

Deliberative Students, Overburdened Teachers, and Academic Policy Analysts

How Can Policy Analysis Contribute to Citizenship Education?

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Abstract

Citizenship education in Japan, as in many democracies, has attracted much attention. Lowering the voting age in 2015 has presented questions on citizen capability, for instance, what knowledge and skills are needed for political participation. A recent political movement referred to as counter-democracy, on the other hand, has implied serious social conflicts that might endanger the existing system of representative democracy; citizens are now strongly expected to resolve conflicts democratically. These changes in political institutions and contexts have created a surge of interest in citizenship education. Particular focus has been placed on citizenship education at school. How to offer citizenship education, however, is a question that is extremely difficult to answer. Many theories on democracy, for instance, emphasize deliberation on social and policy issues, whereas deliberation in classrooms is hardly regarded as a viable approach to citizenship education, especially in Japan, largely due to resource constraints on teachers and schools. Thus, the question of how to provide citizenship education at school is deductively explored in this paper. Specifically given the Lasswellian view that policy analysis should contribute to improving the practices of democracy, this study theoretically tackles how policy analysts could be involved in

* This paper is a product of a research grant from the Institute of Legal Precedent, Aoyama Gakuin University, Tokyo Japan. The original version of this paper was presented at the 25th International Political Science Association World Congress (Panel GS12.06 “Changing Analytical Framework for Japanese Politics: Lessons from Foreign Countries”) in Brisbane, Australia on July 22, 2018.

** The author would like to thank Editage (<http://www.editage.jp>) for English language editing.

citizenship education in Japan.

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1. Increasing Interest in Citizenship Education in Japan

Citizenship education has attracted significant attention since ancient times; philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, and Rousseau have all dealt with the matter. Through various changes in political systems, more importance has been attached to citizenship education at various times around the world: for instance, during the growth of nation states in the 18th and 19th centuries, the transitions to democracy after World War II, and the downfall of the Soviet Union and the subsequent democratization of Central and Eastern European countries (Arthur et al. 2008).

Many affluent democracies today, on the other hand, are facing declining voter turnout and struggling with issues of diversity and inclusion. In those countries, there has recently been renewed concern of how to educate active citizens in the era of globalization (Arthur et al. 2008; Banks 2004).

Japan has followed a similar history of citizenship education, such as the post-WWII democratization, the recent decline of political participation, and the social and political impacts of globalization (Parmenter et al. 2008; Murphy-Shigematsu 2004). Two current changes in Japanese political institutions and contexts are creating a noteworthy surge of interest in citizenship education (Matsuda 2017). The first is the 2015 amendment of the Public Offices Election Act that lowered the voting age from twenty to eighteen. This reform has presented questions on citizen capability, particularly youth capability: for instance, what knowledge and skills are needed for political participation, and are young people equipped with such knowledge and skills?

The second change occurred due to the contemporary political movement referred to as counter-democracy in which civic demonstrations and activism abound within and across levels, from local to global. As in other democracies, recent decades in Japan have been characterized by such movements becoming more active and ubiquitous. Recent highly-publicized demonstrations include, for instance, those against the government's stance on post-earthquake nuclear energy policy, its security and defense policy, and the right to collective self-defense. Counter-democracy, defined as "a democratic form of political distrust" (Rosanvallon 2008: 9), implies serious social conflicts that might endanger the existing system of representative democracy; citizens are strongly expected to resolve conflicts democratically.

As such, how to help citizens acquire sufficient knowledge, skills, and democratic dispositions has become an urgent issue for democratic governance in Japan. As a way to tackle this question, a sharper focus is being placed on citizenship education.

This study intends to explore a way to provide citizenship education in schools in Japan, by identifying one of the most critical citizen capabilities for political participation today and taking into consideration resource constraints on teachers and schools in Japan. Giving particular focus to the suggestion that policy analysis provides for policy choice and consensus building, it is demonstrated that policy analysts are expected to be more involved in citizenship education.

It is worth mentioning why this study emphasizes the two approaches to citizenship education studies, namely, school education and policy analysis. First, it is true that citizenship education can be provided by various actors/organizations in various places. The MEXT of Japan (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology) noted in 2016 that citizenship education should be provided not only by elementary, junior and senior high schools and universities, but that the contributions of kindergartens, families, and communities are also crucial in the promotion of citizenship education.¹⁾ In Japanese society, however, more expectations are placed on school education, particularly on secondary education, as shown in attitude surveys on citizenship education.²⁾ Moreover, citizenship education materials have been developed particularly for secondary education; the MIC (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications) and the MEXT, for instance, jointly published supplementary teaching material for senior high schools, whereas supplementary reading materials are distributed to junior high school students in some cities (e.g., Kobe and Kitakyushu).³⁾ Given the current increasing expectation on junior and senior high schools as providers of citizenship education, this study focuses on school education, particularly secondary education.

Second, this study's focus on policy analysis derives from Lasswell's ideas on policy sciences (Lasswell 1971). Policy analysis is defined as "the process of assessing, and deciding among, alternatives based on their usefulness in satisfying one or more goals or values" (Munger 2000: 6). As for conducting policy analysis, the Lasswellian vision for "public policy as a discipline" avers that closer attention be directed to normative reflections on democracy; specifically, the interaction between

1) Available at http://www.mext.go.jp/component/a_menu/education/detail/_icsFiles/afiedfile/2016/06/14/1372377_01_1.pdf, written in Japanese (last accessed on December 31, 2018).

2) The Association for Promoting Fair Elections, for instance, conducted large-scale surveys on citizen attitudes toward elections and citizenship education in 2010 and 2015. The findings of the two surveys are available on the association's website (<http://www.akaruisenkyo.or.jp/>, written in Japanese).

3) Other examples of supplementary teaching/reading materials for citizenship education in Japan are shown in Matsuda (2017).

knowledge producers and users is indispensable in improving the practices of democracy (see also Torgerson 1985; Parsons 2002). Knowledge users contain not only legislators and bureaucrats, but citizens are also expected to utilize policy knowledge in the democratic policy process; hence, policy analysts need to communicate with citizens to produce policy knowledge for the sake of democracy (Matsuda 2006b). This study stresses citizenship education as a tool for the interaction between policy analysts and citizens, and explores what aspects of research findings policy analysts should explain to students in school citizenship education and how policy analysts are expected to collaborate with other actors involved in citizenship education.

Aiming at scrutinizing the relationship between policy analysis and school citizenship education in Japan, this paper begins by pointing out the crucial impacts of the recent increase in diversity on democracy, and emphasizes deliberation on social issues as an essential activity in contemporary democracy. It then notes that, despite the expectation of the inclusion of deliberation, citizenship education in Japan focuses more on other classroom activities such as mock elections and debates. The third section focuses on the Toulmin Model, the argument structure model proposed by Toulmin (2003), as an effective tool for students to learn the art of deliberation, and takes a closer look at how the model has been evaluated in the literature on citizenship education. It is thus demonstrated that three of the six elements of the Toulmin Model (i.e., backing, rebuttal, and qualifier) have been given less emphasis, even though they are crucial elements in promoting mutual understanding in contemporary democracy. The fourth section deals with the current school education environment in Japan, focusing particularly on resource constraints on teachers and schools. Thus, classroom deliberation facilitated only by teachers is revealed as hardly being a viable approach to school citizenship education. Given the limitation of deliberation in classrooms, the fifth section turns to methodological and conceptual rigor in policy analysis, which could contribute to mutual understanding and deliberation in contemporary uncertain and diverse contexts. What is implied is that policy analysts are expected to be more actively engaged in citizenship education by explaining research assumptions and processes, as well as presenting policy recommendations. This paper concludes in the sixth section by averring that collaboration is indispensable to citizenship education and referring to some perspectives on the system design of citizenship education that organizes contributions by various actors including policy analysts.

2. Curriculum Emphasis in Citizenship Education in Japan

2.1. What Should Be Emphasized in Citizenship Education?

This section intends to illuminate the gap between what educational activity should be stressed for contemporary democracy under increasing conditions of diversity and what is receiving greater emphasis in citizenship education in Japan. Movements termed as counter-democracy, as mentioned above, have been more active and frequent in many democracies including that of Japan. One of the counter-democratic movements that has attracted the most attention in Japan is a series of demonstrations against the 2015 enactment of legislation aiming at expanding the role of Japan's self-defense forces abroad. The voices of participants in those demonstrations⁴⁾ can be divided into two categories (Matsuda 2017; Matsuda 2018). One group opposed the legislation in terms of its contents, and criticized it as being unconstitutional. The other focused on the process of legislation and blamed the government for depreciating various voices regarding the issue and pushing the bill through the Diet. These two kinds of demonstrations can be regarded as expressing citizens' unhappiness with policy outputs and processes under representative democracy. Thus, counter-democratic movements such as those in Japan have been carried out by citizens who feel underrepresented under existing institutionalized forms of democracy and distrust political systems. In this sense, far from being anti-democracy, counter-democracy is expected to complement representative democracy so that different views can be reflected in policy processes through different forms of democracy (Rosanvallon 2008; van de Sande 2013).

More active and frequent movements of counter-democracy in Japan today imply that there are more diverse views on policy issues and consequently more serious policy conflicts in society. What is crucial in dealing with the diversity and confrontation is to address consensus building among conflicting individuals or groups. Counter-democracy could allow voices that are underrepresented under representative democracy to be heard more in policy processes; consequently, various conflicts underlying society are made more apparent.

Counter-democracy might lead to social destabilization unless such social conflicts are overcome in some way. It should be noted here that voting in elections cannot solve the conflicts emerging from the counter-democratic movement. According to

4) *Asahi Shimbun*, September 19, 2015 and July 6, 2016.

Urbinati (2011: 45, emphases in original), “[e]lections ‘make’ representatives but they do not ‘make’ representation”; “they make,” she continues, “*responsible* and *limited* government, but not *representative* democracy.” As shown in a number of mathematical studies on democracy and electoral systems (e.g., Shepsle and Bonchek 1997; Brams 2008; Simeone and Pukelsheim 2010), an electoral result cannot provide a complete picture of public opinion; there are always some opinions that fail to show up in electoral results (Ugai 2015: 223).

What is implied here is that ways of consensus building other than voting should be used to deal with increasing diversity and confrontation in society (Matsuda 2017). As one such way, much attention is being paid to “deliberation.” Theories of deliberative democracy have stressed “preference transformation” through political deliberation (Richardson 1997; Tamura 2008). Specifically, in the process of deliberation, an individual’s preference is expected to be transformed to “reflective preference”, which is described as being contrary to unreflective and brute preference (Goodin 1993; Offe and Preuss 1991).⁵⁾ The process of deliberation and preference transformation deserves significant emphasis since it could complement voting in elections; an individual is likely to face the conflicting views of others and seek consensus through reflection and the transformation of his/her perceptions.

The expected contribution of deliberation to consensus building is in suggesting that citizenship education in contemporary democracies should focus on interactions with others, preference transformation, and attitudes towards consensus in group decision making. Citizenship education, in this sense, is expected to produce deliberative citizens.

2.2. What Is Emphasized in Japanese Citizenship Education?

How is citizenship education being offered in Japan? The remaining part of this section is devoted to identifying the main pillars of citizenship education in Japan and comparing them with a deliberation-based approach to citizenship education.

The 2015 lowering of the voting age in Japan has created a surge of interest in school citizenship education. Surveys conducted by the MEXT⁶⁾ and the MIC⁷⁾ in

5) According to Offe and Preuss (1991: 170), reflective preferences are “preferences that are the outcome of a conscious confrontation of one’s own point of view with an opposing point of view, or of the multiplicity of viewpoints that the citizen, upon reflection, is likely to discover within his or her own self.”

6) Available at http://www.mext.go.jp/component/a_menu/education/detail/_jcsFiles/afiledfile/2016/06/14/1372377_03_1.pdf, written in Japanese (last accessed on December 31, 2018).

2016, for instance, reveal that an increasing number of senior high schools have provided and plan to continue citizenship education programs whereas there is a considerable increase in the number of citizenship education classes and that students are attending such classes in both senior and junior high schools.

Turning to educational curricula, one emphasis of curricula⁸⁾ that is common to many studies and practices of school citizenship education in Japan is the primary aim of citizenship education to develop citizens with the ability to form and express their own opinions on policy issues and to successfully persuade others who have different opinions (Matsuda 2017). The nurturing of rational and disputatious citizens, in short, is emphasized in school citizenship education in Japan (Hashimoto 2016: 13); the aforementioned supplementary material offered by the MIC and the MEXT, for instance, explicitly states that students need to be capable of defending their own views and persuading others of their views.

To attain this goal of citizenship education in Japan, particular educational methods are popularly utilized in schools (Matsuda 2017). First, significant focus is placed on mock elections as an essential classroom activity in citizenship education. Prior to casting a vote in a mock election, students are required to collect and interpret information on particular issues and candidates/parties and decide their voting behaviors; such an activity is popularly considered to help students be more actively involved in elections and be more responsible for democratic governance (Hayashi 2014; Hayashi 2016; Tanaka et al. 2016). Second, classroom debates are likely to be stressed as an effective approach to citizenship education in Japan. Confronted with different views in a debate, students are expected to restructure their arguments to withstand criticism. Consequently, they enhance their investigative ability and their abilities of expression and presentation (Kuwayama 2014).

What implications can be derived from such citizenship education in Japan? First, voting in elections is a critical way of enacting social choice. However, as mentioned above, this method cannot lead to solving conflicts, as there are always some opinions that fail to show up in electoral results (Ugai 2015: 223). Second, a debate as a classroom activity is conducted on the basis of some assumptions: alternatives are dichotomous and students are required to take sides; and the success and fail-

7) Available at http://www.soumu.go.jp/main_content/000403858.pdf, written in Japanese (last accessed on December 31, 2018)

8) “Curriculum emphasis” is defined as a coherent set of messages constituting objectives that provide a student with answers to the question of “why I am learning this subject” (Roberts 1982: 245).

ure of arguments are measured by wins and losses. In such a game of debate, it is considerably difficult to reach any sort of agreement between students; moreover, a game result is decided by third parties, not on a democratic basis (Mizuyama 2003; Yoshimura 2001).

The curriculum emphasis on *individual* opinion formation and *persuasion* in Japanese citizenship education is seen as being far removed from education programs that help students be more deliberative (Matsuda 2017). It is critically important for citizenship education under increasing conditions of diversity to facilitate students in transforming their preferences to reflective ones. To borrow Nussbaum's words, citizenship education should aim at establishing a classroom environment in which "students do not have to take sides and persuade others, but are free to explore positions flexibly and to make concessions" (Nussbaum 2008: 349).⁹⁾ Hence, citizenship education curricula need to place more emphasis on a deliberation-based approach. By compensating for the shortcomings of the two popular educational methods (i.e., mock elections and debates), deliberation in classrooms could contribute to establishing the coexistence of and consensus among different views.

3. The Toulmin Model in Citizenship Education

3.1. How Could the Toulmin Model Contribute to Citizenship Education?

How could a deliberation-based approach to citizenship education be implemented? This section reviews the literature on this question to reveal common ideas regarding such an approach. Specifically, this section takes a close look at the utilization and evaluation of the Toulmin Model in citizenship education literature and identifies what factors need to receive more attention when advancing a deliberation-based approach.

Deliberation that provides the basis for preference transformation is facilitated in classrooms by using a dialogue method (Hattori 2014; Hirata and Mochizuki 2014; see also Driver et al. 2000). How can students have a dialogue with others? In other words, in the process of a dialogue, how can students structure their opinions? One of the most effective formats for structuring an argument is the Toulmin Model

9) Nussbaum (2008) refers to this interaction among individuals as "collaborative argumentation," which is defined as "a social process in which individuals work together to construct and critique arguments" (Nussbaum 2008: 348; see also Nussbaum 2011).

(Toulmin 2003).

The Toulmin Model has attracted close attention in both the disciplines of public policy and education. In public policy studies, the Toulmin Model is seen as useful for describing and analyzing policy arguments that deal with multiple and conflicting objectives (Landsbergen and Bozeman 1987),¹⁰⁾ and has been enriched by many scholars such as Dunn (1990; 1994).¹¹⁾ According to Dunn (1990: 323), this model is “a useful medium for representing processes of practical reasoning the conclusions of which are less than deductively certain.”

The Toulmin Model contains six elements (Figure 1): data $[D]$, claim $[C]$, warrant $[W]$, backing $[B]$, rebuttal $[R]$, and qualifier $[Q]$ (Dunn 1990: 323; Dunn 1994: 92–92, Matsuda 2005: 490–491). $[W]$, $[D]$, and $[C]$ are, respectively, a major premise, a minor premise, and a conclusion.¹²⁾ The combination of $[D]$ and $[W]$ supplies the reasons why one should accept the conclusion. $[B]$ is introduced to add persuasiveness to an argument whose status is in doubt. $[R]$, on the other hand, specifies conditions under which the information provided in $[D]$, $[C]$, or $[W]$ may be challenged. Finally $[Q]$ shows the degree of confidence attached to $[C]$, given the information supplied in $[W]$, $[B]$, and $[R]$; $[Q]$ may be expressed in ordinary language (e.g., “therefore” and “perhaps”) or in statistical terms (e.g., “ $p \leq 0.05$ ”).

The Toulmin Model enables one to “organize ideas in argument components into a picture of argument structure” (Gasper 2000: 3), as shown in Figure 1.¹³⁾ The figure demonstrates not only policy-relevant data and policy claims contained in a particular argument, but also illustrates the worldview, ideology, and sense of values underlying the argument. The Toulmin Model, to put it another way, describes the process of reasoning and shows what an individual bases his/her argument on.

Applying the model to the aforementioned social conflicts responsible for recent counter-democratic movements, one could find ideological disagreements or perception gaps underlying the conflicts. Social understanding on such differences is seen as an essential first step in conflict resolution and consensus building. In this way,

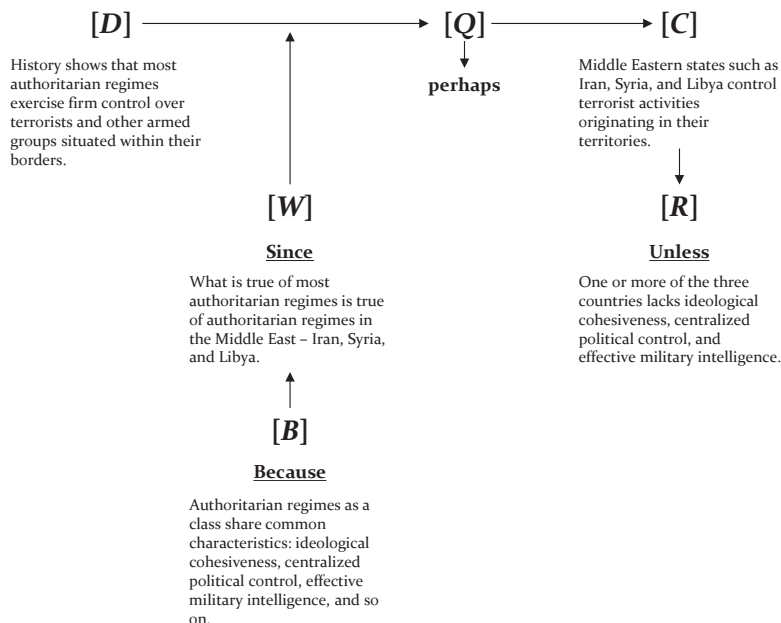
10) Relying primarily on Matsuda (2005), the early part of this section reviews the Toulmin Model and describes its usefulness in public policy studies.

11) As for the theoretical review of the Toulmin Model in Japan, see for instance Adachi (1984) and Matsuda (2012).

12) These three elements parallel those of the classical syllogism.

13) This paper uses the figure originally shown in Dunn (1990: 107) since it is a popular example of the application of the Toulmin Model, although the discourse in this figure might be empirically questionable. The author wishes to thank Professor Shingo Hamanaka (Ryukoku University, Kyoto, Japan) for his helpful comment on the figure.

FIGURE 1. SIX ELEMENTS OF THE TOULMIN MODEL



Source: Dunn (1994: 107).

the Toulmin Model could contribute to deliberation on a social issue.

What is implied here is that **[B]**, **[R]** and **[Q]** are crucial to deliberation. Under conditions of increasing diversity, fundamental differences in ideologies and perceptions of current and future situation can be visualized in the expression of **[B]** and **[Q]**, whereas preference transformation and consensus building would be facilitated through careful consideration of **[R]** (Matsuda 2012).

3.2. How Is the Toulmin Model Utilized in Citizenship Education?

Given that the Toulmin Model is theoretically expected to promote deliberation, how has the model been utilized in school education? Many scholars and practitioners in education have applied the Toulmin Model to class activities; the focus here is on two kinds of classes.¹⁴⁾

14) The Toulmin Model has also been employed in science education (Driver et al. 2000).

First, this model is popular in teaching composition (Karbach 1987; Lunsford 2002; Warren 2010; Rex et al. 2010; Inoue 1989). The model utilized in this way has been highly evaluated in various terms, for instance, its simplicity, completeness, applicability to most fields of arguments, and attention to audiences and contexts (Karbach 1987; Lunsford 2002). There has been, however, no or little direct reference for $[B]$, $[R]$, or $[Q]$, which are crucial elements for a deliberation-based approach to citizenship education. In composition learning, as Karbach (1987) mentions, it may be true that focusing on the primary elements (i.e., $[D]$, $[C]$, and $[W]$) is a good starting point; students will better understand the other elements after they are familiar with $[D]$, $[C]$, and $[W]$.

Second, the Toulmin Model has been seen as an effective tool for teaching and learning value judgement and consensus building on a social issue in a collective context (Saito 1981; Obara 1991; Mizuyama 1997; Mizuyama 2003; Yoshimura 2001; Shinagawa 2014; Watanabe 2015). In this application of the model, it is inevitable to pay close attention to $[B]$, $[R]$ and $[Q]$. When reviewing the literature on social issues education, one finds that $[B]$ in particular has received more attention than $[R]$ and $[Q]$. Obara (1991), for instance, emphasizes $[B]$ as a critical feature of the Toulmin Model since this element is indispensable in making an argument in a situation where there is no single criterion of value judgement. To borrow Sanaga's (2013) phrase, the model is suitable for critically reconsidering the universal rationalism of social studies instructions (see also Mizuyama 2003). In the case study by Obara (1991), students were told to consider whether Japan should pursue economic growth, show the justifications for their policy claims, and reconsider their argument structures including the justifications. Such a classroom activity is expected to help students learn how to make a value judgement on a controversial issue.

The importance of $[R]$ and $[Q]$, on the other hand, are not likely to be explicitly pointed out. One of few exceptions is the study by Mizuyama (1997). He theoretically and empirically emphasizes $[R]$ as a basis for compromise and consensus, and points out the need to develop an educational program focusing on $[R]$.

These studies and actual practices of applying the Toulmin Model to classroom activities imply that it is of great difficulty to have the model work in the expected way. The Toulmin Model, as stated above, could help individuals deepen their mutual understanding by visualizing $[B]$, $[R]$, and $[Q]$. In order to realize this expectation, however, it is necessary to develop a conceptual understanding of each of the three elements. In other words, individuals need to be capable of comparing different worldviews, ideologies and situational perceptions, and of finding the un-

derlying common ground. It is critical to consider that $[B]$, in the aforementioned example (Obara 1991), would be philosophical knowledge and thinking on economic growth or social welfare. If one is to utilize $[R]$ as the basis for compromise, then it is imperative to deeply understand the argument including its conditions and limitations. Moreover, in contemporary complex societies, any argument must be merely probabilistic; hence, close attention should be paid to $[Q]$.

Thus, the Toulmin Model can be a useful tool for students to learn how to deliberate for consensus and collective decision making, whereas deliberation based on the model requires philosophical and scientific ways of thinking. How could such profound knowledge and skills be taught in schools (c.f., Saito 1981)? The following two sections tackle this question, by attending to two groups of educational actors in citizenship education. Specifically, the fourth section focuses on school teachers in Japan and reveals their working environments, and the fifth section regards policy analysts as educational actors and stresses their expected contribution to citizenship education.

4. Teachers in Citizenship Education

4.1. How Have Teachers' Working Environments Been Institutionalized in Japan?

One may say that a school teacher is the only educational actor that should be responsible for such a difficult teaching task. According to this idea, a deliberation-based approach to citizenship education could be more feasible if teachers have a "pedagogical repertoire" and an understanding of the nature of, for instance, philosophy, science and probability. It follows that teachers themselves need to learn, and hence teacher training is critical to practicing this approach (Driver et al. 2000; Sanaga 2013).

Given the current tough working environments of teachers, however, it might not make much practical sense to place this added burden on them. This section depicts current teachers' working environments, particularly in Japan, by referring to empirical research findings on school teachers.

There have been numerous studies on teachers' working environments that reported that teachers work under significant pressure and suffer from burnout. "Burnout" is "a term which has now entered the teaching lexicon as teachers find that they cannot sustain the intensity of investment in teaching and in meeting the

needs of their students” (Galton and MacBeath 2008: 6).¹⁵⁾ This syndrome is seen as associated with “decrements in both psychological and physical well-being” and “various problem behaviors, both on the job and in the home” (Huberman and Vandenberghe 1999: 1). The problem of teacher burnout has attracted significant attention in various countries including Japan, and comparative research into its mechanisms and outcomes has been increasingly active (e.g., Galton and MacBeath 2008).

Turning to the case of Japan, school teachers are found to be working under exceptionally harsh conditions. According to the 2013 results of the OECD Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS),¹⁶⁾ out of the 34 countries included in the survey, teachers in Japan reported working an average of 54 hours per week, compared with 38 hours on average for teachers in the other surveyed countries. The survey conducted by the MEXT in 2016, moreover, reveals that Japanese teachers’ average working hours have increased for several decades, regardless of their type of job, and that more than one in two junior high school teachers and approximately one in three elementary school teachers work no less than 80 hours per month.¹⁷⁾ In such a working environment, teachers in Japan are likely to be affected by burnout.¹⁸⁾

One of the critical factors responsible for the difficult working environments and teacher burnout syndrome in Japan is the loose definition of the functions of teachers in the School Education Act (Kitagami and Takagi 2007); teachers are merely defined as civil servant engaging in education. This definition implies that how teachers should function depends on educational practices at their schools. In such a situation, teachers are socially expected to take on various kinds of tasks such as student counseling and guidance and dietary guidance (Higuchi 2013; see also Takagi and Tanaka 2003). Focusing on junior high schools, burdens regrading extracurricular activities are attracting significant attention as a serious source of

15) As for the historically changing nature of burnout syndrome in human service professions, see Maslach et al. (2001) and Huberman and Vandenberghe (1999).

16) The TALIS asks teachers and school leaders about their working conditions and learning environments at their schools to help countries identify others facing similar challenges and learn about their policies. For the detailed data of the 2013 survey, see the TALIS website <http://www.oecd.org/education/talis/> (last accessed on December 31, 2018).

17) The brief summary and detailed description of this survey are available at http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/houdou/29/04/1385174.htm, written in Japanese (last accessed on December 31, 2018).

18) As for the review of literature on teacher burnout in Japan, see for instance Aikawa (1997) and Takagi and Kitagami (2007).

stress for teachers (Uchida 2017).

In addition to the loose definition of the functions of teachers, there is a special rule regarding teacher salary (e.g., Higuchi 2013). According to the Act on Special Measures Concerning Salaries and Other Conditions for Education Personnel of Public Compulsory Education Schools, etc., how long a teacher works overtime is very difficult to determine. Thus, instead of paying teachers overtime, a fixed percentage over their base salaries is paid to every teacher. This salary system is now drawing severe criticism since it can easily force teachers to take on additional tasks.

4.2. How Have Teachers' Working Environments Changed in Japan?

Given these rules on school education, one may say that school teachers in Japan are assumed to be generalists, since they are required to fulfill a wide variety of educational roles (Shintani and Makabe 2017). Recent educational reforms, however, emphasize the specialist aspect of education (Yufu et al. 2010; Yufu 2014). The system of a graduate school of teacher education, for instance, was adopted in 2008. This reform aims at facilitating working teachers to enter a graduate school and strengthen their educational expertise. Another example is the establishment of a teaching license renewal system in 2009. In this system, teachers are expected to update their specialist educational knowledge and skills by undergoing a special program at university.

Consequently, the call for teachers to be both generalists and specialists leads to the never-ending busyness of teachers; teachers do not have enough time to prepare to teach and then feel remorse due to the failure to fulfill expectations as teachers (Kitagami and Takagi 2007; Yufu 2014). Teacher burnout could be made more severe through the reform on moral education, in which moral education is conducted as a special subject at elementary and junior high schools from 2018 and 2019, respectively. Given that moral education as a subject requires teachers to fundamentally revise what to teach and take a close look at various kinds of student performances (Yamaguchi 2014; Yamaguchi 2017), this reform will result in teachers working under even more pressure.

As a way out of the quagmire, many working teachers are insisting on an increase in the number of teachers (Miyashita 2009); however, this is not seen as viable due to recent fiscal difficulties. Instead, a change has occurred in school personnel organization: more and more non-regular teachers have been hired. Much concern

has been expressed about this situation since it is extremely difficult for non-regular teachers with a feeling of job insecurity to successfully accomplish the burdensome tasks of a teacher (Kaneko 2014; Kaneko 2018; Takano 2018).

Thus, the most recent working environments of teachers in Japan suggest that one should not consider a teacher as the only actor involved in teaching students how to deliberate on social issues. Teachers are likely to have great difficulty in learning what is meant by “philosophical and scientific ways of thinking” for deliberation and how to help students acquire relevant knowledge and skills. This implies that some support is needed for a deliberation-based approach to school citizenship education. The next section scrutinizes what form of support could be useful.

5. Policy Analysts in Citizenship Education

5.1. How Should Policy Analysts Interpret Research Results?

The previous sections illustrate the importance of deliberation in school citizenship education. It is also demonstrated that a deliberation-based approach requires philosophical and scientific ways of thinking to be taught at schools, whereas the considerable pressure under which teachers work would hinder the successful performance of this task. Based on the aforementioned Lasswellian view that policy analysis should contribute to improving the practices of democracy, this section explores how policy analysts can support this approach to citizenship education.

The product of policy analysis, according to Weimer and Vining (2017: 30), is likely to be seen as “advice as simple as a statement linking a proposed action to a likely result”; in brief, many regard policy analysis as taking the form of policy recommendation. Policy analysis as policy recommendation can be a useful tool for various individuals and groups, since different individuals and groups tend to utilize different policy recommendations to justify their claims. This is particularly true when social conflicts are more severe and when counter-democratic movements have been increasing and have been more active (Matsuda 2018).

Through the utilization of policy analysis in this way, however, warring individuals and groups are not urged to transform their preferences and to engage in deliberation; they are merely committed to asserting themselves. If one is to expect policy analysis to promote deliberation and improve the practices of democracy, a different perspective on policy analysis is needed; in other words, emphasis needs to be placed on the distinctive process of policy analysis, rather than on its product

(policy recommendations). This section thus looks at how policy analysis is conducted, and identifies some key features in the research process.

The search for common ground through deliberation, as stated above, requires that individuals seek to understand and compare their and others' worldviews, ideologies, and situational perceptions, which are represented by $[B]$, $[R]$, and $[Q]$ in the Toulmin Model. The three argumentation elements provide the basis for the interpretation of a social issue. These elements and interpretations are becoming increasingly different across individuals and groups. Such diversity is one of the critical factors that has to be carefully considered in the process of policy analysis.

Policy analysis that aims at assessing and deciding policy alternatives is necessarily based on both empirical and normative insights (Matsuda 2016). If one is to design an effective policy instrument, it is indispensable to empirically understand multiple relationships regarding the instrument, for instance, the causes responsible for a social issue that needs to be solved, and the impacts of various policy instruments in solving the issue. Moreover, one cannot see an existing situation as socially problematic or choose the best policy instrument unless one makes a normative judgement on the situation and each policy alternative's predicted impacts.

Neither an empirical nor normative approach to policy analysis can avoid coping with diversity of interpretation. In empirical research, policy analysts confront at least two kinds of uncertainty (Matsuda 2006a).¹⁹⁾ First, contemporary complex society impedes policy analysts from identifying the impacts of each policy instrument; no analyst can accurately predict how each instrument will proceed after its adoption.

One may say that the recent development of analytical techniques has contributed to reducing this kind of uncertainty; prediction in many policy areas is now much more accurate than it used to be. However, an empirical study of this kind is usually designed to analyze and predict the impacts of certain policy instruments on society as a whole. What policy impacts each individual in society will experience and how he/she will evaluate them are different questions. Here exists the second kind of uncertainty: given that different individuals are living in different environments, policy impacts on each individual and his/her evaluation of them are far from certain (c.f., Stimson et al. 1994).

19) The distinction between uncertainty and risk is worth mentioning here. *Uncertainty* means that the "probabilities of each state's occurring are either unknown or meaningless in the sense of reflecting any long-run frequency of occurrence," whereas *risk* indicates that "each state has a known probability of occurring, which obeys all the laws of probability (Morrow 1994: 28).

Such uncertainty faced by policy analysts can be referred to as “structural uncertainty” (Steinbruner 1974). Policy analysts know neither the probability of each possible outcome, nor the range of possible outcomes. Under structural uncertainty, empirical policy analysis needs to be conducted on the basis of certain assumptions about social mechanisms and the behavioral patterns of each actor and/or each group of actors. One problem here is that, under conditions of increasing diversity, such assumptions are likely to vary more considerably among policy analysts than was previously the case; different policy analysts formulate different hypotheses based on different assumptions and present different analysis results. Hence, the difference in empirical analysis results does not necessarily derive from that in scientific methods of analysis; the diversity of policy analysts’ subjective interpretations is significant in empirical policy analysis (Dunn 1994; Matsuda 2016).²⁰⁾

Normative research into public policy, on the other hand, is likely to come with a different kind of subjective interpretations by analysts (Matsuda 2016; Matsuda 2006a). In many policy areas, there is no automatic or universal normative interpretive frame about a certain social issue; any social issue can be normatively interpreted in multiple ways. Economic and public finance theories, for instance, can propose some tax policy alternatives, but they are likely to fail to choose the best one that meets every normative criterion for a tax system (Kato 1997; Dye 2002; Yamanouchi 1992). Policy analysts cannot avoid coping with trade-offs among social values in normative research and need to exercise value judgements on a subjective basis; in other words, there is not always an agreement on a value judgement about a certain policy issue and policy alternative.

The same holds true for interpreting empirical research findings. In quantitative analysis, for instance, the effect of a certain independent variable on a dependent variable can be represented as a concrete value of a coefficient. The problem here is that the normative interpretation of this value is likely to vary among policy analysts; whether the value is seen as large or small and whether the effect of the factor is seen as good or bad may depend on each analyst’s value judgements (Yamada 2007). In many cases, the same policy claim is supported by different empirical research findings. The justification for each of the different findings (i.e., each of the warrants) reveals each analyst’s subjective normative judgements.

Scientific and philosophical awareness of one’s own underlying interpretations, whether empirical or normative, can be regarded as contained in “meta-level knowl-

20) Dunn (1994) illuminates this problem by referring to “subjective understanding.”

edge” or “meta-knowledge.” Meta-level knowledge is “knowledge about knowledge” and, to be more specific, “reflection involving explanation, analysis, and criticism of linguistic, socio-cultural and socio-political phenomena on all discourse oral and written” (Davis and Buchanan 1984: 507; Masny 1996, quoted from its manuscript, p. 2). Knowledge of this kind enables individuals to know what they know, and it is “necessary to the critical perspective in order to examine subjectivities and identify formation as historically and socially constructed” (Davis and Buchanan 1984: 507; Masny 1996, quoted from its manuscript, p. 2). In this sense, methodological and conceptual rigor that is required in policy analysis can contribute to constructing meta-level knowledge.

5.2. How Should Policy Analysts Support Citizenship Education?

It follows that one of the vital roles assumed by policy analysts is to convey meta-level knowledge to students through citizenship education. By illustrating research assumptions and processes, policy analysts are expected to explain to students how policy analysts understand and cope with the increasing uncertainty and diversity in contemporary society. If a student acquires meta-level knowledge to be aware of his/her underlying interpretation, then he/she would be capable of identifying his/her worldviews, ideologies, and the situational perceptions that underlie his/her policy claims ($[B]$, $[R]$, and $[Q]$ in the Toulmin Model). Consequently, he/she can successfully recognize his/her differences from others and be prepared to engage in deliberation.

One question arises now: what is an effective way for policy analysts to share meta-level knowledge with students? This question is closely related to a question about the utilization of policy analysis: how could methodological and conceptual rigor in policy analysis be applied to classroom deliberation? It is true that how to consider a social issue in philosophical and scientific terms is too complicated for students to comprehend at the level of secondary education. In short, there is a gap between the importance of meta-level knowledge for deliberation and the limited capabilities of students in deliberation.

As such, the process of knowledge utilization should receive a closer look. Knowledge utilization studies have investigated various conditions for the applications of knowledge in society (Dunn and Holzner 1988). According to Zaltman and his colleagues (Kotler and Zaltman 1972; Zaltman 1979), the concept of “social marketing” deserves close attention. The concept of social marketing is defined as “the use

of marketing concepts to market socially beneficial ideas and causes” (Wiener and Doescher 1991: 38).²¹⁾ This concept suggests four variables to be considered carefully: “developing the right *product* backed by the right *promotion* and put in the right *place* at the right *price*” (Kotler and Zaltman 1972: 559, emphases in original).²²⁾

Following the concept of social marketing, for instance, policy analysts are expected to visit schools and give lectures on philosophical and scientific ways of thinking about a social issue. This lecture should deal with the whole picture of an argument, not only policy claims, and stress that there are different interpretations about $[B]$, $[R]$, and $[Q]$ and consequently different policy claims. Such a lecture is considered to be more effective when it is delivered prior to service learning and community-based learning that have been popular in school education; what students feel and acquire through this kind of learning significantly depends on the meta-level knowledge that students are taught in advance (Annette and McLaughlin 2005). Given that many policy analysts belong to a university, university resources could contribute to citizenship education. One example is university extension; universities could contribute to citizenship education by offering special introductory courses to individuals (particularly laypeople) who are not university students.²³⁾ In addition to giving a lecture to students, policy analysts can be involved in citizenship education by writing an introductory book or hornbook that is comprehensible to students at the secondary education level. Meta-level knowledge explained in such a book is likely to become common to students if it is offered at a low price.

These are just a few examples of policy analysts engaging in citizenship education. There are more cases where policy analysts successfully participate in school citizenship education, and those cases deserve detailed assessment. Although this task cannot be accomplished in this paper, it is now clear that policy analysts should support school teachers in conducting citizenship education. The contribution of policy analysts includes not only policy recommendations, but they are also, and more importantly, expected to explain the research assumptions and processes for a certain policy recommendation. Such involvement of policy analysts in citizenship

21) Based on the concept of social marketing, Matsuda (2006b, 2007, 2008) theoretically explores the roles of policy analysts for knowledge utilization in the policy process. This paper, on the other hand, applies this concept to the engagement of policy analysts in citizenship education.

22) This principle for knowledge utilization is referred to as the “4Ps” in Kotler and Zaltman (1972).

23) University extension of this kind is referred to as “functional extension.” The other kind of university extension is “extension of university teaching”; this system permits individuals who are not enrolled in a university to attend a formal class at a university (Shannon and Schoenfeld 1965).

education allows students to touch on some meta-level knowledge and better understand the recent increase in diversity. Learning of this kind could promote and improve classroom deliberation.

6. Collaboration in Citizenship Education

Aiming to clarify how to improve school citizenship education in Japan, this study demonstrates that a deliberation-based approach is crucial to citizenship education under conditions of increasing diversity, whereas few studies and practices of citizenship education are paying sufficient attention to essential elements for deliberation ($[B]$, $[R]$, and $[Q]$ in the Toulmin Model), which help students be more aware of the subjective interpretations underlying policy claims. It is also revealed that school teachers, especially in Japan, are so busy and under such considerable pressure that they cannot be the only actors responsible for teaching students how to deliberate on a social issue. Following the Lasswellian view of policy analysis, this study looks at the contributions that policy analysts could make to citizenship education. The findings show that policy analysts are expected to support school teachers by helping students touch on some meta-level knowledge.

The assertion of this study can be associated with one of the ideas about citizens presented by Dahl (1992). Dahl (1992) introduces two ideas about what constitutes a citizen in a democracy.²⁴⁾ The first is that of the “good citizen” and makes strong demands on citizens: they should be highly concerned with public affairs, well-informed about issues and political actors, skillful enough to pursue their interests, and motivated by a desire to foster general welfare (Dahl 1992: 46; Nie et al. 1996: 15). The second idea, that of the “adequate citizen,” states that not every individual need to have the expertise and intellect that is required of the good citizen: the primary role of the adequate citizen in democracy is to show what he/she experiences and feels in his/her daily life (Akiyoshi 2003; Bryant 2002).

Given this study’s focus on secondary education and knowledge relating to ways of thinking, the role of policy analysts in citizenship education that is demonstrated here is seen as applicable to the development of adequate citizens. Policy analysts are expected to communicate with all or most of the individuals in society and help them touch on some meta-level knowledge, not technical knowledge about policy contents. If one is to further develop this paper’s study, its ultimate purpose should

24) This paragraph on the two ideas about citizens relies on Matsuda (2014: 98).

be to design a system of citizenship education that targets all individuals. Two perspectives on such a system design are discussed below.

First, as suggested above, close attention should be paid to collaborations among various actors. For instance, if policy analysts are to deliver a lecture at a school, then they have to ask the teachers and educational institutions to revise the school calendar. Government subsidies would also be needed to implement a new curriculum containing policy analysts' involvement. Turning to the writing of a hornbook, policy analysts need to seek the help of school teachers and textbook publishers. Therefore, the system design of citizenship education of this kind entails taking into consideration various actors and constructing a network of those actors.

Second, and more importantly, the feasibility of the system should be examined. A new system will place an additional burden on school teachers; for instance, they may have to coordinate activities with policy analysts. How is a school organization likely to react to such a new task? Given that the performance of school teachers has been assessed on the basis of concrete criteria (Yufu 2014), what action will they take in designing a new system of citizenship education? Would students and their parents support the involvement of policy analysts in school education if they are anxious about their own and their children's personal career development? Unless these questions are carefully examined, neither teachers nor schools may willingly participate in a new system design.

The same holds true for policy analysts and universities. Although policy analysts are capable of contributing to citizenship education, each analyst might care more about his/her own personal achievements, as has been empirically revealed (Diesing 1991; Mitroff 1974), and they may not be willing to give lectures in secondary education schools or write hornbooks. Such an analyst might have little incentive to engage in citizenship education unless the key indicators of an analyst's performance include his/her contribution to citizenship education. Universities will also be unenthusiastic about offering extension programs to develop adequate citizens as long as they place significant emphasis on commercial revenue (Matsuda 2014).²⁵⁾

What is implied here is that detailed research needs to be conducted on how to educate citizens who are responsible for designing an educational system that could help citizens be responsible for democracy. The search for such a new system of

25) Employing an economic approach to university behavior in a competitive market, Matsuda (2014) theoretically reveals that universities have no incentives to educate adequate citizens, and that although governmental financial support might allow more individuals to receive an education, this is unlikely to be spent almost exclusively on citizenship education programs.

citizenship education, in this sense, is akin to trying to find the exit in a labyrinth. How and when will we be able to achieve this goal?

No one can answer this question right now. However, we still need to walk into the labyrinth of citizenship education if we are to improve the practices of democracy.

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