-based stakeholders indicated that civics education needs collective support to educate young people to be more responsible citizens. For this reason, present textbooks need to be updated immediately. One stakeholder said: 'Textbooks have not kept up with changes ... Teachers teach and students learn as if these structures and dynamics have remained the same in the last eight years' (MP2, FI).

The Ministry of Education launched a revision of the old civics curriculum in 2006 for students to begin reading new Bhutan Civics textbooks by 2008 when the country introduced the democratic constitutional monarchy form of government. A group of curriculum writers drafted civics textbooks for classes 7 to 12 with one overriding objective: to educate youth on democracy and its underlying principles and fundamentals in the Bhutanese context. The writers were entrusted with formulation of the new Bhutan Civics textbooks that would not only teach our youth about how governments are formed and operated but also produce good citizens in a democratic society who would have mutual respect for each other. The writers envisaged that the new Bhutan Civics curriculum would allow the students to learn democratic values and principles. As mentioned above, they had produced provisional textbooks that were meant to undergo further rounds of amendments. However, the provisional versions have been in use up until the time of data collection. The writers admit that all stakeholders, including students and teachers, have a good basis to argue that textbooks contain factual errors and outdated information and this needs to be addressed. In addition the textbooks do not adequately address the intention to provide values education.

Further, writers did not support the production of the Teachers' Guide, as they were concerned that this would encourage a didactic teaching-learning style of civics education. The Teachers' Guide was intended to be a guide teachers could use to plan their civics lessons, however they now felt that most of the civics teachers are guided exclusively by the Teachers' Guide. They felt this limited the pedagogical approaches used by teachers in the classroom. One of the writers said: 'Teaching guide will only inhibit creativity in civics teaching and learning' (W1, FI).

On the other hand, the Curriculum Officer (CO) argued that the textbooks are sufficiently comprehensive to provide a fair level of values education although there is room for improvement. However, the CO agreed with the general outcry of all stakeholders that the textbooks could improve in terms of the cover page, contents, chapter sequencing and layout, and providing more teaching-learning activities (refer Chapter 7 for details).

Even the other stakeholders from ACC, RAA, RCSC and Judiciary had also commented that textbooks have either minimal or no relevant contents on their respective organisations' mandates, roles and responsibilities. In the absence of adequate coverage in the textbooks about the overall purpose of their organisation's existence, students would not be able to learn and appreciate the roles these organisations assume for the country, people and for successful and vibrant democracy. It should be reminded here that all these constitutional Organisations were consulted during the development of these textbooks. Despite their initial involvement, it was gathered from this research that all individual stakeholders shared one common perception: textbooks need to be updated immediately (refer Chapter 7 for details). It is evident that there is a gap between expectations and the implementation of curriculum. Communication amongst stakeholders is seen as vital for making the curriculum more relevant.

In addition, as elaborated in Chapter 7, mismatch in priorities between teachers and students are evident through their interviews. Teachers expressed inadequacy of time to accord priority, students on the other have failed to understand and recognise the importance of the subject due to low examination weighting. Therefore, even when the teachers' and students' concerns and priorities match with those of stakeholders, they find it practically impossible to fulfil such important and far-reaching concerns.

To conclude, while all the stakeholders have high and noble aspirations for civics education, the practical reality restricts the ability of students and teachers to fulfil them. Every parent, teacher, educationist and stakeholder dream of producing values-laden graduates or GNH graduates, but there are students, and even some teachers, who are yet to correctly appreciate the ultimate purpose of civics education. Some students still fail to understand the inherent connection between civics education and GNH, between religion and values. MP1 is of the view: 'values should hold our identity. Students should figure out their own roles in their lifetime for the country. Values shape your mentality and that

actually shapes the whole society’ (MP1, FI). A stakeholder from ACC stressed: ‘Bhutanese Ethos should be part of Civics education. ACC wishes to hold meetings with parents and teachers on value education. Assume shared responsibility, practice small and basic things in schools. Values need to be integrated in Civics education’ (C4, FI). Therefore, stakeholders unanimously felt that values should be taught through civics education to produce GNH citizens.

Views on the interest of students

The CO pointed out that civics education provides lots of activities and opportunities to debate, discuss and analyse and even teach students the democratic style of bottom-up decision-making. However, the interviews with teachers expressed that even if these activities are somehow seen in the textbooks and in the Teachers’ Guide, many teachers say they are constrained with limited time available to them to undertake all these activities. As a result, most schools use group discussions and presentations as the most common classroom pedagogy. Moreover, owing to lower exam weighting, students do not find it justifiable to spend more time on such activities although they seem to exhibit interest and enthusiasm to learn more through all these activities.

Other stakeholders also shared their concern with students’ average score of 56.17% in the test. Stakeholders thought that students might not have been serious about the subject because of the overall allocation of marks. Therefore, this researcher believes there is a need for the relevant authorities to reconsider the allocation of marks. Perhaps, the ratio of marks allocated for civics could be increased to justify its importance and the volume of study material prescribed by the curriculum. In addition, stakeholders seem to agree with students that the overall appearance of the textbooks needs to improve to entice students. They said that as children, they are attracted to more colours and illustrations. Every respondent felt the need to improve the overall look of the textbook itself.

9.3.4 Research sub-question 4

What implications do these understandings have for the ongoing development of civics education in Bhutan?

While the details will be covered under Part Three below, the findings from the literature review, test and interviews provided much needed insights for ongoing development of civics education. This study has policy as well as practical implications, which are presented in the following sections.

9.4 Part Three: Realisations and recommendations, limitations, and the way forward

9.4.1 Policy implications

The study demonstrated through interviews and literature reviews that students wish to have teachers with better knowledge of civics. The Children's Parliament of Bhutan calls for changes in the education sector that reflect this finding. Tsheten Dorji, Youth National Assembly Speaker said: 'one teacher one-subject policy needs to be discussed. Teachers should teach the subject they specialized in to enhance professionalism as a result of which the quality of education will improve' (Namgyel, 2016, paragraph 1). Using this argument, developing civics education as a subject in which teachers can specialise is recommended.

Exchange of opinions amongst students during the interviews in the presence of researcher made them realise the importance of the civics subject and the role of a good teacher. Students felt that for them to successfully engage in civics, developing well-trained teachers in this area was important. Most students expressed that civics should be made into entirely different subject and history teachers should not teach them. Trained civics teachers should teach them. Stakeholders from constitutional organisations also see a need for a separate subject of civics outside of the history subject because of the immense importance attached to civics as a subject to groom future citizens. Ironically, they observed that civics has been considered as peripheral compared to other subjects. They proposed civics to be a separate subject that should cater to curbing social problems such as youth violence and crimes, drug abuse and sexual abuse, besides it being a study of governance system and government structures. Even the students expressed that the subject should cover youth issues to teach about juvenile delinquencies. It appears that students are aware of what and how they want to learn.

However, Hoy (1945) commented that many of our civic institutions could not be properly understood without reference to history, and for this reason the study of civics and history will always to some extent go hand-in-hand. Writer W1 suggested: 'MoE may not be able to depute designated civics teacher in every school but they can propose a new, like 'Teaching of History' and there can be a module on civics in our Colleges of Education (Teachers colleges). Then there will be minimum or zero cost implication' (W1, FI). This leads to a recommendation that the Colleges of Education consider

developing civics as a subject area in which history teachers can specialise. The colleges could offer the civics module to pre-service teachers and those teachers already employed could be offered opportunities to add this specialisation to their qualification through in-service training opportunities.

Opportunities provided during the interviews for discussion led students to realise the importance of this discipline irrespective of their course choice of arts, commerce or science. Having realised the immense importance of the civics subject, students suggested the value of continuing civics education into higher classes. Some students suggested making civics education compulsory till Class 12 while some wanted this to continue to university. Even some stakeholders expressed the need to continue study of civics until class 12. Students in Class 12 have generally reached voting age thus there is additional benefit to them in continuing their learning. Therefore, it is recommended that civics education be studied till Class 12.

Having appreciated the importance of civics and the need to learn Bhutanese history, it was realised that the importance of civics and Bhutanese history should be supported through increasing the examination weighting from 15-20% (weighting for civics) to some higher percentage. This means reducing the weighting of other components and it is suggested that most appropriate area where this reduction could be applied is in world and Indian history. It is suggested that increasing the examination weighting of civics will communicate the importance of this subject to students and teachers. This is likely to lead to greater attention paid to the subject and improved teaching and learning strategies. Thus it is recommended that the Royal Education Council (REC) and the Bhutan Council for School Examinations and Assessment (BCSEA) deliberate on this issue and come up with the necessary solution.

The results of this study suggest that the existing civics curriculum should incorporate citizenship aspects. This should encompass the GNH aspects of theories, beliefs and practices. Perhaps the existing 'Educating for GNH' could be overhauled into a more inclusive form of wholesome education so that all inherent components of citizenship education were incorporated. This is one potential area for further research. This approach would help in solving the concerns of civics and citizenship education quality. In addition, writers identified that the textbooks' contents on values were limited to just the fundamental rights and duties. The curriculum officer may also appreciate a need to

explore merging of values, both local values and other relevant values with the formal civics curriculum. Therefore, the curriculum officer needs to propose the necessary policy alternatives so that the curriculum documents duly incorporate such values as part of the civics curriculum. There is a need to study how best four pillars of GNH can be linked to the present civics and citizenship education.

If students' interest and enthusiasm is to be retained, there is a need to strengthen relevance of the subject. Student engagement and learning is supported when they understand how the subject is relevant to their lives. This hinges on the efforts of teachers and the content of the curriculum to ensure that students have been given opportunities to understand civics in a holistic manner. Pedagogy could be broadened to include additional learning opportunities beyond the mundane classroom activities. It is possible to deliver civics education both within and outside of classrooms. Civics education, especially in boarding schools, can be seamlessly integrated with schools' extra-curricular activities. Teachers have indicated time constraints for not being able to initiate alternative teaching approaches as they are mandated to cover the prescribed syllabus. Engaging students in extra-curricular activities in non-school time can help teachers to complete the syllabus on time. But how does one understand 'extra-curricular activities', and who will take ownership, are the important questions that need to be answered.

Conventionally, extra-curricular activities in schools are traditionally understood for students' participation in cultural and religious programmes, sports, debates, quiz competitions and such other activities organised either within or outside of school premises. Other extra-curricular activities for civics could include project work for students, work that can be carried out in their homes during non-school hours that may engage even the parents and siblings. Students could seek ideas from parents and community members to complete assigned project works.

This may require schools to have formal systems that can legitimise participation of parents, siblings and communities in completing a student's project work. Internationally, it is recognised that parents are children's first teachers and this transmission of Bhutanese age-old values begins through parental involvement and could continue through parental involvement in schools. The curriculum developer could initiate formal procedures to seek parents' input for carrying out certain learning activities of students. These formal procedures could be adapted as part of the civics curriculum in the form of

teaching-learning activities. Therefore, it is recommended that the curriculum development recognises the extra-curricular activities in their formal curriculum documents.

Provided there is a legitimate recognition of extra-curricular activities in formal curriculum documents, debates and quiz competitions on some of the topics contained in the textbook chapters could be organised that can be counted as a part of formal learning activity. Wherever parents and siblings are involved for completion of a student's project work, it is expected that such collaborations at home will enhance the parent-child relationship. It will also inculcate a sense of responsibility in the attitudes of parents towards educating one's children and will ultimately result in sharing teachers' burden related to the timely completion of the syllabus. However, the teacher concerned should monitor the progress of children's project work in coordination with parents. The curriculum documents should formally mandate the teacher concerned to monitor student's progress so as to have sense of ownership with the teacher. Otherwise, the proposal will be a failure.

Parents' and siblings' participation in students' teaching-learning activities is expected to also improve children's behavioural developments, particularly if there are disciplinary problems in the school. It is not uncommon for parents to be the only people unaware of their children's behavioural problems at schools; therefore, increased parental involvement is likely to help both parents and teachers work together to address concerns.

It is also felt that involving parents for the education of their children would even improve students' sense of *Driglam namzha*, *Tha Damtshig* and *Ley Jumdrey*. Teachers expressed that parents should be equally involved to inculcate a sense of values such as *Driglam Namzha* in the students. As an example, to quote one teacher from school H, he said:

That is always been a big challenge. A big challenge for educator. Will these wonderful values which is there in Bhutanese culture, *Driglam Namzha*, sustain for another 10-20 years? Will these still be practiced? It is now fading away. I can see youth problems, rural-urban migration. I think Ministry of Education alone cannot solve the problem. There is parents' role to solve this problem (H, 1, FI).

Sherab (2014) recommends that the Ministry of Education's task is to bring parents and school closer as the task of promoting GNH values does not only rest with teachers. It

is important that home and school values are complementary. There is a general assumption that if parents live by examples, children naturally grow with the values that parents have.

In this regard, Ura (2009, p. 3) wrote that the progression in children ‘not only involve the lessons in value education in schools, but also the values we as adults transmit to our children, which must be constantly demonstrated through our own action, decisions, emotions and behavior. Parents must be examples.’ He added that the border between adult behaviour and children’s behaviour is very thin; adult behaviour can easily reach children and influence them.

To further support the stand Wright (1962) said:

Citizenship begins in the family where certain rules are laid down for the mutual benefit of all members. It is in the home that children realise they must be considerate of others and make compromises in their behavior if the family is to live in harmony together. As the child grows older he tends to assume greater responsibility, for the wise parent encourages self-reliance and the making of small decisions. Eventually there is little need for parental supervision, for the child who is given and accepts small responsibilities in infancy is much better equipped to continue with this as he matures. (p. 2)

Thus, it is recommended that Ministry of Education should come up with a policy that require parent and community participation in the teaching-learning activities of civics and citizenship education.

In Bhutan, there is an initiative by Royal Bhutan Police called Police-Public Partnership Program (PPPP) and Police-Youth Partnership Program (PYPP), which are good opportunities for students to engage positively and consciously for social purposes and to learn a sense of social responsibility. This can be viewed as a sharing of the Education Ministry’s responsibilities by other organisations. Ideally if such activities involve civics teachers, students can connect such activities and appreciate the broad scope of civics education. Currently, learning of civics education is confined to classroom activity. Current teaching methods tend to lead to student boredom and lack of engagement. Here too, the curriculum developer or the Ministry of Education could initiate formulation of certain procedures to legitimise the supplementary role of other agencies to be a part of formal curriculum documents wherein the roles and responsibilities of civics teachers concerned should be clearly laid out. Ultimately there

should be the sense of ownership by concerned civics teachers so that any activity taking place outside of the classroom and school should be always connected to the classroom learning.

Provided the roles and responsibilities of teachers are clearly laid out in the formal documents, there could be real engagement of teachers with activities taking place outside of the classroom. In fact, any activity either inside or outside of school should be happening through involvement of civics teachers, who should plan and coordinate with the external agency. For this to materialise, proper planning by individual civics teachers should identify the knowledge, skills and values students would obtain. Such planning and implementation should be evaluated accordingly. For this, civics teachers should assume the ownership of such programme. Thus it is recommended that curriculum development recognises involvement of external agencies for civics and citizenship education in their formal civics curriculum documents.

Given what has been discussed about the need to reshape the curriculum and pedagogy in civics education, there is a need to review recruitment and deployment of teachers in schools across the country. Further, even after the recruitment, there should be regular professional development for teachers. Civics Expert Group (1994) in Australia pointed out that teachers play a crucial role in implementing a civics education programme; therefore, professional development is a key priority. They found teachers lack confidence in teaching the content of such a course, a finding replicated in this study with Bhutanese teachers. Professional development programmes will help teachers to assist their students to apply knowledge and skills outcomes to active citizenship context.

In summary, the study makes a number of recommendations in relation to policy matters. These recommendations are listed here:

1. The Royal Education Council to update content in the Bhutan Civics textbooks;
2. The Ministry of Education to communicate and collaborate with the Royal University (RUB) on having a module for history teachers on civics and citizenship education;
3. The Ministry of Education to study the feasibility to continue civics and citizenship education till Class 12 irrespective of what streams students take. This recommendation is based exclusively on stakeholders' feedback;

4. The Royal Education Council (REC) to discuss with Bhutan Council for School Examination and Assessment on the weighting of civics examinations;
5. The Ministry of Education to come up with the policy that requires parents and other relevant agencies to participate in the teaching and learning activities of civics and citizenship education; and
6. Curriculum development to recognise the extra-curricular activities as part of civics and citizenship education.

9.4.2 Practice implications

Just as there are policy implications, there are also practical implications drawn from interviews and the content of the textbooks. As discussed above, students requested opportunities to have more practical engagement in civics issues as part of their learning. Activities could include having guest lecturers visit schools. One student from School I mentioned a Law Club in their school where they would get opportunities through direct interaction with lawyers and learn about this profession (I, 1, FG). Stakeholders, as expressed by MP1, also support the views of students. Another stakeholder referred to Democracy Clubs and said: ‘Democracy Clubs should involve not just ECB but other Constitutional Offices as well. It was initiated by ECB but should involve others as well (C3, FI).’ One student from School A said that they not only learn rules and regulations in Democracy Club but also receive hands-on experiences (A, 6, FG). One teacher from School A said that students learn in the class and their knowledge gets strengthened when they are in Democracy Club (A, 1, FI). A teacher from School F expressed that students learn so much from Democracy Club thereby indicating that Teaching-Learning through the club is more effective than through normal classroom activities (F, 1, FI). A teacher from School D said that they could update their textbooks from activities undertaken by Democracy Club (D, 1, FI). The research shows that there are already practices in place that support students’ engagement in transferring the theory they learn in the classroom into practice. It is recommended that school should take the ownership of such clubs and explore to involve more relevant agencies and not just ECB.

Teachers were often not familiar with the full civics curriculum, with some saying that they were only familiar with the content they taught in their class level and not the content offered in other classes. Helping teachers understand how their teaching area links with the overall civics curriculum may help them contextualise their material and link the learning opportunities they provide to other areas of the subject. Thus it is

recommended that perhaps within school teachers teaching civics can get together and discuss what they are doing or have professional conversations, and this could be facilitated by the principal to make it happen.

The 'Educating for GNH' initiative requires teachers to consciously instil GNH values through their respective subject. Each teacher has to ensure that students are given opportunities to interact with values. As revealed both through literature and interviews, values are seen as an integral part of supporting children's development as they grow to become moral adults. One writer said: 'you are not just teaching the chapter, you are also trying to introduce certain values with that chapter at that time' (W2, FI). Therefore, it is recommended that teachers concerned should try to identify the appropriate values to link with the classroom lesson.

Finally, it is useful to consider the role of school leadership. Principals have a key role in setting the school goals and supporting staff in achieving these. Sherab (2014) reminds us that any project or reform would be a failure if there were no support and effort from the head of the institutions. Thus engaging principals in curriculum and pedagogical reform in civics education is essential. This could be achieved by involving principals from formulation stage through implementation.

In summary, the practical recommendations arising from this study are:

1. Schools should take the ownership of Democracy Clubs and explore involvement of other relevant agencies and not just ECB;
2. School civics teachers to get together frequently to have professional conversations, and this could be facilitate by school principal;
3. The head of the subject department in schools to ensure civics teachers consciously identify appropriate values to link with the classroom lessons;
4. Principals to get involved right from the formulation stage of curriculum through implementation; and
5. Principals can liaise between the civics teachers and relevant external agencies.

9.5 Recommendations to Curriculum Officer

1. Immediate need to update the current textbooks. Stakeholders, especially writers of the books, suggested that there should be research done prior to development of textbooks or updating the existing textbooks.

2. A major update of the textbook could take place every six years, as the students will be studying civics from classes 7 to 12. Students will be completing a cycle after they graduate from class 12. However, the curriculum officer could keep abreast of changes in the government or any other agencies on a yearly basis.
3. Improve the presentation and the textual features of the textbooks.

9.5.1 Curriculum revision

Given that the recommendations focus on curriculum revision, the following section provides suggestions as to the process that could be followed. A suggested framework (model) based on Doğanay (2012) and stakeholders' feedback for civics curriculum revision is below.

Model of Revising Civics Curriculum in Bhutan

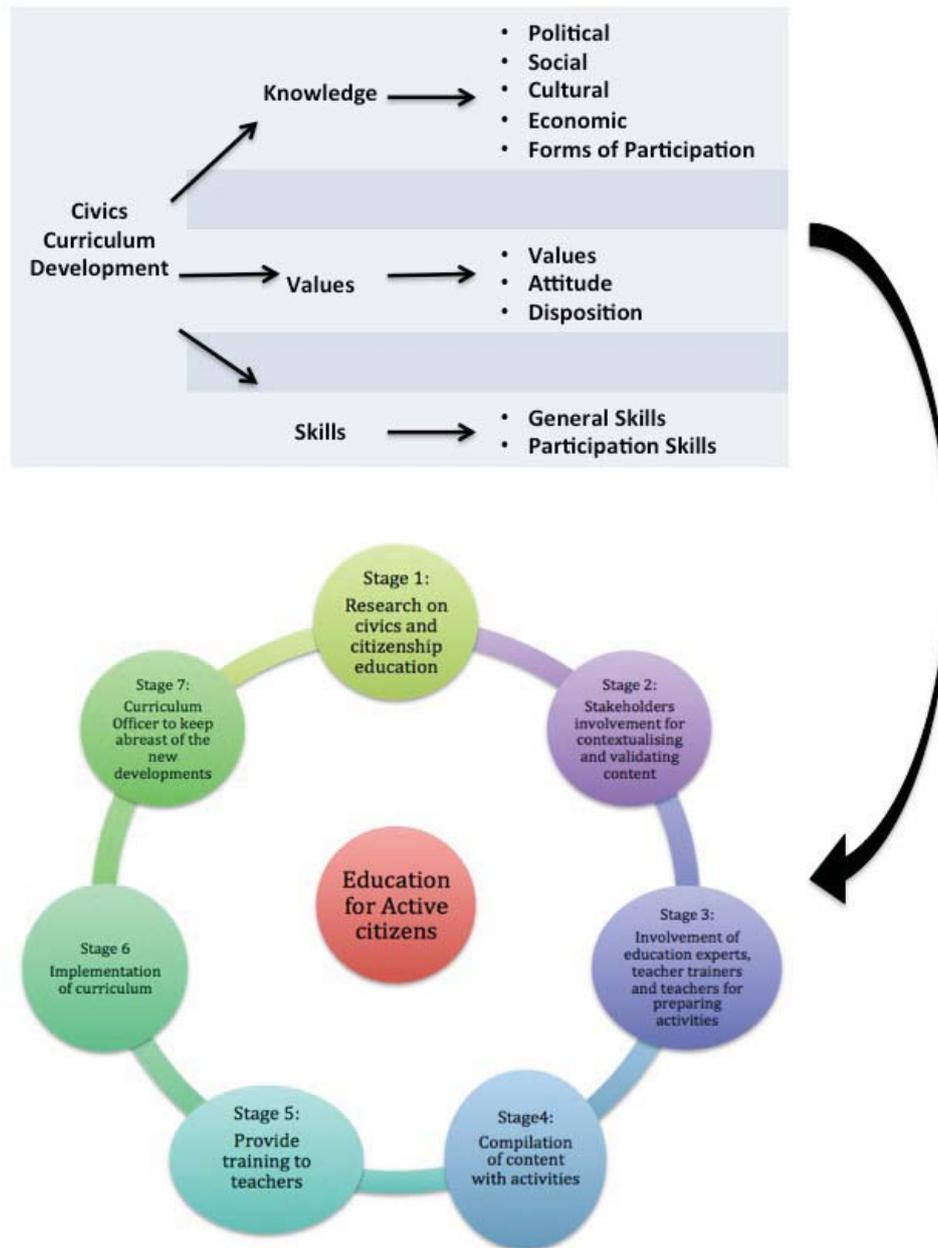


Figure 9.1: Framework for updating civics curriculum

9.5.2 Aims of updating curriculum

It is a normal expectation that a curriculum is regularly updated to keep abreast of the evolution of knowledge and to check that the learning opportunities offered convey to students the knowledge, skills and competences that are required in the labour market as well as those that they need in order to become responsible citizens. Societal and political

changes ensure that regular updating is necessary (Kallen, 1996). In the 1990s, for instance, the Ministry of Education in Singapore decided to review the curriculum at all levels to move away from passive, rote-learning routines. It was described as a shift from a mass-oriented school system, with its strict, centrally-controlled curriculum and heavy emphasis on testing students on factual content, to a curriculum where learning went beyond simply maximising an individual's potential. According to Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong, learning will be shaped by a nation's culture and social environment (Saravanan, 2005).

Similarly, Bhutan Civics learning also should be shaped by the nation's aspirations and the aspirations of students themselves along with other stakeholders. Bhutan is a small country, as is Singapore; therefore, examples from Singapore can be used to guide Bhutanese development in many aspects, especially education. For example, Saravanan (2005) identified in Singapore that teachers' marking of workbook or worksheets to satisfy the demands of examination had replaced the use of pedagogy and feedback. The time constraints Singaporean teachers were operating under and their need to cover a large curriculum led to rigid and structured ways of teaching.

Further, this way of teaching restricted teachers to be creative in using less didactic strategies in the classrooms. Students were bogged down by daily homework, which resulted in them resisting learning. Although there was no classroom observation in Bhutanese classrooms at the time of data collection, data did demonstrate that students in this study needed more creative learning opportunities in their classrooms; however, teachers revealed that time constraints hindered them from doing so.

Johnson (2001) further argues that the curriculum must meet the needs of the culture, the society and the expectations of the population being served. Curriculum revision must be a collaborative task. No single person can be responsible for curriculum revision; rather, it is a team approach. The Ministry of Education has to collaborate with other agencies that are related to civics and citizenship education in Bhutan.

Involvement of stakeholders arises from the belief that learning is effective when it is owned by wider range of stakeholders, including the students. It has been acknowledged by Rogers and Taylor (1998) that learners learn more when they have some control over what they want to learn. As is usual in any collaborative effort, different groups may decide that they want different things and different outcomes. Curriculum developers

must be selective depending on what should be included and excluded from the curriculum. Curriculum development has to be participatory (Rogers & Taylor, 1998). The following bullet points elaborate the process of curriculum updating and the rationale behind involving stakeholders in the context of the Bhutan Civics curriculum. Rogers and Taylor (1998) point out that the definition of stakeholders should include both insiders and outsiders. Insiders are stakeholders within the educational and training programmes concerned with the implementation of curriculum; for instance, schools' administrators, teachers and the students, while outsiders can be visiting experts, academics, educational administrators, planners, politicians and so on. In the context of Bhutan, parents and religious personalities should be added as part of the stakeholders group.

Stage 1. **Research:** Research can be based on current changes and societal needs, national and international aspirations, students' performance and their learning experiences, teachers' feedback and revisiting existing goals and objectives of the current curriculum.

Stage 2: **Involvement of stakeholders:** Bhutan civics curriculum deals with the study of civics and citizenship education, so it is imperative to get views from all walks of people, such as:

- Students: Students need support to be able to grow up to be productive and responsible citizens. Views on what and how they want to learn may affect their interest.
- Teachers: What and how do they want to teach? What type of graduates do they want to produce?
- Parents from different backgrounds: Every parent wants their children to be able to stand on their own feet and be responsible citizens. They decide what courses are valuable for their children and whether such courses will lead to the kind of job which they want for their children (Rogers & Taylor, 1998)
- School Principals: Principals have their individual vision and aspirations to produce certain kind of school graduates.
- Representatives from constitutional agencies and policy makers/legislators and local leaders: To provide content on their respective offices.
- Religious Personalities: What values do they want to see in Bhutanese citizens? While the inclusion of religious personalities in curriculum development may not be relevant in many countries, it is appropriate in the Bhutanese context because

they occupy special place in the community. They are those individuals who are highly respected in Bhutan. Lay people often consult them during times of ill luck befalling individuals and families. They are considered as guides not only during bad times but also consulted prior to the start of new ventures. Religious personalities will expect the students to possess good natures and to be considerate for others. They will want to see youth being compassionate, kind and loyal to their parents, elders and seniors. To reaffirm that democracy is the most appropriate form of governance system in this modern day and age, civics and citizenship education is the strategy best suited to teach children good behaviour, high morality, and a sense of patriotism and loyalty to the country, community, parents and siblings. To this end, involvement of religious personalities will assist to understand their expectations from the modern education system provided through civics and citizenship education. Their contribution will be highly regarded by people.

Stage 3: Involvement of Experts: Involvement of educational experts for reviewing teaching and learning methods. Experts can be teachers, teacher trainers and other education experts.

Stage 4: Finalising the content: Update information in the textbooks by curriculum officer and check with Doğanay (2012)'s curriculum framework to ensure whether all three components (Knowledge, Skills and Values) are present in the textbooks to meet international standards of civics and citizenship education.

Stage 5: Training for teachers: Provide training or disseminate information to all civics teachers and relevant teacher trainers in teacher colleges.

Stage 6: Implement in schools: Involve principals and teachers in schools.

Stage 7: Reflect and Review: Work with teachers and students to engage in professional reflection on the implementation of the curriculum and improvements that can be made.

9.6 Limitations of the study

No single piece of research can ever fully address complex issues, which generally require abstract thinking using multiple lenses and perspectives (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). However, this study was carried out with the expectations that it could help

improve civics and citizenship teaching and learning process in Bhutan. The study was designed using a pragmatist worldview and mixed methods in order to focus on the practical implications of the research. The readers should understand the findings and discussions keeping in mind the various limitations faced by the researcher. The limitations are discussed here:

Views of the stakeholders from Constitutional Bodies and Honourable Members of Parliament: The views expressed by the participants from constitutional bodies and Members of Parliament were elicited from the information provided by the researcher on student test performance, interviews with students and teachers and Bhutan Civics textbooks. These participants were not provided with any briefing related to the policy of the Ministry of Education and on the individual schools. Therefore, their views may not necessarily be compatible with how schools work.

Coverage of schools: Due to time constraints and the scattered location of schools, only 20% of schools in Bhutan are covered by the study. Although three higher secondary schools (one private and two government) were randomly selected from three regions (Eastern, Western and Central) (See Chapter 5), one school had to be changed due to incessant rain and roadblocks during data collection. The replaced school was matched as closely as possible to the earlier identified school in terms of its locational characteristics.

Failure to get participants: The initial plan to interview religious personalities was not possible. As participation was on voluntary basis, the personnel were not willing to participate in a face-to-face interview nor through email.

Commentaries on approaches: Commentaries made on strategies and approaches are simply based on teachers' interviews and students' focus group interviews.

Study on GNH values related and extra-curricular activities: Views on implementation on 'Educating for GNH' and extra-curricular activities that contributed to civics education are expressed only by students and teachers. Wider perspectives would have been acquired if heads of the schools and others in charges of co-curricular and extra-curricular had been interviewed.

9.7 Possible directions for future researchers

Further research might include:

Study of concept of civics and citizenship in the Bhutanese context: Since this study appears to be the first step towards understanding the concepts and views of teachers, students, writers and curriculum-based stakeholders, there was no benchmark to compare concepts and views on the Bhutan Civics curriculum. Broader perspective can be acquired by involving potential stakeholders such as parents, religious personalities, teacher educators, principals and through classroom observations.

Integration of Bhutanese ethos into civics curriculum: There is a need to study to explore the inherent link between GNH values and civics and citizenship education.

Use of non-class time to cover the syllabus: Future researchers can explore the ways in which teachers can use in-class and outside-of-class learning to help students integrate theory and practice in civics and citizenship.

Longitudinal study: Kerr (2004, p. 6) suggests the value of a longitudinal study that would evaluate the impact and outcome of citizenship education and ‘assess the short-term and long-term effects of citizenship education on the knowledge, skills, attitude and behaviour of pupils.’

9.8 Chapter conclusion

A profound aspiration was shared by His Majesty, King Jigme Khesar Namgyal Wangchuck during the 3rd Convocation of the Royal University of Bhutan: ‘We can dream of a nation of environmental conservation, GNH, a strong economy, a vibrant democracy and yet none are possible or sustainable if we have not already toiled and sweated in the building of a strong education system.’ Further, His Majesty reminded the nation of what the fourth King once said: ‘the future of our nation lies in the hands of our children.’ His Majesty explained, ‘We must know that His Majesty, my father, meant that quality of education for our young Bhutanese is of paramount importance. And that it is our duty as today’s parents, leaders and citizens to provide it. We must ensure that their young little hands grow to become strong and worthy of carrying our nation to greater heights’ (Wangchuck, 2009, paragraph 16 & 17).

In order to meet national aspirations, the entire approach to civics education, including curriculum designing and classroom implementation, warrants a redesign. A change of approach may well solve the concern of not continuing beyond Class 10, as indicated by performance of science students in the test. When students have reached Class 10, they

are nearing the eligible age to vote. Learning their rights and responsibilities as citizens is important as they approach this very important milestone in their lives. However, on the other hand, performance by commerce and rigzhung students indicated the need to continue civics study till Class 12. Moreover, by the time they reach Class 12 most students have attained 18 years of age and are able to exercise their universal adult franchise rights. It is important to continue civics and citizenship education to this level to ensure that young people fully understand their rights and responsibilities and are prepared to participate appropriately.

The research identified the need to modify teaching and learning practices to better support students' learning. Be they employed in government or private schools, teachers must be trained and periodically provided with relevant professional development for it is every teachers' responsibility to educate Bhutanese citizens.

The education system, through various subject curriculum, should aim to support schools to achieve their aspirations, which focus on producing moral, productive, skilled and participative citizens. Civics education needs to be strengthened in all areas, such as curriculum, textbooks, and teachers' professional development. The Royal Education Council (REC), and BCSEA need to discuss assessment issues, especially exam weighting. Textbooks currently have limited mention of values, which are essential for civics and citizenship education. REC further needs to explore possibilities to include values.

This chapter presented findings from the literature review, the conduct of a test and interviews with various stakeholders. The chapter also deliberated in detail on students' and teachers' learning and teaching experiences. Further, curriculum-based stakeholders' views were discussed in relation to civics education in Bhutan. The chapter ended with policy and practice implications, recommendations and a way forward for future researchers.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Topic1 - Knowledge of democracy

Table for Figure 6.5, with school-wise mean score, standard deviation and standard error

School	mean	sd	n	se
1 A	3.333333	1.295439	30	0.2365136
2 B	3.233333	1.695498	30	0.3095541
3 C	2.700000	1.784029	30	0.3257176
4 D	3.700000	1.489040	30	0.2718603
5 E	2.333333	1.372974	30	0.2506696
6 F	2.533333	1.676065	30	0.3060063
7 G	3.133333	1.870521	30	0.3415089
8 H	2.466667	1.525266	30	0.2784742
9 I	3.700000	1.368362	30	0.2498275

Appendix 2 Topic 2 -The Constitution

Table for Figure 6.6, , with school-wise mean score, standard deviation and standard error

	School	mean	sd	n	se
1	A	8.900000	2.090207	30	0.3816179
2	B	8.500000	2.460025	30	0.4491371
3	C	6.366667	2.025413	30	0.3697882
4	D	7.466667	2.129163	30	0.3887301
5	E	7.400000	1.476249	30	0.2695249
6	F	6.900000	2.171127	30	0.3963918
7	G	7.100000	2.139126	30	0.3905493
8	H	5.933333	1.892514	30	0.3455242
9	I	7.566667	1.924136	30	0.3512975

Appendix 3 Topic 3 - Fundamental Rights and Duties

Table for Figure 6.7, with school-wise mean score, standard deviation and standard error

	School	mean	sd	n	se
1	A	4.900000	1.604949	30	0.2930223
2	B	5.333333	1.422318	30	0.2596786
3	C	4.533333	1.195778	30	0.2183182
4	D	4.900000	1.668160	30	0.3045630
5	E	4.066667	1.436791	30	0.2623209
6	F	4.900000	1.295882	30	0.2365946
7	G	4.366667	1.586219	30	0.2896027
8	H	4.333333	1.538771	30	0.2809399
9	I	5.666667	1.625939	30	0.2968545

Appendix 4 Topic 4 - Government

Table for Figure 6.8, with school-wise mean score, standard deviation and standard error

	School	mean	sd	n	se
1	A	6.966667	1.670914	30	0.3050658
2	B	6.366667	2.075860	30	0.3789985
3	C	4.666667	1.748563	30	0.3192424
4	D	5.566667	1.906130	30	0.3480102
5	E	4.700000	1.417866	30	0.2588658
6	F	4.866667	1.591645	30	0.2905933
7	G	5.266667	2.016028	30	0.3680746
8	H	4.366667	1.691425	30	0.3088106
9	I	6.166667	1.858500	30	0.3393142

Appendix 5 Topic 5 - Local Government

Table for Figure 6.9, with school-wise mean score, standard deviation and standard error

	School	mean	sd	n	se
1	A	6.000000	1.508596	30	0.2754307
2	B	6.266667	1.818171	30	0.3319512
3	C	4.833333	1.487496	30	0.2715783
4	D	5.566667	1.735697	30	0.3168934
5	E	5.533333	1.502488	30	0.2743156
6	F	5.333333	1.561019	30	0.2850018
7	G	6.166667	1.662639	30	0.3035549
8	H	4.200000	1.517712	30	0.2770949
9	I	5.200000	1.584407	30	0.2892718

Appendix 6 Topic 6 - Citizen and Voting

Table for Figure 6.10, with school-wise mean score, standard deviation and standard error

	School	mean	sd	n	se
1	A	6.766667	1.501340	30	0.2741060
2	B	7.333333	1.372974	30	0.2506696
3	C	6.433333	1.654322	30	0.3020365
4	D	7.033333	1.809617	30	0.3303893
5	E	6.733333	1.552158	30	0.2833840
6	F	6.666667	1.372974	30	0.2506696
7	G	6.366667	1.272612	30	0.2323460
8	H	5.800000	1.423933	30	0.2599735
9	I	6.666667	1.647011	30	0.3007016

Appendix 7 Topic 7 - Election and Formation of Political Parties

Table for Figure 6.11, with school-wise mean score, standard deviation and standard error

	School	mean	sd	n	se
1	A	6.333333	1.397864	30	0.2552138
2	B	7.100000	1.539144	30	0.2810080
3	C	5.666667	1.667816	30	0.3045001
4	D	6.133333	1.775957	30	0.3242439
5	E	6.033333	1.449931	30	0.2647199
6	F	6.433333	1.304722	30	0.2382085
7	G	7.000000	1.414214	30	0.2581989
8	H	5.200000	1.730059	30	0.3158641
9	I	6.500000	1.889171	30	0.3449138

Appendix 8 Topic 8 - Constitutional Bodies

Table for Figure 6.12, with school-wise mean score, standard deviation and standard error

School	mean	sd	n	se
1 A	6.500000	1.408105	30	0.2570836
2 B	6.800000	1.374647	30	0.2509751
3 C	5.033333	1.771096	30	0.3233564
4 D	6.166667	1.510500	30	0.2757782
5 E	6.100000	1.398275	30	0.2552889
6 F	6.133333	1.407696	30	0.2570090
7 G	6.733333	1.337350	30	0.2441656
8 H	5.666667	1.917853	30	0.3501505
9 I	6.100000	1.787890	30	0.3264226

Appendix 9 Topic 9 - GNH and Good Governance

Table for Figure 6.13, with school-wise mean score, standard deviation and standard error

School	mean	sd	n	se
1 A	6.566667	2.144493	30	0.3915291
2 B	5.466667	2.661777	30	0.4859718
3 C	4.300000	2.086905	30	0.3810150
4 D	5.400000	2.237610	30	0.4085297
5 E	.633333	2.092406	30	0.3820192
6 F	4.600000	1.734041	30	0.3165910
7 G	5.133333	2.096521	30	0.3827707
8 H	3.166667	2.245046	30	0.4098874
9 I	5.400000	2.094327	30	0.3823701

Appendix 10 Topic 10 - Parliament

Table for Figure 6.14, with school-wise mean score, standard deviation and standard error

	School	mean	sd	n	se
1	A	7.066667	1.436791	30	0.2623209
2	B	6.666667	1.917853	30	0.3501505
3	C	5.833333	1.858500	30	0.3393142
4	D	6.400000	1.693802	30	0.3092445
5	E	6.266667	1.387961	30	0.2534059
6	F	5.933333	1.412587	30	0.2579019
7	G	6.700000	1.822276	30	0.3327005
8	H	5.633333	1.884297	30	0.3440240
9	I	6.700000	1.725069	30	0.3149530

Appendix 11 Summary of Generalized Linear Mixed Model (GLMM)

With all factors and all two-way interactions between topic and other factors

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	0.1959211	0.1240978	1.579	0.114390
TOPIC	0.0890716	0.0184153	4.837	1.32e-06 ***
REGIONER	0.1236830	0.0969477	1.276	0.202037
REGIONWR	-0.1027199	0.0968705	-1.060	0.288970
<u>CATEGORYPr</u>	-0.4523825	0.0861347	-5.252	1.50e-07 ***
<u>LOCATIONUrb</u>	-0.1436546	0.1185938	-1.211	0.225774
STREAMC	-0.2164916	0.0734351	-2.948	0.003198 **
STREAMRIG	-0.3792532	0.1508781	-2.514	0.011949 *
STREAMS	0.1164272	0.0818870	1.422	0.155083
GENDERM	0.1046108	0.0554843	1.885	0.059374
<u>StatusD</u>	0.1650771	0.0967198	1.707	0.087867
<u>TOPIC:REGIONER</u>	-0.0316712	0.0139467	-2.271	0.023154 *
<u>TOPIC:REGIONWR</u>	-0.0021146	0.0139503	-0.152	0.879518
<u>TOPIC:CATEGORYPr</u>	0.0004362	0.0124021	0.035	0.971941
<u>TOPIC:LOCATIONUrb</u>	0.0123358	0.0171873	0.718	0.472925
<u>TOPIC:STREAMC</u>	-0.0128502	0.0118103	-1.088	0.276572
<u>TOPIC:STREAMRIG</u>	-0.0212296	0.0219886	-0.965	0.334304
<u>TOPIC:STREAMS</u>	-0.0025187	0.0131496	-0.192	0.848103
<u>TOPIC:GENDERM</u>	-0.0259033	0.0089952	-2.880	0.003981 **
<u>TOPIC>StatusD</u>	-0.0459951	0.0139606	-3.295	0.000985 ***

Appendix 12 Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) summary of GLMM

With all factors and all two-way interactions between topic and other factors

MODEL	AIC
TOPIC + REGION + CATEGORY + LOCATION + STREAM + GENDER + Status + TOPIC:REGION + TOPIC:CATEGORY + TOPIC:LOCATION + TOPIC:STREAM + TOPIC:GENDER + TOPIC:Status	10905.8
TOPIC + REGION + CATEGORY + LOCATION + STREAM + GENDER + Status + TOPIC:REGION + TOPIC:CATEGORY + TOPIC:LOCATION + TOPIC:GENDER + TOPIC:Status	10901.7
TOPIC + REGION + CATEGORY + LOCATION + STREAM + GENDER + Status + TOPIC:REGION + TOPIC:CATEGORY + TOPIC:GENDER + TOPIC:Status	10900.9
TOPIC + REGION + CATEGORY + LOCATION + STREAM + GENDER + Status + TOPIC:Status	10906.7
TOPIC + REGION + CATEGORY + LOCATION + STREAM + GENDER + Status + TOPIC:GENDER	10903.4
TOPIC + REGION + CATEGORY + LOCATION + GENDER + Status + TOPIC:GENDER + TOPIC:Status	11071.1
TOPIC + REGION + LOCATION + STREAM + GENDER + Status + TOPIC:GENDER + TOPIC:Status	10918.2
TOPIC + CATEGORY + STREAM + GENDER + Status + TOPIC:GENDER + TOPIC:Status	10900.6

Appendix 13 Backwards selection process based on AIC values

Retaining of 'gender' and 'status' as the only significant terms in the model

	Estimate	Std. Error	Z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	0.204	0.064	3.158	0.00159**
TOPIC	0.068	0.007	9.512	<2e-16***
<u>CategoryPr</u>	-0.407	0.059	-6.846	7.61e-12***
<u>StreamRig</u>	-0.391	0.094	-4.149	3.34e-05***
<u>StreamS</u>	0.109	0.038	2.832	0.00463**
<u>GenderM</u>	0.103	0.055	1.873	0.06104
<u>StatusD</u>	-0.039	0.078	-0.509	0.61074
<u>Topic:GenderM</u>	-0.025	0.009	-2.852	0.00434**
<u>Topic:StatuD</u>	-0.020	0.009	-2.211	0.02705*

Appendix 14 Bonferonni corrected final model

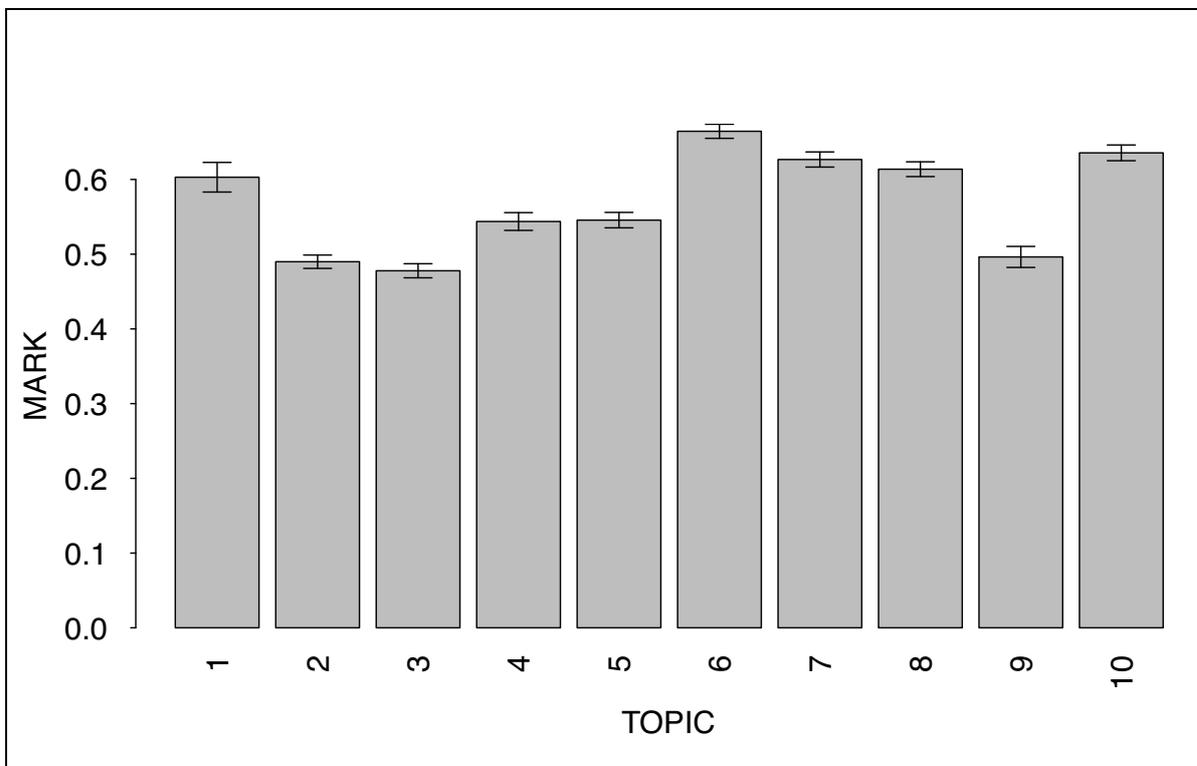
Pair-wise comparisons of topic-wise performance between gender factor (male vs female) and between status factor (day scholar vs boarder)

TOPIC		Estimate	Std. Error	Z value	(Pr> z)	(Pr> z) <u>Bonferonni</u> corrected
1	M-F	-0.086	0.115	-0.75	0.453	4.53
	D-B	0.225	0.1277	1.76	0.078	0.78
2	M-F	0.1116	0.064	1.735	0.0828	0.828
	D-B	-0.203	0.09818	-2.068	0.0386	0.386
3	M-F	-0.04151	0.07811	<u>-0.531</u>	0.595	5.95
	D-B	0.11317	0.09082	1.246	0.213	2.13
4	M-F	0.01738	0.07970	0.218	0.827	8.27
	D-B	-0.1500	0.1291	<u>-1.162</u>	0.245	2.45
5	M-F	0.08265	0.07867	1.051	0.293	2.93
	D-B	-0.35450	0.08631	-4.107	4.01e-05	0.000401
6	M-F	-0.20310	0.08314	<u>-2.443</u>	0.0146	0.146
	D-B	-0.1348	0.1136	<u>-1.186</u>	0.236	2.36
7	M-F	0.05646	0.08087	0.698	0.485	4.85
	D-B	-0.2629	0.0884	<u>-2.974</u>	0.00294	0.0294
8	M-F	0.07539	0.08053	0.936	0.349	3.49
	D-B	-0.14423	0.09329	<u>-1.546</u>	0.122	1.22
9	M-F	-0.3364	0.0801	-4.2	2.67e-05	0.000267
	D-B	-0.2834	0.1212	<u>-2.338</u>	0.0194	0.194
10	M-F	-0.15029	0.08164	<u>-1.841</u>	0.0657	0.657
	D-B	-0.14569	0.08946	<u>-1.629</u>	0.103	1.03

Appendix 15 Average scores of nine schools

Schools	Average Scores
A	63.40
B	63.17
C	50.00
D	58.27
E	53.27
F	54.07
G	57.40
H	46.50
I	59.50
Total	505.58
Average	56.17%

Appendix 16 Overall mean scores on different topics by all students



Appendix 17: Test: Bhutan Civics

Full Marks: 100

Time: 55 minutes.

The purpose of this test is to gather information about your knowledge of Bhutan Civics.

All the items below are taken from the Civics text.

Your responses will remain **CONFIDENTIAL**.

Instructions:

You will have to TICK or MATCH or WRITE SHORT ANSWERS as per the instructions provided for under each question.

I. Demographic Information [Please **TICK** the most appropriate choice].

- a. Gender: Male
 Female
- b. Year/Class: 11
 12
- c. Section: Arts
If ticked, Study: History or Economics or Maths
 Science
 Commerce
- d. Type of school: Day school
 Boarding school
- e. Your school is: Government school
 Private school
- f. Age: 15 - 18 Years
 19 - 25 Years
- g. Nationality: Bhutanese National
 Non-Bhutanese

TOPIC 1: Knowledge on Democracy (5 marks)

Instruction: Match the following (A to B):

	A: CONCEPTS		B: DEFINITION
i.	Democracy	a.	Prime Minister is the head of government and President is the head of state.
ii.	Direct Democracy	b.	President heads the government and the state.
iii.	Indirect Democracy	c.	Government of the people.
iv.	Presidential form of Government.	d.	Participating in government without representatives.
v.	Parliamentary form of government	e.	Participating in government through representatives.

- a. i-c, ii-e, iii-d, iv-b, v-a
 b. i- c, ii-d, iii-e, iv-b, v- a.
 c. i-a, ii-d, iii-e, iv-b, v-c.

TOPIC 2: Constitution (15 marks):

A) History of Constitution (5 marks)

Instructions: TICK the correct answer.

- i. In 1953, the third king, JigmeDorji Wangchuck, established (1 Mark)
- Tshogdu
 - Lodroe Tshogdu
 - Dzongkhag Yargay Tshogdu
- ii. What was the responsibility of Lodroe Tshogdu? (1 mark)
- The Lodroe Tshogdu was entrusted to write the constitution of Bhutan.
 - The Lodroe Tshogdu was entrusted to take care of all financial matters of the country.
 - The Lodroe Tshogdu was entrusted with the responsibility of advising the king and ministers.

- iii. What was the first initiative taken by the government in 1981 to involve people's participation in the formulation of developmental plans at the grassroots level? (1 mark)
- a) Gewog Yargay Tshogdu (GYT) or the Block Development Committee was introduced.
 - b) Dzongkhag Yargay Tshogdu (DYT) or District Development Committee was introduced.
 - c) Gyelyong Tshogdu (National Assembly) was introduced.
- iv. Devolution of power means..... (1 mark)
- a) Dissolution of power.
 - b) Transfer or delegation of power.
 - c) Taking away of power.
- v. When was Constitution formally implemented in Bhutan? (1 mark)
- a) 18th June 2008
 - b) 18th July 2008
 - c) 18th August 2010

B) The Salient feature of Constitution (5 marks)

Instructions: TICK the correct answers.

- i. Guardian of the Constitution is (1 mark)
- a) Monarch
 - b) Supreme court
 - c) Parliament
- ii. Where do you find Preamble in the Constitution? (1 mark)
- a) Beginning of the Constitution
 - b) Middle of the Constitution.
 - c) End of the Constitution
- iii. What does the preamble state? (1 mark)
- a) Description of the Constitution
 - b) Roles of Constitutional bodies
 - c) Objectives of the Constitution
- iv. The Constitution of Bhutan has..... articles. (1 mark)
- a) 33
 - b) 34
 - c) 35

- v. There are Schedules in the Constitution of Bhutan (1 mark)
- a) 3
 - b) 4
 - c) 5

C) Importance of Constitution (5 marks)

Instructions: TICK the correct answer.

- i. Directive Principles of state policy are (1 mark)
- a) Instructions for people to follow
 - b) Instructions which the state will uphold while framing laws
 - c) Orders from the Monarch
- ii. The creation of new Dzongkhag or Gewog shall be done only with the consent of not less thanof the total number in parliament. (1 mark)
- a) One-fourth
 - b) Two-fourth
 - c) Three-fourths
- iii. A.....has the right over the mineral resources, rivers, lakes and all other natural resources. (1 mark)
- a) Government
 - b) Ruling Party Leader
 - c) State
- iv. The Constitution of Bhutan ensures the separation of religion from politics by (1 mark)
- a) Allowing the religious personalities to vote but not participate.
 - b) Allowing the religious personalities to participate in NC and be apolitical but not in a party in NA.
 - c) Not allowing religious personalities to become a member of political party and vote.
- v. Why should the three organs of government remain separate? (1 mark)
- a) To discharge their function independently.
 - b) To prevent quarrels amongst themselves.
 - c) To provide more job opportunity in the departments.

TOPIC 3: Fundamental Rights and Duties (10 marks)

Instructions: TICK the correct answer.

- i. There are... Fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution of Bhutan (1 mark)
- a) 21
 - b) 22
 - c) 23
- ii. Values such as tolerance, respect and spirit of brotherhood are imparted through.....(1 mark)
- a) Fundamental Rights
 - b) Fundamental Duties
 - c) Fundamental Principles
- iii. To safeguard public property is (1 mark)
- a) Duty to humanity
 - b) Duty to society
 - c) Duty to Nation
- iv. Fundamental Duty means (1 mark)
- a) Duties rendered by the state to the citizens.
 - b) Duties rendered by citizens to the state.
 - c) Duties rendered the government to the state.
- v. Clause 19 of Fundamental Rights prohibits (1 mark)
- a) Arbitrary arrest or detention of a person.
 - b) Expression of ideas
 - c) Trade or vocation
- vi. A citizen has the freedom to profess any religion and can induce anyone to convert. (1 mark)
- a) True
 - b) False
 - c) Not sure
- vii. The Constitution of Bhutan guarantees fundamental rights. **TICK** two correct answers from the list. (2 marks)
- a) Paying taxes
 - b) Taking care of public properties
 - c) Speech, expression and religion

- d) Render help to the people in times of need
 - e) Peaceful assembly and association
- viii. There are four features of fundamental rights. **TICK** two options which are the correct features of fundamental rights. (2 marks)
- a) Naturalisation
 - b) Integral part of the Constitution.
 - c) Universal in nature
 - d) Unjustifiable.

TOPIC 4: Government (10 marks)

Instructions: TICK the correct answer.

- i. Monarch is the head of the government: (1 mark)
- a) True
 - b) False
 - c) Not sure.
- ii. The Bhutanese legislature is based on (1 mark)
- a) Uni-cameral
 - b) Bi-cameral
 - c) Tri-cameral
- iii. Executive is the law-making body of the country (1 mark)
- a) True
 - b) False
 - c) Not sure
- iv. The Judiciary is responsible for (1 mark)
- a) Managing
 - b) Interpreting
 - c) Implementing law.
- v. How many times do parliamentarians convene in a year? (1 mark)
- a) Once
 - b) Twice
 - c) Thrice

- vi. The legislature in Bhutan consists of 3 bodies. What are they? (1 mark)
- Gewog Yargay Tshogdu, Dzongkhag Yargay Tshogdu and Constitution Drafting committee.
 - Government, State and Monarch
 - Druk Gyalpo, National Council, National Assembly
- vii. The Legislature can amend some provisions of the Constitution by a simple majority with the assent of the (1 mark)
- Prime Minister
 - Cabinet Ministers
 - Druk Gyalpo
- viii. The Interim Government should be formed with inafter the dissolution of the government. (1 mark)
- 20 days
 - 15 days
 - 30 days
- ix. If a vote of no confidence is passed against the government the country will (1 mark)
- Have the King as Head of Government
 - Have no one to lead the Government
 - Have an Interim Government appointed by the King
- x. A person can hold the office as Prime Minister no more thanterm/s. (1 mark)
- Two
 - Three
 - Four

TOPIC 5: Local Government (10 marks)

Instructions: TICK the correct answer.

- i. Miss A is 16 years old, therefore, she is eligible to vote and participate in choosing their representative in the local government- (1mark)
- True
 - False
 - Not sure
- ii. How many Gewogs are there in Bhutan? (1 mark)
- 105

- b) 205
- c) 208
- iii. I am a deputy head of the Gewog and assist the Gup. I also officiate Gup in his/her absence. Who does “I” refer to? (1 mark)
- a) Chimmi
- b) Tshogpa
- c) Mangmi
- iv. Which body endorses the Gewog’s annual budget as final approval? (1 mark)
- a) DzongkhagTshogdu
- b) Gewog Tshogdu
- c) Chiwog
- v. What is the highest form of local government? (1 mark)
- a) Gewog Tshogdu
- b) Dzongkhag Tshogdu
- c) Thromde Tshogde
- vi. *Gaydrung* is (1mark)
- a) Village headman
- b) Village Clerk
- c) Village Messenger
- vii. Gup can preside over cases and can try ordinary civil cases at the Gewog level. (1 mark)
- a) True
- b) False
- c) Not sure
- viii. Mr. ‘A’ is a Gewog Tshogde member and he fails to attend two or more GewogTshogde meeting. What will be the consequences? **TICK** two correct answers. (2 marks)
- a) He/she would be relieved from membership on the approval by 2/3 majority of the members present.
- b) He/she would be made to pay penalty on the approval by 2/3 majority of the members present.
- c) He/she would be sent to the court on the approval by 2/3 majority of the members present.

d) He/she would be terminated on the approval by 2/3 majority of the members present.

ix. Chowog meeting is presided by..... (1mark)

- a) Mangmi
- b) Gup
- c) Tshogpa

TOPIC 6: Citizens and Voting (10 marks)

Instructions: TICK the correct answer.

i. Bhutanese can hold dual citizenship: (1 mark)

- a) True
- b) False
- c) Not sure

ii. Is voting a fundamental right or duty? (1 mark)

- a) Right
- b) Duties
- c) Both

iii. Give your understanding of “Universal Adult Franchise”. **TICK** two correct answers. (2 marks)

- a) Persons above 18 are eligible to vote
- b) Persons above 18 are eligible to participate in choosing their representatives in Parliament.
- c) Persons above 18 are eligible to be members of political party.
- d) Persons above 18 are eligible to be members of the National Council.

iv. Foreigners can become Bhutanese citizen under ‘Citizenship by Naturalization’ – **TICK** two correct conditions from the list. (2 marks)

- a) He/She must be able to speak and write Dzongkha.
- b) He/She must have resided in Bhutan for at least 12 years.
- c) He/She must have resided in Bhutan for at least 15 years.
- d) He/She must have knowledge on Tsawa-sum

v. Explain Citizenship by registration. (1 mark)

- a) A person whose name is registered in the official record of the government of Bhutan on or before 31 December 1958.
- b) A person whose name is registered in the official record of the government of Bhutan on or before 31 December 1968.

- c) A person whose name is registered in the official record of the government of Bhutan on or before 31 December 1978.
- vi. Voting for a suitable candidate can lead to ----- (1 mark)
 - a) Citizens' understanding of the Government to measure Government's performance
 - b) Strong and stable Government
 - c) To help strengthen national media like television, radio and newspaper
- vii. **TICK** at least 2 attributes of a good citizen. (2 marks)
 - a) Exercises freedom and rights.
 - b) Enjoy rights given by Constitution.
 - c) Respects national symbols.
 - d) Knows about the government and its procedures

TOPIC 7: Election and Formation of Political Parties (10 marks)

Instructions: TICK the correct answer.

- i. Election will not be able to be carried out if there is no 100% voters turn out. (1 mark)
 - a) True
 - b) False
 - c) Not sure
- ii. I am a civil servant. Can I campaign for a political party? (1 mark)
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Not sure
- iii. The foremost duty of a Political Party President is (1 mark)
 - a) Executes ideas
 - b) Formulates ideas
 - c) Manages party funds
- iv. How many constituencies are there in Bhutan for National Assembly? (1 mark)
 - a) 37
 - b) 47
 - c) 55

- v. Why is there a need for individuals to have the same ideologies when forming political parties? (1 mark)
- Problem to govern a country
 - It may create regionalism
 - There will be clash of ideas if they come to power.
- vi. What do you understand by the term ‘manifesto’? **TICK** two correct answers (2 marks)
- Declaration of political party’s intentions,
 - Objectives of forming a political party for people to understand the election
 - Document for submission to Election Commission of Bhutan
 - Informing the voters of plans and motives to be carried out in future if they get elected.
- vii. What is the difference between general and primary elections? (1 mark)
- General election for National Council and Primary election for National Assembly and Local Government
 - Involvement of many political parties in Primary election and only two parties in General election
 - Involvement of many parties in General election and two parties in Primary election
- viii. **TICK** at least 2 reasons for candidates campaigning. (2 marks)
- To explain why voters should vote for their party and not for other parties
 - To let the people know the consequences if they do not go to vote
 - To reach out to as many voters to explain their party manifesto, objectives, policies and plans
 - To promote loyalty and patriotism to the country

TOPIC 8: Constitutional Bodies (10 marks)

Instruction: TICK the correct answer.

- i. A person who is not involved in appointing the head of the constitutional bodies is(1 mark)
- Chief Justice of the supreme court
 - The speaker of the national assembly
 - The Chief of Arm Force

- ii. The Election Commission of Bhutan should ensure that it holds elections within..... after the dissolution of government. (1 mark)
- 60 days.
 - 90 days
 - 100 days
- iii. Which Constitutional Body ensures civil servants to be apolitical? (1 mark)
- RCSC
 - ACC
 - ECB.
- iv. The Constitutional Body which reports on the economy, efficiency and effectiveness in the use of public resources is - (1 mark)
- Anti-Corruption Commission
 - Royal Audit Authority
 - Election Commission of Bhutan.
- v. The purpose of having Constitutional bodies in the country are - (2 marks)
Instruction: **TICK** two correct answers
- To check and ensure that the Government organs function effectively
 - To create employment opportunities for youth
 - To take care of the pillars of GNH
 - To oppose the political parties in the Parliament
- vi. Constitutional office bearers can be impeached? (2+2= 4 marks)
Instruction: **TICK** four answers which are related to impeachment
- Decided by 2/3 of the members of Parliament
 - The Druk Gyalpo will order the Speaker to impeach Office Bearers
 - Presided by Chief Justice of Bhutan
 - Impeach through vote of no confidence.
 - Attorney General submits a written article of impeachment to the Speaker
 - Senior most Drangpon of the Supreme Court presides over the impeachment of the Chief Justice of Bhutan.

TOPIC 9: Gross National Happiness (GNH) and Good Governance (10 marks)

SECTION I **Instructions: TICK the correct answer.**

- i. Who introduced the concept of GNH in 1960s? (1 mark)
- Second King of Bhutan

- b) Third King of Bhutan
 - c) Fourth king of Bhutan
- ii. Free education for all children is given till thestandard. (1 mark)
- a) 8th
 - b) 10th
 - c) 12th
- iii. Human Resource Development can be achieved through (1 mark)
- a) instituting a process of systematic grooming and selection of leaders/ managers at all levels
 - b) by controlling and disciplining the employees
 - c) by allowing complete freedom to employees work on their own.

SECTION II Instructions: Write short answers to the following questions.

- i. The four pillars of GNH are (4 marks)
- a) _____
 - b) _____
 - c) _____
 - d) _____
- ii. Under which pillar do Accountability and Transparency in the functioning of system fall? (1 mark)
- _____
- iii. Which pillar is considered the most important among the 4 pillars of GNH? Give one reason to support your answer. (2 marks)
- _____
- _____
- _____

TOPIC 10: PARLIAMENT. (10 marks)

SECTION I Instructions: TICK the correct answer.

- i. A member of parliament is removed if he/she is.... (1 mark)
- a) Convicted for treason.
 - b) Following a different religion
 - c) Has a conflicting opinion on issues.

- ii. The bill concerning money can only be originated in the National Council. (1 mark)
- a) True
 - b) False
 - c) Don't know.
- iii. Gyalyong Tshogdu is the.... (1 mark)
- a) National Council
 - b) National Assembly
- iv. How many National Council members does the Druk Gyalpo nominate? (1 mark)
- a) 10
 - b) 6
 - c) 5
- v. The National Council..... (1 mark)
- a) Acts as the house of review.
 - b) Acts as a mediator between 2 parties
 - c) Acts as an interpreter of government.
- vi. The Executive will be accountable to Legislature. (1 mark)
- a) True
 - b) False
 - c) Not sure
- vii. Which of the following is NOT eligible to be a member of parliament? (1 mark)
- a) A person who is 26 years of age
 - b) A person who is related to another politician
 - c) A person who is under foreign protection.
- viii. What do you understand by 'the vote of no confidence'? (1 mark)
- a) When the voters decide to remove their representative in the Parliament
 - b) When the Government fails to convince the Parliamentarians of their plans and policies
 - c) A vote showing a lack of majority support to the Government.
- ix. **TICK** at least TWO differences between National Council and National Assembly. (2 marks)

- a) National Council is a House of Review and National Assembly is not a Review House
- b) There are 25 members in National Council and 47 members in National Assembly
- c) There are 25 members in National Assembly and 47 in National Council
- d) The members of Lhengye Zhungtshog are in National Assembly and there are members nominated by the Druk Gyalpo in National Council.

THANK YOU

.....

Appendix 18: Possible semi-structured interview questions

As a part of my PhD programme, I am carrying out research to find the understanding of Civics and Citizenship education by different stakeholders. Could you please share your opinion on these areas?

Questions

Student interviews

- a. What is purpose of studying Bhutan Civics?
- b. Can you narrate your civics learning experience?
- c. What other information would you like learn with your existing civics content?
- d. What important values are taught, learned, displayed and practiced during Civics learning?
- e. How would you use civics knowledge in your life?
- f. Are you getting more civic knowledge from school through text or outside sources like public discourse, family discourse, media?

Teacher interviews

- a. What is status of civics education in Bhutan?
- b. How do you define the concept of civics education?
- c. How do you deal with civic education in your teaching, and what is the influence of different types of classroom practices? (IEA, 2001, p. 14)
- d. Do you think you have enough skills to handle civics education?
- e. What can you say about the interest of students in civics subject?
- f. What values do you try to infuse through this subject?
- g. How often do you get to infuse values such as *Ley Jumdrey* and *Tha Damtshig* in civics subject delivery? Which topics are very apt in imparting these values?
- h. As Civics teacher, do you think *driglam namzha* should be part in civics learning and teaching? How do you think is *driglam namzha* is relevant to civics education?
- i. What according to you are the best strategies to deliver civics subject?
- j. What do you understand by citizenship education?

Other stakeholders:

- a. What is your view on the data revealed in civics and citizenship education in schools?

- b. What are your understanding of Civics and Citizenship Education in Bhutanese context?
- c. What do you expect from the civics and citizenship education in schools?
- d. Do students need to learn more than the existing content?

Textbooks writers

- a. What were the goals that guided you and your team while writing civics textbooks?
- b. Do you think the implementation of civics texts is going the way it was intended?
- c. Did you ever feel that there are other things, which should go into the textbooks, which you have missed while designing these textbooks?

Curriculum Officer

- a. What is the status of civics education in Bhutan?
- b. What do you have to say on the current textbooks that our students are using?
- c. Are you happy with the currents classrooms practices?
- d. What are your views on weighting and time given to civics classes?
- e. Do you wish to update civics content?
- f. What do you think of values in present content?

Appendix 19 UNE ethics approval letter



Ethics Office
Research Development & Integrity
Research Division
Armidale NSW 2351
Australia
Phone 02 6773 3449
Fax 02 6773 3543
jo-ann.sozou@une.edu.au
www.une.edu.au/research-services

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

MEMORANDUM TO: Dr Kelvin McQueen, Prof Margaret Sims & Ms Rinzin Wangmo
School of Education

This is to advise you that the Human Research Ethics Committee has approved the following:

PROJECT TITLE: An Evaluation of student knowledge and stakeholder expectations of Civics Education in Bhutan

APPROVAL No.: HE14-202

COMMENCEMENT DATE: 15 July, 2014

APPROVAL VALID TO: 15 July, 2015

COMMENTS: Nil. Conditions met in full

The Human Research Ethics Committee may grant approval for up to a maximum of three years. For approval periods greater than 12 months, researchers are required to submit an application for renewal at each twelve-month period. All researchers are required to submit a Final Report at the completion of their project. The Progress/Final Report Form is available at the following web address:
<http://www.une.edu.au/research/research-services/rdi/ethics/hre/hrec-forms>

The NHMRC National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans requires that researchers must report immediately to the Human Research Ethics Committee anything that might affect ethical acceptance of the protocol. This includes adverse reactions of participants, proposed changes in the protocol, and any other unforeseen events that might affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

In issuing this approval number, it is required that all data and consent forms are stored in a secure location for a minimum period of five years. These documents may be required for compliance audit processes during that time. If the location at which data and documentation are retained is changed within that five year period, the Research Ethics Officer should be advised of the new location.



Jo-Ann Sozou
Secretary/Research Ethics Officer

10/07/2014

A14/28

Appendix 20 Participant information sheet - high school



School of Education
University of New England
Armidale NSW 2351
Australia
Phone 02 6773 3808
Fax 02 6773 3878
Kmcquee2@une.edu.au
www.une.edu.au/

INFORMATION SHEET for High School Students

Dear Student,

I wish to invite you to participate in my research project, described below.

My name is Rinzin Wangmo and I am conducting this research as part of my PhD in the School of Education at the University of New England. My supervisors are Dr. Kelvin McQueen and Professor Margaret Sims, School of Education of University of New England, Armidale, Australia.

Research Project	An evaluation of student knowledge and stakeholder expectations of Civics Education in Bhutan.
Aim of the research	<p>This study attempts to answer research questions:</p> <p>How effective is the Civics Education programme as it is currently enacted in Bhutan?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">i. What are the current circumstances of Civics and Citizenship education in Bhutan?ii. In the current situation of Civics and Citizenship education, what knowledge have Bhutanese students gained?iii. How do relevant stakeholders in Bhutan perceive the match between their intentions and the reality of student and teacher experiences in civics education? <p>The research aims to find out:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">i. Students' knowledge on the Bhutanese system of government since 2008, i.e. after the introduction of current Bhutan Civics text by conducting test.ii. Whether students get more civic knowledge from school through textbooks or outside sources such as media.iii. Students' and teachers' experiences and perceptions on current Civics

	<p>education.</p> <p>iv. Stakeholders' expectations from school on civics education in schools.</p>
Interview and Test	<p>I would like to conduct test and focus group interview with you at your school. The test will take not more than 55 minutes, which is equivalent one class period and interview will take approximately one hour. With your permission, I will make an audio recording of the interview to ensure that I accurately recall the information you provide. Following the interview, a transcript will be provided to you if you wish to see one.</p>
Confidentiality	<p>Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study will remain confidential. No individual will be identified by name in any publication of the results. All names will be replaced by pseudonyms; this will ensure that you are not identifiable.</p>
Participation is Voluntary	<p><i>Please understand that your involvement in this study is voluntary and I respect your right to withdraw from the study at any time. You may discontinue the interview at any time without consequence and you do not need to provide any explanation if you decide not to participate or withdraw at any time.</i></p>
Questions Test	<p>The interview questions will not be of a sensitive nature: rather they are general, aiming to enable you to enhance my knowledge on the implementation of Civics Education in Bhutan and how Civics education can be improved in the near future.</p> <p>The test on Civics education will help me explore how much you have learned from the text or classroom teaching. The questions are taken purely from the Bhutan Civics textbooks from classes 7 to 10. The test will require only multiple choice and short answers responses from you. The test does not aim for any sort of up gradation and will not affect you in anyway. Your identity will remain highly confidential.</p>
Use of information	<p>I will use information from the interview as part of my doctoral thesis, which I expect to complete in June 2016. Information from the interview may also be used in journal articles and conference presentations before and after this date. At all time, I will safeguard your identity by presenting the information in a way that will not allow you to be identified.</p>
Upsetting issues	<p>It is unlikely that this research will raise any personal or upsetting issues but if it does you may wish to contact [REDACTED] Jigme Dorji Wangchuck National Referral Hospital at phone number +975 [REDACTED]</p>
Storage of information	<p>I will keep hardcopy recordings and notes of the interview in a locked cabinet at the researcher's office at the University of New England's School</p>

Disposal of information

of Education. Any electronic data will be kept on a password-protected computer in the same School. Only the research team will have access to the data.

All the data collected in this research will be kept for a minimum of five years after successful submission of my thesis, after which it will be disposed of by deleting relevant computer files, and destroying or shredding hardcopy materials.

Approval

This project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of New England (Approval No. HE16-202 Valid to 15/07/2015).

Contact details

Feel free to contact me with any questions about this research by email at rwangmo@une.edu.au or by phone on 02 6773 3115.

You may also contact my Principal supervisors Dr. Kelvin McQueen at Kmcquee2@une.edu.au or 02 6773 3808 and my Co-supervisor Professor Margaret Sims at msims7@une.edu.au or 02 6773 3823.

Complaints

Should you have any complaints concerning the manner in which this research is

conducted, please contact the Chief of Education Monitoring Support Services Division at:

Chief of Education Monitoring Support Services Division
Ministry of Education

Thimphu: Bhutan

Tel: +975 325426

Email: phuntsho.lham@gmail.com

Or

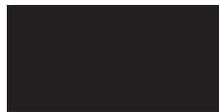
Contact the Research Ethics Officer at:
Research Services

University of New England
Armidale, NSW 2351

Tel: (02) 6773 3449 Fax: (02) 6773 3543

Email: ethics@une.edu.au

Thank you for considering this request and I look forward to further contacting with you.
regards,



Rinzin Wangmo
Research Fellow
School of Education
University of New England
NSW, Australia

Appendix 21 Participant information sheet - stakeholders



School of Education
University of New England
Armidale NSW 2351
Australia
Phone 02 6773 3808
Fax 02 6773 3878
Kmcquee2@une.edu.au
www.une.edu.au/

INFORMATION SHEET for Stakeholders

Dear Sir/Madam,

I wish to invite you to participate in my research project, described below.

My name is Rinzin Wangmo and I am conducting this research as part of my PhD in the School of Education at the University of New England. My supervisors are Dr. Kelvin McQueen and Professor Margaret Sims, School of Education of University of New England, Armidale, Australia.

Research Project

An evaluation of student knowledge and stakeholder expectations of Civics Education in Bhutan.

Aim of the research

This study attempts to answer research questions:

How effective is the Civics Education programme as it is currently enacted in Bhutan?

- i. What are the current circumstances of Civics education in Bhutan?
- ii. In the current situation of Civics education, what knowledge have Bhutanese students gained?
- iii. How do relevant stakeholders in Bhutan perceive the match between their intentions and the reality of student and teacher experiences in civics education?

The research aims to find out:

- i. Students' knowledge on the Bhutanese system of government since 2008, i.e. after the introduction of current Bhutan Civics text by conducting test.
- ii. Whether students get more civic knowledge from school

	<p>through textbooks or outside sources such as media.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> iii. Students’ and teachers’ experiences and perceptions on current Civics education. iv. Stakeholders’ expectations from school on civics education in schools.
Interview	<p>I would like to conduct an individual interview with you at my office meeting room in Education Monitoring Support Services Division (EMSSD), which located in Changangkha, Thimphu. It is a very quiet room and very conducive for conducting meetings and interviews. The interview will take approximately an hour. With your permission, I will make an audio recording of the interview to ensure that I accurately recall the information you provide. Following the interview, a transcript will be provided to you if you wish to see one.</p>
Confidentiality	<p>Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study will remain confidential. No individual will be identified by name in any publication of the results. All names will be replaced by pseudonyms; this will ensure that you are not identifiable.</p>
Participation is Voluntary	<p><i>Please understand that your involvement in this study is voluntary and I respect your right to withdraw from the study at any time. You may discontinue the interview at any time without consequence and you do not need to provide any explanation if you decide not to participate or withdraw at any time.</i></p>
Questions	<p>The interview questions will not be of a sensitive nature: rather they are general, aiming to enable you to enhance my knowledge on the implementation of Civics Education in Bhutan and how Civics education can be improved in the near future with your valuable input through interviews.</p>
Use of information	<p>I will use information from the interview as part of my doctoral thesis, which I expect to complete in June 2016. Information from the interview may also be used in journal articles and conference presentations before and after this date. At all time, I will safeguard your identity by presenting the information in way that will not allow you to be identified.</p>
Upsetting issues	<p>It is unlikely that this research will raise any personal or upsetting issues but if it does you may wish to contact [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Jigme Dorji Wangchuck National Referral Hospital at phone number +975 [REDACTED]</p>
Storage of information	<p>I will keep hardcopy recordings and notes of the interview in a locked cabinet at the researcher’s office at the University of New England’s School of Education. Any electronic data will be kept on a password-</p>

Disposal of information

protected computer in the same School. Only the research team will have access to the data.

All the data collected in this research will be kept for a minimum of five years after successful submission of my thesis, after which it will be disposed of by deleting relevant computer files, and destroying or shredding hardcopy materials.

Approval

This project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of New England (Approval No. HE16-202 Valid to 15/07/2015).

Contact details

Feel free to contact me with any questions about this research by email at

rwangmo@myune.edu.au or by phone on 02 6773 3115.

You may also contact my supervisor Dr. Kelvin McQueen at kmcquee2@une.edu.au or 02 6773 3808 and my Co-supervisor Professor Margaret Sims at msims7@une.edu.au or 02 6773 3823.

Complaints

Should you have any complaints concerning the manner in which this research is conducted, please contact the Chief of Education Monitoring Support Services Division at:

Chief of Education Monitoring Support Services Division
Ministry of Education

Thimphu: Bhutan

Tel: +975 325426

Email: phuntsho.lham@gmail.com

Or

Contact the Research Ethics Officer at:

Research Services

University of New England

Armidale, NSW 2351

Tel: (02) 6773 3449 Fax: (02) 6773 3543

Email: ethics@une.edu.au

Thank you for considering this request and I look forward to further contacting with you.

Regards,

Rinzin Wangmo
Research Fellow
School of Education
University of New England
NSW, Australia

Appendix 24 Approval letter from the Ministry of Education, Bhutan



དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲུག་གཞུང་། ཤེས་རིག་ལྷན་ཁག།

Royal Government of Bhutan
Ministry of Education
Department of School Education

School Liaison & Coordination Division



DSE/SLCD/Adm/08/2014/4257

24/07/2014

To,
The DEOs/ADEOs/TEOs/ATEOs,

□

Sub: Visits of Schools for Research Work

Dear DEOs/TEOs/ADEOs/ATEOs,

Ms. Rinzin Wangmo, EMO, EMSSD, is presently a research fellow at School of Education, UNE, NSW, Australia. She would like to visit the schools under your Dzongkhag for her research work on the topic "An evaluation of students knowledge and stakeholder expectation of Civics Education in Bhutan"

The list of the schools to be visited under your Dzongkhags are attached here with for your necessary reference. However, due to certain unavoidable circumstances caused by heavy rainfall at Gelephug, she has proposed to change her venue to Phuentsholing HSS, Phuentsholing Thromde. As such, she may kindly be supported to make the necessary changes.

I would like you all to kindly facilitate the school visits of Ms. Rinzin Wangmo to enable her to carry out her research work successfully.

Best Wishes,



(Karma Yeshey)
DIRECTOR GENERAL

Appendix 25 Approval letter from Department of Curriculum Research and Development, Paro

 **MINISTRY OF EDUCATION**
DEPARTMENT OF CURRICULUM RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
ཚུ་གཞུང་ཞིབ་འཛོལ་དང་གོང་འཕེལ་ལས་ཁུངས།
Directorate 

MOE/DCRD/Misc/34/2014/ 2654 12 June 2014

To
Rinzin Wangmo (EMO, EMMSD)
Research Fellow
School of Education
University of New England
NSW

Sub: Approval to carry out the study on the evaluation of Civics curriculum.

Dear Madam,

It is a great pleasure to learn that you are pursuing a research work on the topic “An evaluation of student knowledge and stakeholder expectations of Civics Education in Bhutan”. As you were one of the stakeholders when the curriculum was developed in 2006, we sincerely appreciate your commitment towards making our Civics Education relevant and effective for our learners. We are optimistic that your study on the topic should help us to gain deeper insights of how the Civics Education is delivered in the formal system; what are our learners’ and teachers’ notions and perceptions of the subject. Further, it would shed light of how the DCRD can improve the Civics Education in Bhutan encompassing curriculum materials and the instructions.

Understanding the noble intention of the study, we are glad to acknowledge the relevancy of your study; and hence, the DCRD is in concurrence to your request to review the entire Civics curriculum materials, and assess the prevailing notions of our youths and teachers on the subject in the 9 chosen schools.

The DCRD wishes you an enriching and experiential study, under the guidance of your experienced and academically well versed tutors at the university.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,


Ke Sang Choden Dorji
(Director)



Cc to:

1. Chief EMSSD, MoE, Thimphu for information.
2. Office copy

Appendix 26 Approval letter from ECB, Bhutan



འབྲུག་གི་བཙན་འཇུག་ལྷན་ཚོགས།
ELECTION COMMISSION OF BHUTAN

(Ensuring Free, Fair & Democratic Elections & Referendums)



ECB/CEC-MISC/2014/056

Dated: 4th of July 2014

Ms Rinzin Wangmo,
Research Fellow,
School of Education,
University of New England,
New South Wales,
AUSTRALIA

Dear Rinzin Wangmo,

Please refer to your letter dated 3rd July 2014 regarding your request for interview with one official of the Election Commission of Bhutan for your doctoral research.

As you have rightly expressed in your letter, the ECB, as a major stakeholder, is aware of the acute need to review, revise and update the civics and/or civic education curriculum, given that the current curriculum is inadequate to foster any meaningful learning on the Bhutanese democracy and participation in democratic processes.

The ECB is also in the process of trying to get all other stakeholders on board to review and update the civics and/or civic education curriculum in Bhutan, with the hope to ensure that learning on the subject is relevant in the new democratic Bhutan and prepare the future citizens of Bhutan to actively engage and participate meaningfully in all aspects of electoral and democratic processes.

The ECB welcomes your effort to evaluate civics and/or civic education curriculum in Bhutan as your doctoral research project, and is hopeful that any new light shed on the needs and relevance for new civics and/or civic education curriculum will greatly help in our effort to promote and enhance understanding of the Bhutanese electoral democracy.

In this regard, the ECB will be more than willing to help you in any way possible, including consenting on your request to interview an official.

Yours sincerely,


(Kunzang Wangdi)
Chief Election Commissioner of Bhutan

Post Box No.: 2008, Olakha, Thimphu: Bhutan
334851, 334852 (PABX), 334762 (EA to CEC), Fax: 334763
Website: www.election-bhutan.org.bt E-mail: cec@election-bhutan.org.bt, kwangdi@druknet.bt

Appendix 27 Approval letter from RCSC, Bhutan



དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲུག་གཞུང་།
རྒྱལ་གཞུང་གི་འབྲུག་ལས་ཁུངས་ལྷན་ཚོགས།

**ROYAL GOVERNMENT OF BHUTAN
ROYAL CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION**



Excellence In The Service Of The Tsawa-Sum

RCSC/HRMD/14/2014/ 53

July 4, 2014

Ms. Rinzin Wangmo
Research Fellow
School of Education
UNE, NSW, Australia

Subject: Interview with RCSC Official

Dear Rinzin,

We would like to welcome you to interview one of the officials of the RCSC to facilitate your research works entitled, "An Evaluation of Student knowledge and Stakeholder Expectations of Civics Education in Bhutan". We strongly feel that your research topic is highly relevant to Bhutan and the Secretariat is willing to extend any support during the interview process.

Kindly let us know the date of interview and accordingly we will arrange an appropriate person for the interview.

Wishing you best of luck in your future endeavours.

Yours sincerely,



(Indraman Chhetri)

Offtg. CHAIRPERSON

Royal Civil Service Commission

Appendix 28 Approval letter from RAA, Bhutan



རྒྱལ་ཁུངས་ཚུལ་ཞིབ་དབང་འཛིན།
ROYAL AUDIT AUTHORITY
Bhutan Integrity House

Reporting on Economy, Efficiency & Effectiveness in the use of Public Resources



RAA(DAG-SP)2014/ 1849

4th July, 2014

Ms. Rinzin Wangmo,
Research Fellow,
School of Education,
UNE, NSW, Australia

Subject: **Interview with RAA Official**

Dear Rinzin,

Please refer your letter No. Nil dated 3rd July, 2014 requesting for an interview with one of the officials of the Royal Audit Authority.

In this regard, we would like to welcome you to interview one of the officials of the RAA to facilitate your research works entitled "*An Evaluation of Student Knowledge and Stakeholder Expectation of Civics Education in Bhutan*".

Please do let us know the date of interview and accordingly we will arrange an appropriate person for the interview.

We wish you best of luck in your future endeavors.

Yours sincerely,



(Jamtsho)

Deputy Auditor General

Deputy Auditor General
Royal Audit Authority
THIMPHU: BHUTAN

"Every individual must strive to be principled. And individuals in positions of responsibility must even strive harder."
-His Majesty the King Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck

P.O. Box: 191, Kawajangsa, Thimphu: Bhutan. Tel: 322111 / 322833, Fax: 323491
Website: www.bhutanaudit.gov.bt, Email: info@bhutanaudit.gov.bt
and uchewang@bhutanaudit.gov.bt

Appendix 29 Approval letter from ACC, Bhutan



རྒྱལ་ཁབ་འབྲུག་གཞུང་།
ROYAL GOVERNMENT OF BHUTAN
ANTI-CORRUPTION COMMISSION
•NATION'S CONSCIENCE•
"LEAD BY EXAMPLE"
"If you care, you will dare"



ACC/MISC-14/1014

4 July, 2014

Ms. Rinzin Wangmo,
Research Fellow,
School of Education,
UNE, NSW, Australia

Sub: **Interview with ACC**
Ref: **Your Letter no. Nil dated 3rd July, 2014**

Dear Rinzin Wangmo,

We are pleased to acknowledge the receipt of your letter under reference and to confirm our participation in the proposed interview for your research work titled, "*An Evaluation of Student Knowledge and Stakeholder Expectation of Civics Education in Bhutan.*"

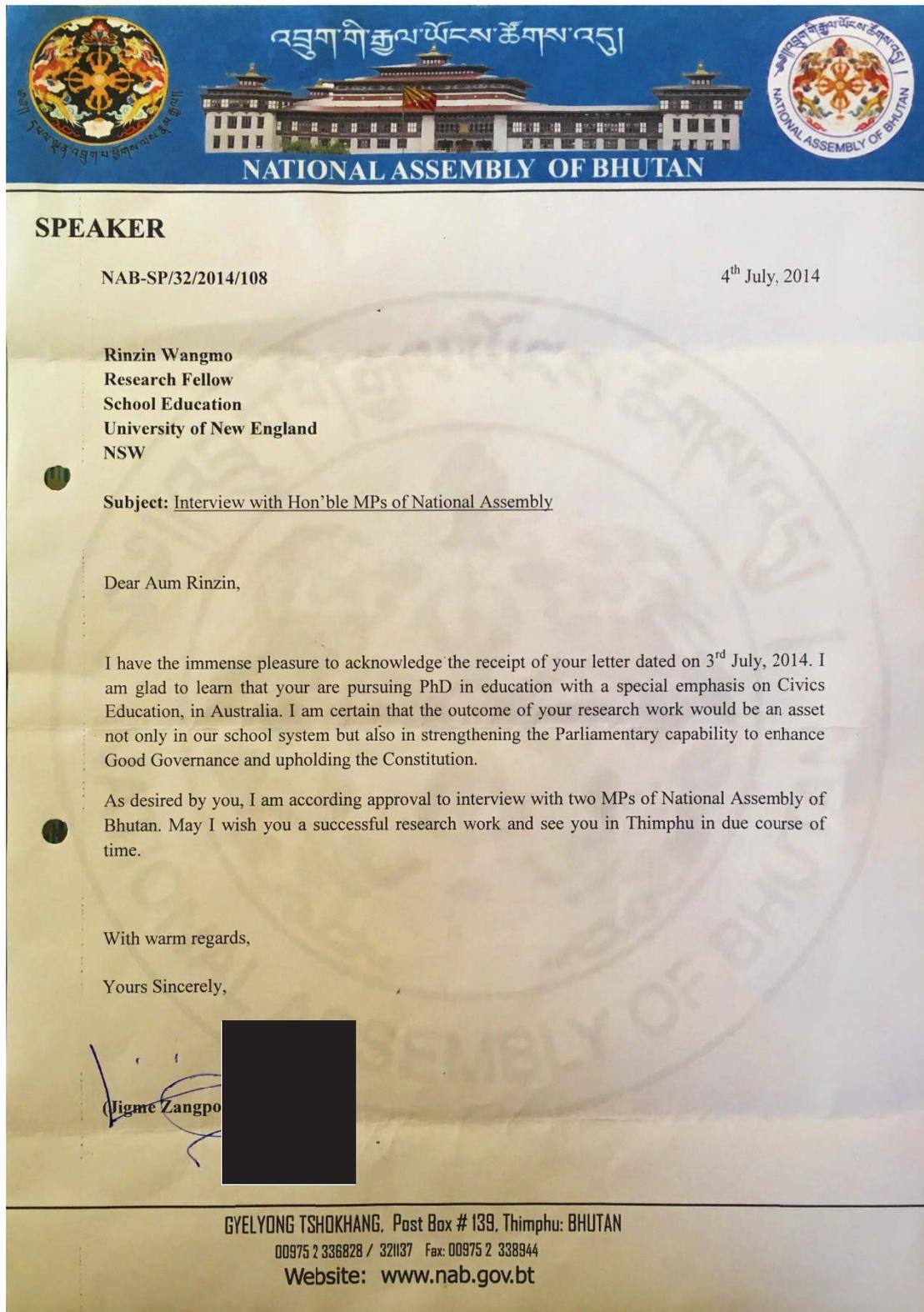
We assure you of our cooperation and support in your important academic pursuit.

Best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

(Neten Zangmo)
Chairperson

Appendix 30 Approval letter from Speaker, National Assembly of Bhutan



Appendix 31 Approval from Commission for Religious Organisation



དབལ་ཡུལ་འབྲུག་གཞུང་།
ROYAL GOVERNMENT OF BHUTAN
འབྲུག་གི་ཚོས་སྡེ་ལྷན་ཚོགས།
COMMISSION FOR RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS



CRO/M-10/2014/01

9/07/2014

To,
Rinzin Wangmo,
Research Fellow,
School of Education, University of New England,
NSW, Australia.

Sub: Approval to interview Religious Personalities under Commission for Religious Organizations.

Dear Rinzin,

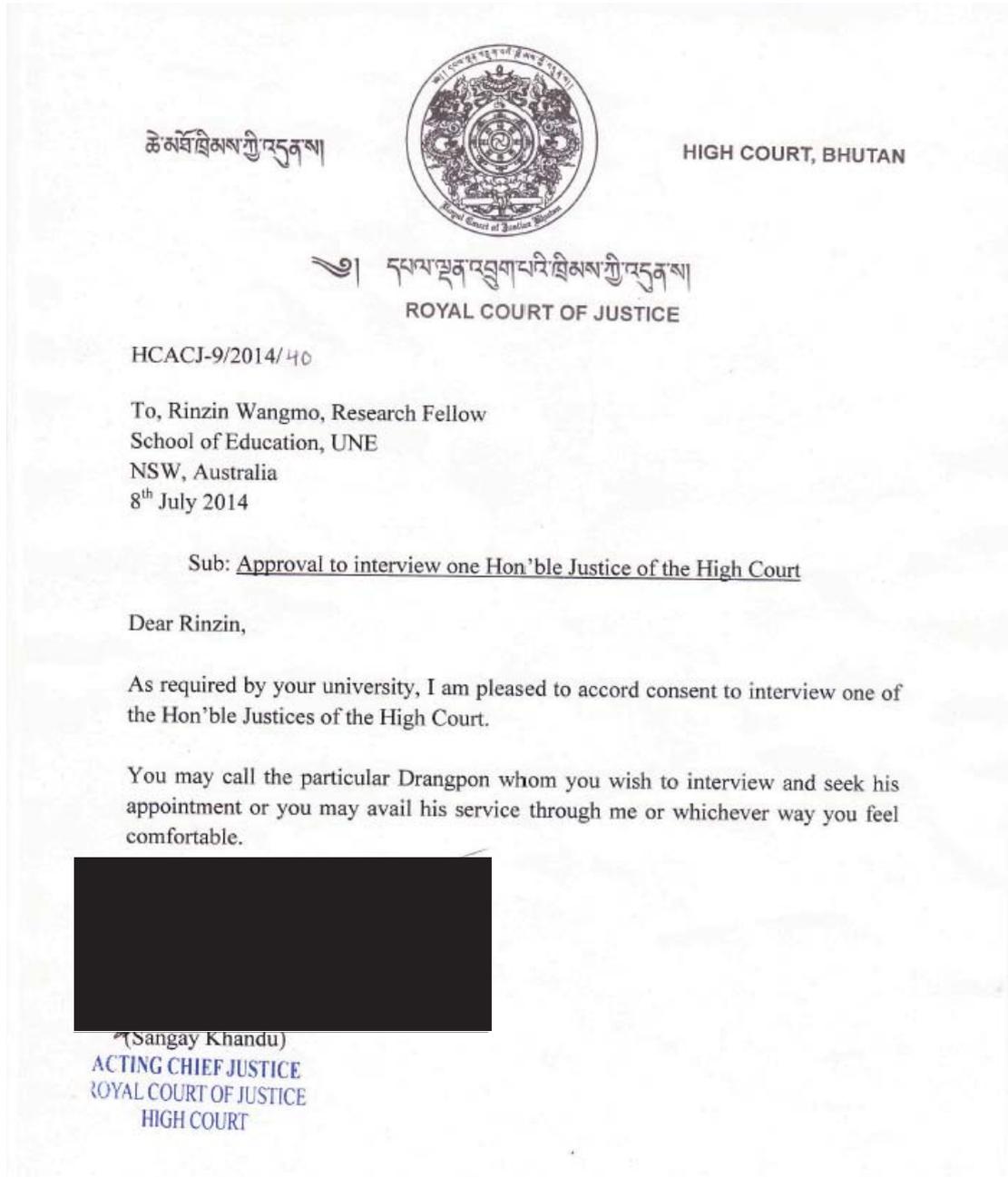
This has reference to your application to interview a Religious Personality under the Commission for Religious Organizations for your PhD program on Civics Education in Bhutan. The Department of Culture is pleased to grant approval to you given the relevance of your program.

With Regards,

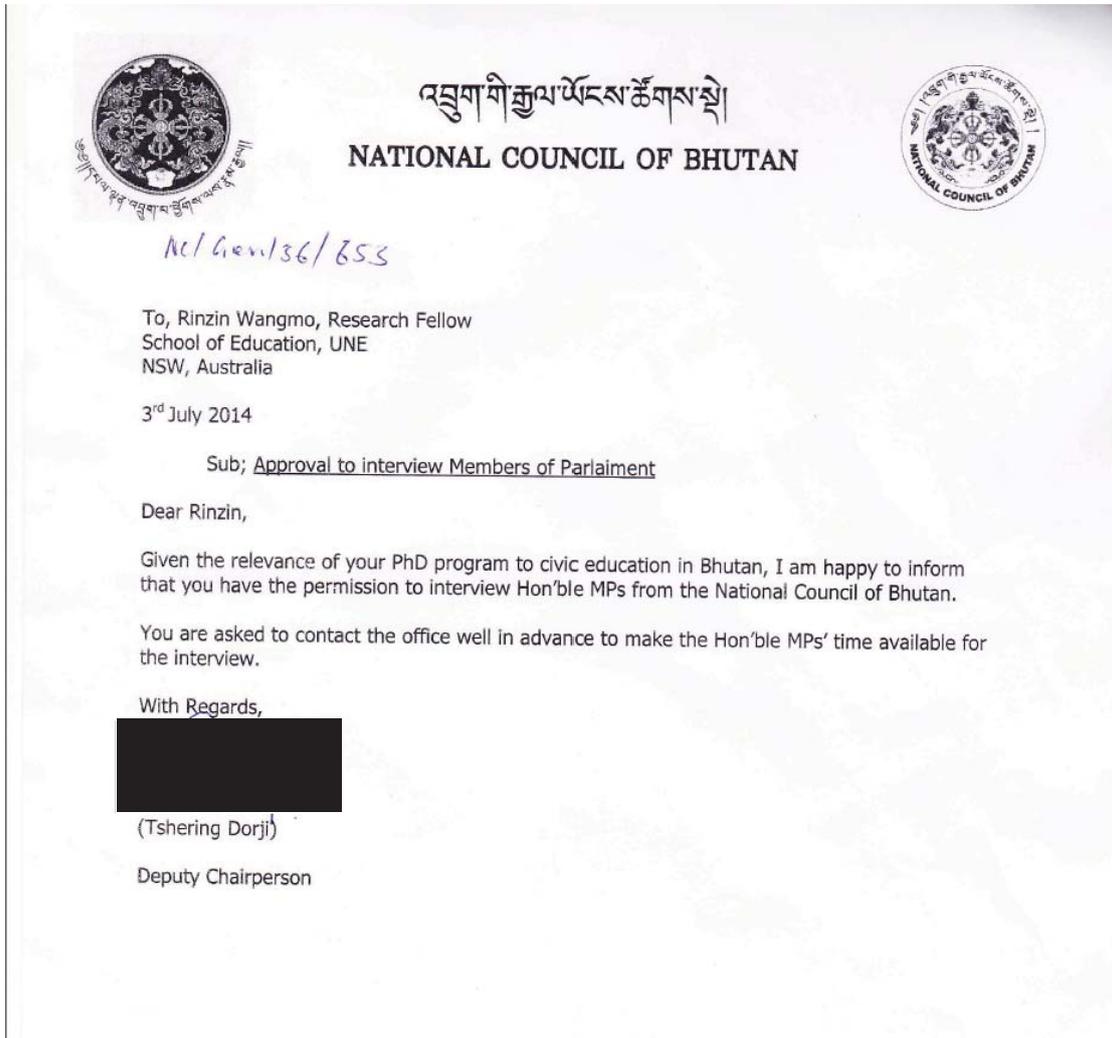
(Rinzin Penjore)

Telephone : +975-2-339001/322694, fax: 336500 Post. Box # 233
Website: www.cro.gov.bt

Appendix 32 Approval letter from Royal Court of Justice



Appendix 33 Approval Letter from Deputy Chair Person, National Council of Bhutan



འབྲུག་གི་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་ལྷན།
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF BHUTAN

NC/Gen/36/855

To, Rinzin Wangmo, Research Fellow
School of Education, UNE
NSW, Australia

3rd July 2014

Sub; Approval to interview Members of Parlaiment

Dear Rinzin,

Given the relevance of your PhD program to civic education in Bhutan, I am happy to inform that you have the permission to interview Hon'ble MPs from the National Council of Bhutan.

You are asked to contact the office well in advance to make the Hon'ble MPs' time available for the interview.

With Regards,

[Redacted Signature]

(Tshering Dorji)

Deputy Chairperson