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, the same as many democracies, has nowadays attracted much attention.   Lowering the voting age in 2015 has presented questions on citizen capability: e.g., 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 being strongly expected to democratically resolve the conflicts.   These current 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 extremely difficult to deal with.   Many theories on democracy, for instance, are emphasizing deliberation on social and policy issues whereas deliberation in classrooms, largely due to resource constraints on teachers and schools, is hardly regarded as a viable approach to citizenship education, especially, in Japan.   A way to provide citizenship education at school, thus, is deductively explored in this paper. Specifically given the Lasswellian view that policy analysis should contribute to improve the practices of democracy, this paper theoretically tackles how policy analysts are expected to be involved in citizenship education in Japan.*

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1.   Increasing Interest in Citizenship Education in Japan

Citizenship education has attracted much attention since a long time ago; philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle and Rousseau have dealt with education for citizenship.   Through various changes in political systems, thereafter, more importance has been attached to citizenship education around the world: e.g., the growth of nation states in the 18th and 19th centuries, 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 whereas struggling with issues of diversity and inclusion.   In those countries, thus, there has recently been renewal of concern for 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: i.e. the post-WW II democratization, recent lowering political participation and social and political impacts of globalization (Parmenter et al. 2008; Murphy-Shigematsu 2004).   Two current changes in Japanese political institutions and contexts, moreover, are worthy of note, which are creating a massive surge of interest in citizenship education (Matsuda 2017).   One is the 2015 amendment of the Public Offices Election Act which lowers the voting age from twenty to eighteen.   This reform has presented questions on citizen capability, particularly youth capability: e.g., what knowledge and skills are needed for political participation, and are young people equipped with such knowledge and skills?

The other change has occurred due to contemporary political movements referred to as counter-democracy in which civic demonstrations and activism abound within and across levels, from local to global.   Recent decades in Japan, the same as other democracies, have been characterized by such movements being more active and ubiquitous; recent highly-publicized demonstrations include, for instance, those against the government's stance toward post-earthquake nuclear energy policy and 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 being strongly expected to democratically resolve the conflicts.

How to help citizens acquire sufficient knowledge and skills and democratic dispositions, thus, is now 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 paper then intends to explore a way to provide citizenship education at school in Japan, through identifying one of the critical citizen capabilities for political participation today and taking into consideration resource constraints on teachers and schools in Japan.   Giving particular focus to the suggestions 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 here why this paper attends to school education and policy analysis for citizenship education studies.   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), in fact, showed the idea in 2016 that citizenship education should be provided not only by elementary, junior and senior high schools and universities; also crucial to the promotion of citizenship education is the contribution of kindergartens, families and communities.[1]   In Japanese society, however, more expectations are placed on school education, particularly secondary education, as shown in attitude surveys on

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[1] Available at
http://www.mext.go.jp/component/a_menu/education/detail/__icsFiles/afieldfile/2016/06/14/1372377_01_1.pdf
written in Japanese (last accessed on June 14, 2018).

citizenship education.[2] Citizenship education materials, moreover, have been developed for secondary education; the MIC (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications) and the MEXT, for instance, jointly published a supplementary teaching material for senior high school 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 paper concentrates on school education, particularly secondary education.

Second, this paper's focus on policy analysis derives from Lasswell's idea 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; the interaction between knowledge producers and users, specifically, is indispensable to improve the practices of democracy (vide also Torgerson 1985; Parsons 2002).   Knowledge users contain not only legislators and bureaucrats. Citizens are also expected to utilize policy knowledge in democratic policy process; policy analysts, hence, need to communicate with citizens to produce policy knowledge for the sake of democracy (Matsuda 2006b). This paper 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 involving citizenship education.

Aiming at scrutinizing the relationship between policy analysis and school citizenship education in Japan, this paper begins in the next (second) section with pointing out the crucial impacts of recent increasing diversity on democracy and emphasizes deliberation on social issues as an essential activity in contemporary democracy; then it is described that, despite the expectation to deliberation, citizenship education in Japan is now paying more attention to 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 learning deliberation, and takes a close look at how the model has been evaluated in the literature on citizenship education; it is thus demonstrated that the three of six elements of the Toulmin Model (viz., backing, rebuttal and qualifier) have been given less emphasis whereas they are crucial elements to promote 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; classroom deliberation facilitated only by teachers, then, is revealed as a hardly 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 would 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 through 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 which organizes contributions by various actors including policy analysts.

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[2] The Association for Promoting Fair Elections, for instance, conducted large-scale surveys on citizen attitude toward elections and citizenship education in 2010 and 2015.   The findings of the two surveys are available at 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).

2. Curriculum Emphasis in Citizenship Education in Japan

This section intends to illuminate the gap between what activity is essential to contemporary democracy under increasing diversity and what is being given 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 Japan. One of the counter-democratic movements that have attracted the most attention in Japan is a series of demonstrations against the 2015 enactment of the legislation aiming at expanding the role of Japan's self-defense forces overseas. Voices of participants in those demonstrations[4] can be divided into two categories (Matsuda 2017; Matsuda 2018). One group of voices opposed the legislation in terms of its contents; it was criticized as unconstitutional. The other focused on the process of legislation; they 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. Counter-democratic movements such as those in Japan, thus, have been carried out by citizens who feel underrepresented under existing institutionalized forms of democracy and have a distrust of the political systems; in this sense, far from 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 implies that there are more diverse views on policy issues and consequently more serious policy conflicts in society. What is crucial to deal with the diversity and confrontation is to address consensus building among conflicting individuals or groups. Counter-democracy could allow voices underrepresented under representative democracy to be more visible in policy processes; consequently, various conflicts underlying society are made more apparent. Unless such social conflicts are overcome in some way, however, counter-democracy might lead to social destabilization.

What implications the recent counter-democratic movements have for consensus building? It should be noted here that voting in elections cannot solve the conflicts emerging through counter-democracy. According to Urbinati (2011: 45, emphases in original), "[e]lections 'make' representatives but they do not 'make' representation; "they make," she continues, "make *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), to put it another way, an electoral result cannot give 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 other ways of consensus building than voting should be applied to deal with the increasing diversity and confrontation in society (Matsuda 2017). As one of such ways, today, much attention is being paid to "deliberation." Theories of deliberative democracy have stressed "preference transformation" through political deliberation (Richardson 1997; Tamura 2008); in the process of deliberation, specifically, an individual's preference is expected to be transformed to "reflective preference", which is described as opposite to unreflective and brute preference (Goodin 1993; Offe and Preuss 1991).[5] The process of deliberation and preference transformation deserves much emphasis since it could complement voting in elections; an individual is likely to face others' conflicting views and seek consensus through reflection and transformation of his/her perception.

The expected contribution of deliberation to consensus building suggests where citizenship education for contemporary democracy should place emphasis: the interaction with others,

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

[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."

preference transformation, and attitudes towards consensus in group decision making. Citizenship education, in this sense, is expected to produce deliberative citizens.

How is citizenship education, on the other hand, being offered in Japan? The rest 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 the surge of interest in school citizenship education. The surveys conducted by the MEXT[6] and the MIC[7] in 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 classes of citizenship education and students attending the classes both in senior and junior high schools.

Turning to educational curricula, one curriculum emphasis[8] can be found as common to many studies and practices of school citizenship education in Japan: the primary aim of citizenship education should be to develop citizens with the ability to form and express their own opinions on policy issues and 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 the views.

To attain this goal of citizenship education in Japan, particular educational methods are popularly utilized at school (Matsuda 2017). First, much 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 helps students be more actively involved in elections and more responsible for democratic governance (Hayashi 2014; Hayashi 2016; Tanaka et al. 2016). Second, arguments and practices of citizenship education in Japan are likely to stress classroom debate as an effective approach. Confronted with different views in a debate, students are expected to restructure their arguments to withstand any criticism; consequently, their ability of investigation, expression and presentation would be enhanced (Kuwayama 2014).

What implications could be derived from such citizenship education in Japan? First, voting in elections is a critical way of social choice. This method, however, cannot lead to solving a conflict, as mentioned above; 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 success and failure of arguments are measured by wins and losses. In such a game of debate, it is considerably difficult to reach agreement between students and, moreover, a game result is decided by third parties, not on the democratic basis (Mizuyama 2003; Yoshimura 2001).

The curriculum emphasis on *individual* opinion formation and *persuasion* in Japanese citizenship education is seen as far from education programs helping students be deliberative (Matsuda 2017). It is critically important to citizenship education under increasing diversity to facilitate students to transform 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

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[6] Available at
http://www.mext.go.jp/component/a_menu/education/detail/__icsFiles/afieldfile/2016/06/14/1372377_03_1.pdf
written in Japanese (last accessed on June 29, 2018).

[7] Available at http://www.soumu.go.jp/main_content/000403858.pdf , written in Japanese (last accessed on June 29, 2018)

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

concessions" (Nussbaum 2008: 349).[9]   Curricula of citizenship education, hence, need to place more emphasis on a deliberation-based approach; through compensating for the shortcomings of the two popular educational methods (viz., mock elections and debates), thus, deliberation in classrooms could contribute to establishing coexistence of and consensus among different views.

3.   Toulmin Model in 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 the approach. Specifically, this section takes a close look at the utilization and evaluation of the Toulmin Model in the citizenship education literature and identifies what factors need to receive more attention when advancing a deliberation-based approach.

Deliberation providing the basis for preference transformation is facilitated in classrooms by using a dialogue method (Hattori 2014; Hirata and Mochizuki 2014; vide also Driver et al. 2000). How can students have a dialogue with others?   In a process of dialogue, to put it another way, how can students structure their opinions?   One of the effective formats for structuring an argument is the Toulmin Model (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 as "dealing with multiple and conflicting objectives" (Landsbergen and Bozeman 1987: 636)[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), as shown in Figure 1.   The figure demonstrates not only policy-relevant data and policy claims contained in a particular argument; also does it illustrate the worldview, ideology and sense of values underlying the argument.   The Toulmin Model, to put it another way, desribes the process of reasoning and shows what an individual bases his/her argument on.

Applying the model to the aforementioned social conflicts coming with 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, the Toulmin Model could contribute to

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[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; vide also Nussbaum 2011).
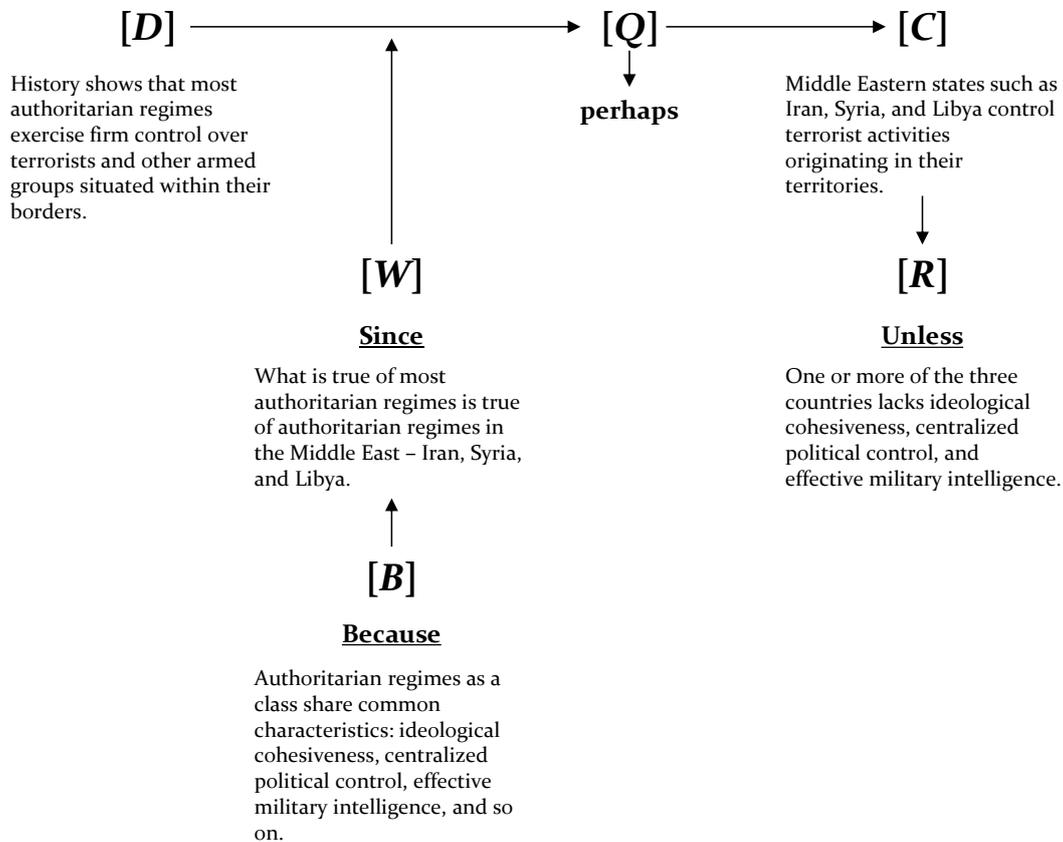
[10] Resting primarily on Matsuda (2005), the early part of this section overviews the Toulmin Model and describes its usefulness in public policy studies.

[11] As for the theoretical review of the Toulmin Model in Japan, vide e.g., Adachi (1984) and Matsuda (2012).

[12] These three elements parallel those of the classical syllogism.

deliberation on a social issue.

FIGURE 1.   SIX ELEMENTS OF THE TOULMIN MODEL

[D] ⟶ **[Q]** ⟶ **[C]**

perhaps

[W]

[R]

History shows that most
authoritarian regimes
exercise firm control over
terrorists and other armed
groups situated within their
borders.

Middle Eastern states such as
Iran, Syria, and Libya control
terrorist activities
originating in their
territories.

Since

Unless

What is true of most
authoritarian regimes is true
of authoritarian regimes in
the Middle East – Iran, Syria,
and Libya.

One or more of the three
countries lacks ideological
cohesiveness, centralized
political control, and
effective military intelligence.

[B]

Because

Authoritarian regimes as a
class share common
characteristics: ideological
cohesiveness, centralized
political control, effective
military intelligence, and so
on.

Source: Dunn (1994: 107).

What is implied here is that [B], [R] and [Q] are crucial to deliberation.   Under 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 on [R] (Matsuda 2012).

Given that the Toulmin Model is theoretically expected to promote deliberation, then, how has the model been utilized in school education?   Many scholars and practitioners in education, in fact, have applied the Toulmin Model to class activities; the focus here is on two kinds of classes.[13] First, this model is popular in teaching composition (Karbach 1987; Lunsford 2002; Warren 2010; Rex et al. 2010; Inoue 1989).   The model has been highly evaluated in various terms: e.g., its simplicity, completeness, applicability to most fields of arguments, and attention to audience and contexts (Karbach 1987; Lunsford 2002).   There has been, however, no or little direct reference to [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 (viz., [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;

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[13] The Toulmin Model has been employed also in science education, particularly education about science (Driver et al. 2000).

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 particularly [B] has received more attention than [R] and [Q] have. Obara (1991), for instance, emphasizes [B] as a critical feature of the Toulmin Model since this element is indispensable to make an argument in a situation where there is no single criterion of value judgement; to borrow Sanaga (2013)'s phrase, the model is suitable for critically reconsidering the universal rationalism of social studies instructions (vide also Mizuyama 2003). In the case study by Obara (1991), students were told to consider whether Japan should pursue economic growth, show their backings for their policy claims, and reconsider their argument structures including the backings; 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 mutual understanding through visualizing particularly [B], [R] and [Q]. In order to realize this expectation, however, it is necessary to develop conceptual understanding on each of the three elements; to put it another way, individuals need to be capable of comparing different worldviews, ideologies and situation perceptions and of finding an underlying common ground. Significantly critical to consider [B], for instance, would be philosophical knowledge and thinking (on economic growth or social welfare, in the aforementioned example). If one is to utilize [R] as a basis for compromise, then, it is imperative to deeply understand the argument including its conditions and limitations. In contemporary complex society, moreover, any argument must be just probabilistic; close attention, hence, should be paid to [Q].

The Toulmin Model, thus, can be a useful tool for students learning how to deliberate for consensus and collective decision whereas deliberation based on the model requires philosophical and scientific ways of thinking of students. How could such profound knowledge and skills be taught in school education (c.f., Saito 1981)? The following two sections tackle this question, through attending to the teachers' working environment, particularly, in Japan, and the expected contribution of policy analysts.

4. Teachers in Citizenship Education

One may say that a school teacher is the only 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; teachers themselves need to learn, and in this sense teacher training is critical to practice this approach (Driver et al. 2000; Sanaga 2013).

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

Nowadays, there have been numerous studies on teachers' working environment, which see teachers working under much pressure and suffering 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).[14]   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 much attention in various countries including Japan, and comparative research has been increasingly active into its mechanisms and outcomes (e.g., Galton and MacBeath 2008).

Turning to the case of Japan, school teachers are found working under exceptionally harsh conditions.   According to the 2013 results of the OECD Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS),[15] for instance, teachers in Japan report spending an average of 54 hours working per week, compared with 38 on average for TALIS 34 countries.   The survey conducted by the MEXT in 2016, moreover, reveals that Japanese teachers' average working hours have increased for several decades, regardless of types of job, and finds more than one in two junior high school teachers and approximately one in three elementary school teachers working for not less than 80 hours per month.[16]   In such a working environment, teachers in Japan are likely to be affected by burnout.[17]

One of the critical factors responsible for the difficult working environment and teacher burnout syndrome in Japan is the loose definition of functions of teachers in the School Education Act (Kitagami and Takagi 2007); teachers are defined just as civil servant engaging in education. This definition implies that how teachers should function depends on educational practices at school.   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; vide also Takagi and Tanaka 2003).   Focusing on junior high school, burden regrading extracurricular activities is now attracting much attention as a serious source of stress for teachers (Uchida 2017).

In addition to the loose definition of functions of teachers, the special rule regarding teacher salary matters (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., it is practically difficult to figure out how long a teacher works overtime; instead of paying overtime money, then, a fixed percent over base salary is paid to every teacher.   This salary system is now drawing severe criticism since it easily forces teachers to take on additional tasks.

One can say, thus, that school teachers in Japan are required to be generalists (Shintani and Makabe 2017); they should fulfill a wide variety of educational roles.   Recent educational reforms, however, emphasize a 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 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.

The call for teachers to be both generalists and specialists, consequently, leads to never-ending busyness of teachers; teachers do not have enough time to prepare for teaching subjects and then feel remorse due to the failure to fulfill expectations as teachers (Kitagami and Takagi 2007; Yufu 2014).   The teacher burnout could be more severe by the reform on moral education, in which moral education is conducted as a special subject at elementary and junior high school from 2018 and 2019 respectively.   Given that moral education as a subject requires teachers to fundamentally

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

[15] The TALIS asks teachers and school leaders about working conditions and learning environment at their schools to help countries identify others facing similar challenges and learn about their policies.   For the detailed data of 2013 survey, vide the TALIS website http://www.oecd.org/education/talis/ (last accessed on July 11, 2018).

[16] The brief summary and detailed description of this survey are available at http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/houdou/29/04/1385174.htm (last accessed on July 11, 2018).

[17] As for the review of literature on teacher burnout in Japan, vide Aikawa (1997) and Takagi and Kitagami (2007), for instance.

revise what to teach and take a close look at various kinds of student performances (Yamaguchi 2014; Yamaguchi 2017), this reform will make teachers work under more serious pressure.

As a way out of the quagmire, many working teachers emphasize the increase in the number of teachers (Miyashita 2009); however, this method is seen as viable in the recent fiscal difficulty.   A change has occurred, instead, in school personnel organization: more and more non-regular teachers have been actively 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 their burdensome task (Kaneko 2014; Kaneko 2018; Takano 2018).

Such recent working environment of teachers in Japan suggests that one should not consider a teacher as the only actor to teach students how to deliberate on social issues.   Teachers are likely to have much 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.   What implies here is that some supports are needed for a deliberation-based approach to school citizenship education.   The next section scrutinizes what support could be useful.

5.   Policy Analysts in Citizenship Education

The foregoing illustrates 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 school whereas considerable pressure under which teachers are working would hinder the successful performance of this task.   Based on the aforementioned Lasswellian view that policy analysis should contribute to improve 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"; to be brief, many regard policy analysis to take the form of policy recommendation.   Policy analysis as policy recommendation can be a useful tool for various individuals and groups; different individuals and groups tend to utilize different policy recommendations to justify their claims, in fact, particularly when social conflicts are more severe and movements of counter-democracy has been increasing and more active (Matsuda 2018).

Through the utilization of policy analysis in this way, however, no warring individuals and groups are urged to transform their preferences and to engage in deliberation.   If one is to expect policy analysis to promote deliberation and improve the practices of democracy, a different perspective to policy analysis needs to be taken: viz., emphasis on the distinctive process of policy analysis, rather than its product (policy recommendation).   This section thus turns to 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 any individuals to seek to understand and compare their and others' worldviews, ideologies and situation perceptions, which are represented by [B], [R] and [Q] in the Toulmin Model; these argumentation elements provide the basis for interpretation about a social issue.   These elements and interpretations are nowadays becoming increasingly different across individuals.   Such diversity is one of the critical factors that have 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: e.g., causes responsible for a social issue to be solved, and impacts of various policy instruments to solve the issue.   One cannot see, moreover, an existing situation as socially problematic or choose the best policy instrument unless he/she makes a normative judgement on the situation and each policy alternative.

Neither approach to policy analysis can avoid coping with diversity of interpretation.   In empirical research, on the one hand, policy analysts confront at least two kinds of uncertainty

(Matsuda 2006a). [18]   Contemporary complex society, first, impedes policy analysts from identifying impacts of each policy instrument; no analysts can accurately predict how each instrument will proceed after its adoption.

One may say that the recent development of analytical techniques has contributed to reduce this kind of uncertainty; prediction in many policy areas is now much more accurate than it used to be.   The empirical study of this kind, however, is usually designed to analyze and predict impacts of a certain policy instrument 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 today, policy impacts on each individual and his/her evaluation about them are far from certain (c.f., Stimson et al. 1994).

Such uncertainty that policy analysts face 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 behavioral patterns of each actor and/or each group of actors.   One problem here is that, under increasing diversity today, such assumptions are likely to vary more considerably among policy analysts than they used to do; different policy analysts formulate different hypotheses based on different assumptions and present different analysis results.   The difference in empirical analysis results, hence, does not necessarily derive from that in scientific methods of analysis; the diversity of policy analysts' subjective interpretations significantly matters in empirical policy analysis (Dunn 1994; Matsuda 2016). [19]

Normative research into public policy, on the other hand, is likely to come with a different kind of policy analysts' subjective interpretations (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 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; to put it another way, there is not always an agreement of value judgement about a certain policy issue and policy alternative.

The same holds true for interpreting empirical research findings.   In quantitative analysis, for instance, an effect of a certain independent variable on a dependent variable can be represented as a concrete value of coefficient.   The problem here is that the normative interpretation on 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, to put it another way, may depend on each analyst's value judgement (Yamada 2007).   The same policy claim, in many cases, is supported by different empirical research findings; a backing for each of the different findings (viz., each of the warrants) shows each analyst's subjective normative judgement.

Scientific and philosophical awareness of one's own underlying interpretation, whether empirical or normative, can be regarded to be contained in "meta-level knowledge" or "meta-knowledge."   Meta-level knowledge is "knowledge about knowledge" and, to be more concrete, "reflection involving explanation, analysis, and criticism of linguistic, socio-cultural and socio-political phenomena on all discourse oral and written."   Knowledge of this kind enables individuals to know what they know; to put it another way, this 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).

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[18] 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).

[19] Dunn (1994) illuminates this problem by referring to "subjective understanding."

Methodological and conceptual rigor that is required of policy analysis, in this sense, can contribute to constructing meta-level knowledge.

It follows from here that one of the vital roles assumed by policy analysts is to convey meta-level knowledge to students through citizenship education; policy analysts are expected to, through illustrating research assumptions and processes, explain 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 their worldviews, ideologies and situation perceptions underlying his/her policy claims ([B], [R] and [Q] in the Toulmin Model); consequently, he/she can successfully recognize his/her difference from others and be prepared for engaging in deliberation.

One question arises now: what is an effective way for policy analysts to show meta-level knowledge to 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 secondary education. A close look, hence, should be taken at the process of knowledge utilization. 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).[20] 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).[21]

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 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 at school education; what students feel and acquire through this kind of learning significantly depends on meta-level knowledge that students are taught in advance (Annette and McLaughlin 2005). Given that many policy analysts belong to a university, moreover, resources of universities could contribute to citizenship education. One example is university extension; universities could contribute to citizenship education through offering special introductory courses to individuals (particularly laypeople) who are not university students.[22] In addition to giving a lecture to students, furthermore, policy analysts can be involved in citizenship education by writing an introductory book or hornbook that is comprehensible to students at secondary education; 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; 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 to conduct citizenship education. The contribution of policy analysts includes not only policy recommendation; but also, more importantly, they are expected to explain the research assumptions and processes for a certain policy recommendation. Such involvement of policy analysts in citizenship education allows

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[20] Based on the concept of social marketing, Matsuda (2006b, 2007, 2008) theoretically explores the roles of policy analysts for knowledge utilization in policy process.

[21] This principle for knowledge utilization is referred to as "4*P*s" in Kotler and Zaltman (1972).

[22] 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 outside university to attend a formal class at university (Shannon and Schoenfeld 1965).

students to touch on some pieces of meta-level knowledge and better understand the recent increasing diversity; the learning of this kind could promote and improve classroom deliberation.

6.   Collaboration in Citizenship Education

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

The assertion of this paper can be associated with one of the ideas about citizens that Dahl (1992) presents.   Dahl (1992) introduces two ideas about what constitutes a citizen in democracy.[23] The first idea is that of the "good citizen" and makes strong demands on citizens; they should be highly concerned about public affairs, well-informed about issues and political actors, skillful enough to pursue their interests, and motivated by a desire to foster the general welfare (Dahl 1992: 46; Nie et al. 1996: 15).   The second idea – the idea of the "adequate citizen" – states that not every individual need to have such 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 paper's focus on secondary education and knowledge about ways of thinking, the role of policy analysts in citizenship education that is demonstrated in this paper 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 pieces of meta-level knowledge, not technical knowledge about policy contents.   If one is to further develop this paper's study, hence, its ultimate purpose should be to design the system of citizenship education targeting all individuals.   Two perspectives on the system design are referred to below.

First, as the foregoing suggests, close attention should be given to the collaboration among various actors.   If policy analysts are to deliver a lecture at school, for instance, then they have to ask teachers and educational institutions to revise a school calendar.   Government subsidies also would be needed to implement a new curriculum containing policy analysts' involvements. Turning to writing a hornbook, moreover, policy analysts need to seek the help of school teachers and textbook publishers.   The system design of citizenship education of this kind, therefore, entails taking into consideration various actors and constructing a network of those actors.

Second, relatedly but more importantly, the feasibility of a system should be examined.   A new system will place an additional burden on school teachers; they have to coordinate activity with policy analysts, for instance.   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 bases of concrete criteria today (Yufu 2014), what action will they take in designing such a new system of citizenship education?   Would students and their parents support the involvement of policy analysts in school education if they are highly anxious about the students' own personal career development? Unless these questions are carefully examined, neither teachers nor schools might willingly participate in the new system design.

The same holds true for policy analysts and universities.   Even if one expects policy analysts to

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[23] This paragraph briefing the two ideas about citizens relies on Matsuda (2014: 98).

contribute to citizenship education, as empirically revealed (Diesing 1991; Mitroff 1974), each analyst might care about his/her own personal achievements; he/she will not be willing to give a lecture in secondary education schools or write a hornbook.   Such an analyst might have incentive to engage in citizenship education if the key indicators of an analyst's performance include the contribution to citizenship education.   Universities also will be unenthusiastic about offering extension programs to develop adequate citizens as long as they emphasize commercial revenue (Matsuda 2014).[24]

It follows from here that each actor's behavior needs to be closely scrutinized if one is to design a feasible educational system for adequate citizens.   This task is so difficult to be accomplished that any individual's support is needed.   It is considerably hard to find factors that make each individual willingly involved in the system design; research into education for the design of citizenship education system, hence, is needed.   What is implied here is that studying the system design of citizenship education urges one to walk into such a labyrinth.   How and when can we find an exit of the labyrinth of citizenship education?

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[24] Employing an economic approach to university behavior in a competitive market, Masuda (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.

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