Japanese society looks back into a long and specific tradition of citizenship education which reaches far beyond the US re-education policy after World War II. The countries' culture of teaching and learning has been globally admired (Rappleye 2007) and Japanese society is often referred to as a “learning society” where not only schools are regarded as micro-communities of learning.\(^1\) Okano (2011, 183) points out that “learning has been central to the evolution of what is now called Japanese civilization.” But in contrast to the “Japan as a unique society” narrative, this concept always evolved “through interaction with and drawing heavily from what the Japanese considered superior civilizations – first China and later the West. In this context, ‘catching up’ was an imperative and a constant theme. Cultural borrowing was followed by domestication or indigenization of imported knowledge and skills, and the bridging of the local knowledge to a wider audience.” (Okano 2011, 183) Nowadays, Japan has become a multicultural society and the construct of “Japaneseness” is no longer self-evident (Nishino 2010; Tsuneyoshi 2007\(^2\)). Hence, in comparative education the Japanese case shows “distinct ‘comparative advantages”’ for social science research (Kariya 2011, 284\(^3\)) and the countries’ educational system has been constantly monitored by comparative educational researchers from inside as well as from outside – the so called gaijin (foreigners).\(^4\)

The following annotations may serve as a guide to current releases that introduce the concept of citizenship in Japan to an international audience. Finally, three further research topics in comparative citizenship education could be highlighted.

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\(^1\) Often cited here is the habitus of “Kaizen,” the relentless quest for continual improvement and higher-quality performance in the innovation culture of companies, discussed in entrepreneurship or intrapreneurship education and vocational training (Bromann 2010; Dobashi 2011).

\(^2\) Tsuneyoshi (2007) analyzes how “foreigners” are portrayed in two versions of the best-selling elementary social studies textbook: “How ‘foreigners’ are portrayed, reflects how non-foreigners, in other words ‘Japanese’, are understood. The study categorized the sections containing key terms and themes that were relevant to foreign/foreigners. Based on a content analysis, the results were broken down into 8 themes (plus ‘Other’), and their patterns were analyzed. The major findings were that (1) despite the image of Japanese as having a monocultural image of themselves, the image of ethnic Japanese and Japanese society in the textbooks was actually very diverse in terms of region, climate, landscape, occupation, etc.; (2) images of coexistence were also present, but the objects of coexistence were dominantly of two kinds – first, the coexistence of Japanese with nature, and second, the coexistence of Japan with foreign countries through trade; and (3) in cases that the ‘foreigners’ did appear in the textbooks, the image shifted according to the context discussed, and there was a missing link between the different meanings. In other words, when the context was concerned with contemporary Japan (3rd-5th grade), ‘foreigners’ were portrayed as visitors who came and left, and the key concept used was ‘internationalization.’ When ‘foreigners’ were discussed historically (first half of 6th grade) or in relation to welfare, peace, human rights and discrimination, they were assumed to be the permanently residing foreigners in Japan (the Koreans and Chinese in Japan). The article analyzes the implications these findings have for a more multicultural and pluralistic Japanese self-image” (Tsuneyoshi 2007, abstract taken from ERIC database).

\(^3\) Kariya (2011, 284), far beyond from reproducing Nihonjiron stereotypes of unique Japaneseness, compares the Japanese example to the role of Galapagos islands in biology: “As the Galapagos Islands once preserved and provided ample living specimens of peculiar species that helped developed research surrounding evolution in biology, so Japan, with its rich self-portraits and specimens of hybridized modernization, is also crucially important for data collection vis-à-vis research surrounding modernity throughout the social sciences.” A historic example for the struggle for mutual understanding is the Dewey experience in Japan (Rappleye 2012).

\(^4\) For an early example see Nagai 1979.

The most recent source is the Routledge “Handbook of Asian Education” (2011). Besides Japanese education it includes extensive sections on Sinic education, Islamic education, Buddhist education as well as Hindu education. The section on Japanese education comprises chapters such as:

- education governance and management under the question “Who Runs Japan’s Schools?” (Robert Aspinall),
- the politics of school curriculum and assessment in Japan (Ryuko Kubota),
- teachers and teaching (Catherine Lewis) as well as on learners and learning in Japan (Peter Cave).

Chapters on the changing relationship between home and school (Ryoko Tsuneyoshi) and Japanese immigrant and transient students in the US (Yoshiko Nozaki) add complementary aspects, part of which are relevant to citizenship education as well. The section is framed by Koaori H. Okano’s cultural overview of education in Japanese civilization seen as “adaptive learning at the global periphery” and June A. Gordon’s look at challenges and future directions for Japanese Education – “A Nation's School Unhinged?”


“The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy” (2008) still serves as an indispensable reference. The chapter about citizenship education in Japan (Parmenter, Mizuyama, Taniguchi 2008) gives a well structured overview of places of citizenship education in the curriculum, social studies as a special subject, other subjects as well as other areas of the curriculum. Finally, the positive school ethos and positive attitudes to school and learning, which facilitates citizenship education are listed as strong points of citizenship education in Japan – but an ongoing “partial exception of political literacy” is simultaneously noted (213).

This problem is tackled in more detail in the following monography:


The eleven contributions of this basic volume, which appeared in the Continuum Studies in Educational Research series, aims at an “international audience” (cover). The lucidly written book can indeed be recommended to readers outside Japan. All references of Japanese articles are given in English and the book includes a useful register. Let us have a look at the contributions in more detail:
Kazuya Taniguchi (Tohoku University) examines the administration of citizenship education in Japan by looking at the history of the idea of Japanese citizenship and its teaching before World War II. Around 1872, at the beginning of the Meiji era, citizenship education was firstly identified in a period of enlightenment and the formation of the constitutional nation. In order to identify origins of a concept of “citizenship,” questions of intercultural translation have to be carefully discussed, the specific concepts of “Shimin” and “Komin” (3). The article deals with the development of concepts, the oscillation between moral education and civics education. Finally, a new subject was established during World War II, called “Nation” (11) – a period in Japanese citizenship education which is a crucial point for national memorial culture and is only briefly touched in the volume.

The course of study is revised approximately every tenth year, bringing about significant changes in 1958, 1968, 1977, 1989, 1998 and 2008. Norio Ikeno (Hiroshima University, cf. Ikeno in this JSSE issue) focuses on the curriculum structure of citizenship education in post-war citizenship education policy. The article structures the chronology of post-war education policy into four stages:

- a “rudderless period lacking principles and policies” (1945-1947),
- an “experience-oriented phase when children’s experience was at the core of educational objectives” (1847-1955),
- a “knowledge-oriented phase when acquisition of basic knowledge was the paramount concern” (1955-1989),
- and finally an “activity-oriented approach with emphasis on education through children’s activities (1989 to present). (19)

With respect to the latter, emphasis is shifted from teacher-led instruction to enabling children to learn skills of independent working. The author points out that these rough characteristics must be understood as spotlights, more presenting educational intentions and outcomes than negotiating processes of educational actors in the field of practice. The aim is to provide a typology for orientation. Therefore, the single phases of development appear to be homogeneous rather than heterogeneous in terms of internal conflicts and breaks in educational policies. This perspective is addressed in the in the following case study.

Masao Yoshida (Bunkyo University) examines the birth of the dominant teaching paradigm for social studies in Japanese elementary schools with focus on lesson culture and patterns of teaching. This approach marks a desideratum in international comparative education, although some pioneer studies for other school subjects exist, for example the famous video study on mathematics education (Kawanaka et.al. 1999, 86ff.; Grammes 2004). An influential model approach of social studies lessons aims at empathetic understanding. The author reveals the chronology behind this paradigm, the kind of people who produced it its development. These findings are based on Social Studies lesson plans which are provided by the teacher training centres, run by each prefecture or city. Extracts from the lesson plan from the unit on “The study of garbage” are documented (34 f.). It is fascinating to observe the back and forth between top down and bottom up
processes in educational policies between Ministry of Education, prefectures, boards, attached schools and individual teachers (49): conflicts beyond a surface of harmony become apparent. This reveals the influence of lesson study in Japanese teaching culture, as 1st classroom teacher and member of the research committee at that time, Ms. Kayoko Tanaka points out: “I’m not very keen on learning teaching skills and ideas from books. I have learned much more from observing the wonderful practice of my teaching colleagues and from discussions with them than by reading books” (39).

Part two discusses the citizenship curriculum in Japan. Hirokazu Kimura (Hiroshima University) looks at moral education as a task of the whole curriculum as well as a distinct school subject since the post-war era. The narrative is, that “following the history of the Course of Study in Japan after World War II, we can see that the development of citizenship has progressed through careful and serious thought and achieved by steady degrees” (70). Again, this picture of the development may be a bit too harmonious. Tomoyuki Kobara (Hiroshima University) investigates postwar guidelines for teaching social studies and citizenship education. He identifies features which did not change over time like:
- the basic character of social studies as citizenship education,
- social studies that guarantee the integrity of the goal,
- social studies that guarantee a comprehensive content,
- social studies that guarantee the modernity of the issues (81).

Lesson theory for developing civic qualities changes from “problem-solving” to “understanding” (82). At the same time, this means a shift within the focus from what is to be understood (1955-1968) to how it is to be made understood (1977-1998). Kazuhiko Iwata (Hyogo University) analyzes textbooks for Junior High School students in Japan since 1945. The notice “official approval has been given for analysis of this textbook” (86 ff.) refers to a special Japanese practice of introducing textbooks. The comparison with a textbook from Britain5 is very brief.

Kotaru Yoshimura (Tohoku Gakuin University) approaches to acted citizenship curriculum and describes two projects which were developed to discuss controversial issues in Japanese society. The topics are “Attempts to make laws regarding garbage collection” and “Thinking about how a company should handle issues of patenting”. In terms of the curriculum material, five decision-making stages are differentiated (100).

The following section deals with core issues of citizenship education. Takaaki Fujiwara (Doshisha Women’s College of Liberal Arts) examines international education, global education, and multicultural education as issues of citizenship education. After the Great Hanshin earthquake in 1995, voluntary work has increased in the civic sector, and has been enhanced by the 1998 Act for the promotion of non-profit organizations. Surprisingly, the slogan “one nation, one language, one ethnicity” proves the concept of international education in the late 1990ies in Japan to emphasise nationalism and essentialism. ‘Japan has invested more in fostering good citizens to represent the nation on the world’s stage than in teaching

5 Terry Fiehn. 2002. This is Citizenship, Volume 1 and 2. London.
Mitsuharu Mizuyama (Kyoto University of Education) takes a closer look at the issue of environmental education in the curriculum. The questions he tackles are:

- Is environmental education better provided as an independent subject or as a cross-curricular theme?
- Should civic activity be part of environmental education?
- Is “global” more important than “environmental” in conceptualizing this aspect of citizenship?

He concludes that environmental education tends to be political and ideological when it is taught as a single issue and/or within active citizenship in education (127f.). Kazuhiro Kusahara (Hiroshima University) asks how geographical education is justified as a part of citizenship education. According to three phases of educational reform, he identifies three different types of socialization process for citizenship education:

- passive socialization (adaptation to the status quo in order to be accepted as a good member of society by locating oneself inside the boundaries of society),
- counter-socialization (independence from the status quo, enlightenment about reality by moving oneself outside of society) and
- active socialization (finding relevance in the status quo by locating oneself both inside and outside of society).

The effects of teaching Geography can be classified in “creating identity through education,” forming a member of society which seeks unity within the community and “supporting plurality through education,” such forming persons who can make a desirable individual commitment to a multilayered community (134f.).

“Historical Education as one issue in citizenship education” is discussed by Kazuhiro Mizoguchi (Kagoshima University). He focuses on the challenges of teaching “general history” as well as of teaching “history in the form of comprehensive history.” The latter is criticized as “promoting rote learning, losing the true meaning of learning, and tending towards indoctrination” (152). These ambivalences of teaching global history could be related to the foreword of Sir Bernard Crick (1929-2008), who had been a member of JSSE editorial board. He picks up the label of a “learning society” from a Western point of view and identifies “an open-ended speculative discussion” as the heart of true citizenship in a society “with necessarily existing diversities of values and interests” (XV). Correspondingly, Crick emphasises a learning concept of Karl Popper based on the assumption that social sciences were a matter of problem-solving, and were not supposed to offer concise definitions. Another point of reference in political philosophy is Hannah Arendt’s view of politics as an activity of thinking and problem resolution rather than an attempt to provide definitive solutions. (XIV)

Part three presents research on citizenship education in Japanese schools. Soji Katakami (Yasuda Women’s University) reports on Ochanomizu elementary school which introduced a class called “Citizenship” to replace Social Studies from grade 3 to 6. It is preceded by a class called “Learning Together” (grade 1 and 2). Here again, the concept of citizenship focuses on
decision-making. Citizenship is defined as an ability to judge social affairs and reach a decision on it (159), for instance “Make a plan to reduce garbage” (middle grade); “Reclaiming Isahaya Bay: how do newspapers deal with this issue?” (grade 5); “What is your scheme for dealing with the problems of an aging society?” (grade 6). The reader would appreciate to learn more about these cases and urges for an additional volume with further documentation of such fascinating curricula. Yoshiharu Toda (Chiba University) reports on Shinagawa Ward schools, where an original school curriculum is developed differently from the official general course of study. Therefore, two new subjects were introduced in April 2006, a foreign language course and a subject called “Shimin-ka.” It is represented in the curriculum from grade 1-9 with 70 to 105/140 hours yearly. At the same time, Social Studies is still taught from grade 3-9 with 70 to 105 hours annually. The new subject integrates Moral Education, Special Activities, and the Period for Integrated Study (169).

**Inter-Cultural Orientated Comparative Education in Subject Matter Didactics: Perspectives for Further Research**

This field of research will focus on citizenship teaching and learning cultures and paradigms inside school as well as informal learning in society. The JSSE prepares a special issue on this topic (see call for papers JSSE 2013-4: [http://www.jsse.org/info/call-for-papers](http://www.jsse.org/info/call-for-papers)).

When referring to the current state of the art, three perspectives for further comparative research in the field of subject matter didactics can be discussed:

1) **Documentation.** Comparative study with focus on cultures of education needs as much “thick description” as possible. “Thick description” could include field notes on teaching-learning-dynamics in the subject matter domain of social studies, frozen photo series, video of interaction and communication as well as exemplary material objects and “signs” of teaching and learning processes, e.g. students’ scripts. Digital resources could be the medium of choice for the integrated documentation of pictures, videoclips, multiperspective commentaries.\(^6\) Japanese learning culture is well known for its professional communities of practice to enhance teaching and learning. Lesson Study as a kind of learning process analysis is deeply rooted in Japanese professional teaching culture (exemplary curriculum narratives and case studies concerning Japan are Lewis 1995, Lewis 2004, [www.jsse.org/2004/2004-1/lesson-lewis.htm](http://www.jsse.org/2004/2004-1/lesson-lewis.htm); Kobara 2011 and passages in Sato 2004).\(^7\) A documentation of lesson plans in the field of social studies, for instance, could be a starting point; Fujita (2005) lists some prominent examples of lesson plans from postwar history. Further examples are:

6 "Videopaper" might be an appropriate software. "Eurviews", a multilingual internet edition of history textbooks from European countries, concerning the topic "Europea" (forthcoming soon: [http://www.eurviews.eu/start.html](http://www.eurviews.eu/start.html)) could function as a model project.

7 In November 2011 the World Association of Lesson Studies (WALS) held its annual meeting at Tokyo University ([www.worldals.org](http://www.worldals.org); [www.wals2011.com](http://www.wals2011.com)). However, in the era of large scale assessment and international comparison, the so-called “core” subjects – maths, Japanese, foreign language learning - seemed to dominate this congress program. Lesson study in the field of Social Studies was under-represented if not missing. The non-Japanese reader is longing to know more about lesson study in Japanese Social Studies and citizenship projects.
2) General framework of interpretation. In comparative education research in the field of subject matter didactics many contributions don't transcend the analysis of intended curricula, official guidelines, general goals and paper written lesson scripts. The reason for changes in educational practises is to a great extent related to the educational policies which is, therefore, conceptualized as a top down process. In the case of Japan this narrative suggests that the educational policy is successfully managed and controlled by the MEXT, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (www.mext.go.jp/english/index.htm). The “core narrative” suggests that there is little interaction with individual actors or pressure groups in civil society. 8 What is the role of the different teachers’ associations in this domain, above all the Japanese Educational Research Association for the Social Studies, JERASS (www.soc.nii.ac.jp/jssra/English/index.html) or the Japanese Association for Civic Education (http://www.soc.nii.ac.jp/civicedu/, in Japanese)? How do researchers at universities and the university attached schools influence educational policies? Comparative education needs a carefully coordinated interplay of more general typologies of “phases” and “concepts,” on the one hand, and micro-didactical case studies of single stages with the contradicting and conflicting actors of educational reform, on the other. The most resentful error would be to assume that the international reader might be interested in results only, without hearing anything about the quarrels and processes leading to such results. In contrary, only the latter show cultural similarities and differences and connect comparative education with research in political science or cross-cultural psychology about political cultures in civil society and conflict resolution. This might concern citizenship education in post-tsunami Japan in particular (Haddad 2012). Social Studies could be the preferred school subject to a cultural sensitive comparative education because of its parallel structure (“Doppelstruktur”) of culture and society as topic and pedagogical interaction. As Schubert (2009, 159, translation TG) pointed out, comparative education has “to distinguish itself more clearly than before as a pedagogical discipline. Therefore, it needs to take a step beyond educational comparative's fixation on structures and institutions of the education(al) system (frequently only in terms of bureaucracy, i.e. on those things that are regulated or be sworn by guidance, orders, standards, etc.), on school performances, or processes of internationalisation and globalisation concerning the education system, as well as in terms of

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8 An analysis of political rhetoric in this field is done by Rear (2011). He deals with the semi-annual speeches of prime ministers to the Diet (the Japanese bicameral legislature, TG) between 1999 and 2010 and identifies “three distinct discourses within these policy statements: a progressive discourse emphasizing the rights of individuals; a neo-liberal discourse of social independence and multi-tracked schooling; and a moral conservative discourse of patriotism and social conformism. In the 1990s, progressive and neo-liberal discourses held sway. Discursively, they were centred on key phrases such as ‘kosei jushi’ (‘respect for individuality’) and ‘sozosei’ (creativity), which were employed in a strategically ambiguous way to satisfy both progressive and neo-liberal demands. In the 2000s, however, right-wing politicians began to push a moral conservative agenda, which emphasized not the rights of individuals but their subservience to the wider needs of society and state. With neo-liberalism backed by powerful business interests, policymakers had to find a way to reconcile these two conflicting viewpoints discursively. They did this by binding the concept of individuality to traditional notions of Japanese identity and national citizenship, creating a hybrid discourse that attempted to blur the fundamental difference in ideologies” (Rear 2011, abstract taken from ERIC database).
3) Teachers and students as subject and actors in educational reform in classrooms or informal learning settings. "Rather surprisingly, research on academic learning in Japan’s junior high and high schools is largely limited to studies of curriculum, learning environment, teaching and assessment. It is hard to find rigorous studies of how students themselves approach learning …" (Cave 2011, 253). It is still Rohlen (1983) with his “unflattering analysis” (ibid., 254) that “high school social studies provides an education that is dense, indeed encyclopaedic, in factual information, and introduces reasonably sophisticated ideas, yet ‘provides no intellectual roots and ‘turns out students long on information and short on intellectual understanding’” (Cave 2011, 253f., citing Rohlen). It is observed that students “are given little opportunity for critical analysis or imaginative expression either orally or in writing” (ibid.). In general, Asian students are supposed to favour rote learning. However, the significance of this assumption for the context of citizenship education has to be discussed carefully. Does this image just represent another kind of “orientalism” in Western educational philosophy which should be thoroughly reflected in comparative education studies? (Takayama 2011; Willis, Rappleye 2011). It is noted that an increasing number of young men can not free themselves from adolescence (Toda in Ikeno 2011, 165); moreover, the Board of Education reported that the contemporary youth has neither dreams for the future nor ideals, as well as lack of moral standards which could be the basis of their social behaviour or judgement of good and evil (ibid., 169). Japan faces a rising share of young people who do not manage the transition between school and employment smoothly. Do this observation and its interpretation still apply to the post-tsunami Japanese society? The future task is to connect research on the informal political and societal socialization of youth and teachers to culturally-informed citizenship education research. One example is given by Lin et al. (2010) when considering the civic uses of new media among youths aged between 12 and 17 in Hong Kong, Seoul, Singapore, Taipei, and Tokyo in 2007 (the so called "digital generation" which grew up with computers and the Internet). Another example is the case study by Damrow (2011) which is mapping a boy’s experiences of living and going to school in both the United States and Japan. The study makes use of the concept of communities of practice in order to examine those experiences at home, in the neighbourhood and at school as important social and cultural settings.
References


Kawanaka, Takako; Stigler, James W.; Hiebert, James. 1999. Studying Mathematics Classrooms in Germany, Japan and the United States: Lessons the challenges border-crossing children face as they navigate implicit and explicit expectations. The study examines how friendships are conceptualized and experienced in different ways in different contexts. The research also allows us to consider how the child at the center of the study experiences and interacts with educational processes across settings while offering a student's comparative analysis of American and Japanese elementary schooling. Navigating multiple different worlds fosters the development of valuable skills and flexible ways of thinking, but it also presents challenges and includes 'costs'. The study provides a fine-grained analysis of one kid's experience navigating multiple educational, social, and cultural transitions and allows us to see how a child exercises agency, develops competence and builds connections and relationships. Through identifying the processes of adjustment and authoring within contextual complexities, adults can learn to recognize and appreciate children's emerging identities within the ecological complexity of their lives. The study contributes to an understanding of how communities of educators, teacher educators, and researchers can better serve students as whole human beings by developing capacities to listen to children and discover their stories—from the inside-out. This study suggests that these stories are critical jumping off points for adults who influence the lives of children in classrooms and schools through their teaching, their research and their policies" (ERIC database).


Rappleye, Jeremy. 2012. Re-Contextualizing Foreign Influence in Japan’s


Appendix

Accosiations
JERASS Japanese Educational Research Association for the Social Studies
http://socialstudies.jp/ja/index.html

Japanese Association for Civic Education
http://www.soc.nii.ac.jp/civicedu/

Japanese Society for Life Environmental Studies and Integrated Studies

The Japanese Society of Environmental Education
http://www.jsoee.jp/

Japan Association for Global/International Education
http://www.kokusaiken.org/index-e.htm

WALS World Association of Lesson Studies
www.worldals.org; www.wals2011.com

JERA Japanese Educational Research Association
http://www.jera.jp/

Japanese Curriculum Research and Development Association
http://jcrda.jp/index.html

Journals
http://www7b.biglobe.ne.jp/~civicedu/backnumber.htm#_公民教育研究
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