

**HOW CAN HISTORY LEARNING CONTRIBUTE TO CITIZENSHIP
EDUCATION IN DUAL SUBJECTS SYSTEM?
- CASE JAPAN -**

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1. Introduction - Challenges to Social Studies

Since Social Studies came into existence as a school subject in the Course of Study in 1947, citizenship education has been its main goal. Citizenship is regarded as the qualities needed in order to act as a citizen in the international community, such as awareness of being a maker of the peaceful and democratic state and society, and attitude and ability to respect each other's personality, to fulfill social obligations and responsibilities, to consider in various aspects and to make fair judgements.¹

However, the partial revision of the Course of Study in 2015 has introduced a dual subjects system adding a new subject responsible for citizenship education, which is called a special subject Morality. To be precise, Morality as an education area had been existing since the Course of Study's revision in 1955. But it had been a minor presence as it didn't had a status of subject, that is taught by professional teachers, and it had only one hour per week in timetable, which was often transferred to other activities. By making Morality a subject, the phrase "as the foundation to live better" was added to its goal of cultivating morality, which made the nature of the moral education clearer. The meaning of this change is explained in the commentary on the history of this Course of Study's revision as follows; In the society in which globalization progresses, and science and technology develop, the new subject Morality is expected to foster ethics, abilities in dialogue, cooperation and judgement,

¹Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science & Technology Course of Study for Elementary School: Social Studies, 2008, p14.

and practical motivation necessary for a maker of the society.² It's quite obvious, that these qualities overlap in many parts with the contents of citizenship, that is expected to be cultivated in Social Studies.

About the contents of Morality, the order of the four columns and the interpretations of the moral values included in each column have changed slightly, but there is no big change as a whole. The four columns are "mainly about myself", "mainly about relation with others", "mainly about relation with groups and society" and "mainly about relation with life, nature and something sublime". Each column overlaps with learning in Social Studies, especially the third column "mainly about relation with groups and society" does. The difference between Morality and Social Studies is, that the former focuses on thinking how to live as an individual, and the latter gives weight to knowing about social systems not only in the current home country, but also in the past, and in other countries.

On the condition of these different roles of Morality and Social Studies, and also of their placement to grades, how can history learning contribute to citizenship education? After confirming the position of history learning in schools in Japan, some theories of history learning and their implication of citizenship education will be investigated in the following sections.

2. Position of citizenship education and history learning in Japanese schools

History learning is implemented as a field of Social Studies in elementary and junior high school, and as a sub-subject of Geography-History in senior high school.

In elementary school. Social Studies is an integrated subject, and the 6th grade students do a "chronological and complete Japanese history learning". That means, the contents of history learning are organized as from Antiquity through Middle Ages

² Ibid, pp1-2.

till Modern Times, and politics, economy and culture for each era. Junior high school has a more detailed "chronological and complete Japanese history learning" taking into account the world-historical background through the 7th and 8th grade. And there are "world history" and "Japanese history" in senior high school, as sub-subjects of Geography-History, which are taught in "chronological and complete" style each.

Until the 1989 revision of the Course of Study, there had been Social Studies in senior high school, too. Although the subjects organization had been changed, there had been a "world history" and a "Japanese history" in "chronological and complete style" as sub-subjects of Social Studies, except for the occupation period after WWII. And by the 1989 revision, "world history" and "Japanese history" became sub-subjects of Geography-History, which doesn't contain "citizenship" in its goals, but "awareness and competence needed for Japanese". That's why Geography-History is not really regarded as a subject, that implements citizenship education.

Since 1955 revision, Morality has been existing as an educational area in elementary and junior high school. And by 2015 partial revision, it became a special subject, but it continues to be implemented only in elementary and junior high school. Senior high school has "ethics" as sub-subject of Civics, that is expected to carry out moral education as well.

3. Traditional theories of citizenship education in history learning and their problems

The core idea of the traditional theories of citizenship education in history learning was, that students should know the whole flow of history correctly, because it points out the future of the society and the way of life in it. There are two kinds of such traditional theories. The one is based on so called "empire view of history", and the most famous theoretician is Sokichi Tsuda. Tsuda's theory of history learning is regarded as the one, that is supported firmly by political right wingers, and as a prime

mover of dissolving Social Studies in senior high school by 1989 revision. The other one is a marxism theory of history learning. This had been proposed by some nongovernmental organizations for decades after WWII. After the collapse of Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, it has been supported by less people openly, but probably still by political left wingers.

According to Tsuda, the main learning subjects are historical persons and their acts. Students concretely understand, what the persons did, what kinds of incidents they caused and what kinds of situations resulted from it. Accumulating this kind of understanding makes it possible, that "students recognize the process, how the Japanese people maintained the living conditions inherited from the previous and made new situations giving changes in each period of the past, with what kinds of mentality, knowledge and act, which reached today through the years and made current situations." And this is the purpose of history learning for him. History is considered not as changing process in a straight line, but as a thing like matryoshika doll. The life of people of the former era makes the base of the life of the next era. Save and change occur in this framework, that is spread and inherited by the next era's people. Tsuda thinks, history develops in this matryoshika doll way, and therefore the things, that existed in the starting point, when the history of our country began, have been kept until today. This means in particular, that "we were politically united by the imperial family, that came from our interior, and became a nation, and that it continues until today, although there were a lot of big changes in the political system, social organizations and daily lives." And as this view of history is adopted, history learning should make students "recognize the historical origin" of Japanese people's life, that is a "nation with permanence". And "unification of the nation by the imperial family" as the whole flow of history should indicate a continuation of

"unification of the nation by the imperial family", and the necessity to gain the attitude of respecting the imperial family, that is needed for a member of the country.³

In the marxism history learning theory, the main subjects of learning are productive force and relations of production of each era. Students should learn, that if productive force develops and become inconsistent with the relations of production, the latter will change in order to fit to the new productive force. Accumulating this kind of understanding, they recognize, that the human history progresses through "the stages of development as primitive communism, ancient slavery, feudalism, capitalism, socialism and communism". One of the important goals of history learning is to know this "historical law". Another important goal is, to be able to foresee the coming society and choose the way of life suitable to it. The direction of history's development is already decided, and if the science has made it clear, the coming society and era can be drawn on its extension. That means, history points out, how we should act and what kind of society we should build. If we are living in a capitalistic society, we are going to have a socialistic one next. In order that the current society will change in that direction, its members are expected to contribute for developing productive force, and to gain socialistic sense as well.⁴

These two theories of history learning have different ideas about whole flow of history, but both of them are similar in terms of trying to make students gain an insight into the coming society and the way of life in it, by teaching a certain whole flow of history. And this has to be considered as a wrong citizenship education. A whole flow of history is not a historical fact, but a way of watching, which is projected on the past from a certain position of values, and therefore it doesn't directly point out what the next society is going to be. It's us, people living now,

³ Ikeno, Norio, Problems of the argument over independent history education on "positivistic history" - criticism of theory of history education by Sokichi Tsuda – in: Social Studies Research Collection, vol. 34, pp89-99, 1986, pp95-97.

⁴ Moriwake, Takaharu, Theory and methods of Social Studies lesson's construction, Meiji-tosho, 1978, pp73-74.

instead, who discuss and decide together what kind of society should be the next, and determine individually how to live in it, considering its systems and rules.

4. New theories of history learning for citizenship education

Theories of history learning for citizenship education, which can overcome the problems of those traditional ones, have been raised. "History learning in reflecting on norms" and "critical history learning" are two of the new types.

- Theory of history learning in reflecting on norms

Theory of history learning in reflecting on norms, which aims at understanding the norms in the modern society, and its social order and problems as well, is raised by Umezu Masami. Norms should be reflected on, in order to be aware, that they make the normal and common attitudes, sort out the acts and persons deviate to them, and constructs discriminations in this way.

Umezu starts from the recognition, that the modern society is "a society, in which social relations continually break up". In this kind of society, multiple norms battle with each other, and certain ones will be accepted by the majority and become the common sense, which gives the opportunity for finding out and sorting out a minority acting abnormally, who becomes a target of correction or elimination. In the schools by now, norms have been regarded as "the given way of behaving to be followed by the members of the country and society", and implanted into students' mind together with concrete attitudes, not only through Morality but also Social Studies inclusive of history learning. This kind of education can not train students to be able to recognize, that social discrimination and elimination are produced in complicated forms every day by the act of norms. Students should obtain an "ability of reflecting on norms", in order to live in "a society, in which social relations continually break up".⁵

⁵ Umezu, Masami, Developing a history lesson aiming to foster reflective thinking ability: developing the unit "molded japanese nationals: norms of modern urban community and the mass society". In: Journal of Educational Research on Social Studies, vol73, pp1-10, 2010, p2.

The recognitions, that will be got through history learning in reflecting on norms, consists of five elements; "narrations of norms", "interaction over narrations of norms", "characteristics and background of the society, in which norms are narrated", "formation of order" and "construction of social problems". And the basic learning process is: "1. stage for decoding narrations of norms in a certain era", "2. stage for analyzing formation of social order by act of norms, connected with the social structure and system of the era", "3. stage for critically investigating social relations made by norms and social problems resulted from them" and "4. stage for reflecting on the norms and re-coursing the students' acts by students themselves. Umezu, on the base of this theory, developed a history learning unit "Being formed <Japanese nation>: norms in modern city and mass society". The knowledges and recognitions to be gained are as follows: ⁶

1. In the era of Taisho and at the beginning of Showa (around 1912 to 1920s), the norms of gender roles, labor, health, study, family connected by love, time discipline etc. were produced as multiple narrations mainly in large cities like Tokyo.
2. In this period of Taisho and the beginning of Showa, the Japanese society changed on a large scale, where industrial revolution (industrialization), metropolitan development, emergence of the consumer society, growth of salaried workers layer (new middle of the city) etc. were observed.
3. In the change of the era, the norms of urban life were spread by government, companies, industries, schools, mass media etc. Those norms were accepted mainly by the public, whose core is salaried workers layer and their family, accompanying contradiction, confrontation or conflict, and fixed and maintained in the society, and gave an order to the society, because the public voluntarily practiced the way of life and act suitable for the norms.

⁶ Ibid, pp3-5.

4. People, being on the basis of the norms of urban life, became "the Japanese nation" suitable for modern country.
5. The norms of urban life of the era classified "the Japanese nation" into ordinary and special persons, elegant and vulgar persons, useful and useless persons and so on, and produced relations with imbalanced powers among people.
6. People's daily behavior and interaction based on the norms of the era unexpectedly produced minorities, that were discriminated and eliminated.

According to Umezu's theory, fostering the ability of reflecting on norms is a goal of history learning. And regarding this goal, he states, that it is "an important goal especially for the learning about modern history, where the process, that the norms of the modern country and civilization produce its "nation", appears conspicuously." This statement could be considered as valid, if history learning should give weight on understanding of the establishment of the norms, that prescribe the current society indeed, and the social order and problems as well. But if norms, that possibly prescribe the society in the future, should also be learned in order to prepare for the future life, then older eras and foreign countries' history should be considered as learning subjects as well. In this meaning, Umezu's theory[^] should be modified with a longer and wider range.

Through learning history in reflecting on norms, students would get the awareness of the problem, that they can "become an accomplice in discrimination at any time" indeed. Then, what should they do as a citizen in a society, where the existing norms form a social order and produce certain social problems? In other words, what does Umezu mean with "ability to reflect on one's own acts as a possible accomplice, and to reconstruct them", which he thinks the students should get through history learning? Isn't it an ability to relativize the existing norms, or to choose other norms, in order to form a new system or policy, that can solve the social problems, or to modify the current system or policy in this direction? If the students are expected to

obtain this kind of ability, Umezu's theory of history learning can not be considered as effective enough.

2) Theory of critical history learning

History learning, that not only reflects on norms, but also reconstructs them, and on top of that, reconstructs not only norms, but also beliefs, that individuals have internalized, and political acts and systems as externalization of beliefs and norms as well, is proposed by Ikeno Norio.

He claims, that the whole Social Studies learning inclusive of history learning should offer the students the opportunities for reflective inquiry into social system and ideals to investigate the reasons of their existence and to search for better one. That means, cultivating the base of ability to make society is the purpose of Social Studies learning. The reason is, that one, who lives in the modern society, needs a power to resist reification.⁷

The modern society is a democratic society, where its members make various aspects of it in various forms. Although they do it by themselves, those aspects appear as certain systems and order to them, just as they have been made. The society members have no other choice than to accept them. The society is something made by people, but appear as an objective reality. This kind of phenomenon is called "reification". Usually money and products in the economic field are given as common examples, but might and state in the political field and family in the social field are also examples of reification. All of the things, that we think exist as something "natural" and objective in the society, are result of a reification. Making society is implemented in beliefs as individual's inside and in norms immanent in the society, and in acts as individual's outside and in system and order of the society. Reification occurs also in

⁷ Ikeno, Norio et al., Development of history lessons to raise the citizens of modern democratic society. In: Research Result Report under Grants-inAid for Scientific Research, 2004, p91.

these two sides. Beliefs and norms, and acts and system/order, these are reinficated, become something "natural", and oppress us individuals. In order to live as an autonomous citizen, we need an ability to replace the reinficated beliefs and norms, and the reinficated acts and system/order into the process of making society, and remake them into something we can satisfy with.⁸

Being based on this idea, Ikeno brings up four types of Social Studies learning: A. making society in beliefs as individual's inside, B. making society in acts as individual's outside, C. making society in norms immanent in the society, and D. making society in system and order of the society.⁹

And he developed some history learning units on the basis of type A. One of them is a unit for world history "Is it allowed to use force?". The unit's goals and the outline of the learning process are as follows:¹⁰

The unit's goals

1. Students can question their own belief like "It's allowed to use force", "It is not allowed to use force" etc.
2. Students realize the three frameworks on using force, or three beliefs in using force, and recognize, that they can analyze conflicts in the world community using these frameworks.
3. Students analyze a concrete example, using force by USA against Afghanistan, where these beliefs confront with each other, investigate facts supporting those beliefs and logics used to justify them, and organize the facts and logics using Toulmin's schema.
4. Students make their belief clear and reflect-able using Toulmin's schema, in order to be able to reconstruct their belief and act on the basis of it.

⁸ Ibid, p94.

⁹ Ibid, p93.

¹⁰ Ibid, pp195-196.

The outline of the learning process

Introduction: bringing up problems and making beliefs clear

Stage I: analyzing the idea of Belief 1 <exercise the right of individual self-defense>

Stage II: analyzing the idea of Belief 2 <exercise the right of collective self-defense>

Stage III: analyzing the idea of Belief 3 <refuse using force>

Conclusion: examination and reconstruction of own belief

And the knowledges and recognitions to be gained are as follows: ¹¹

1. People with the belief, that USA has to attack Afghanistan by itself, think, that a country has the right to exercise individual defense, if its people's interests and life have been threatened by unilateral attack from the other countries. This is a way of thinking, that gives the top priority to national security.
2. Pearl Harbor is an example of the cases, that a country exercised individual self-defense, because its people's interests and life were threatened by unilateral attack.
3. People with the belief, that USA has to attack Afghanistan not by itself, but in cooperation with allies, under approval of the international community, think as follows: 1. Every country has the right to use force collectively, if the unilateral attack is a problem, that influences many countries in the world. 2. Using force individually can lead to a country's excessive behavior, or to a situation of "bellum omnium contra omnes" through a chain of retaliations, and both of cases are international problems. That's why a country should use force within a collective order. This is a way of thinking, that gives the top priority to international security.
4. Gulf War is an example of the cases, that the collective self-defense was exercised under approval of the UN, in order to maintain the whole world's interests, and to avoid the situation of "bellum omnium contra omnes".
5. People with the belief, that none of the countries inclusive of USA should not use force against Afghanistan, think, that using force, in whatever way it's implemented, kill people, and lead to a chain of retaliations and to a loss of many

¹¹ Ibid, p198.

human lives. This is a way of thinking, that gives the top priority to respect for human life (human life's security).

6. Cuban Crisis is one of the cases, that using force was avoided, although there was a unilateral threat or attack from other countries.

As above, the world history learning unit "Is it allowed to use force?" makes its learning subject from USA's attack against Afghanistan, aiming that the students recognize the three beliefs over using force, belief giving the top priority to national security and approving of exercising individual self-defense right, belief giving the top priority to international security and approving of exercising collective self-defense right, and belief giving the top priority to human life's security and approving of refusing using force, and that the students reconstruct their own belief on the basis of those.

Understanding the three beliefs over use of force and reconstruction of own belief on the basis of those are what are directly aimed at in this unit. And USA's attack against Afghanistan is used as a concrete material to investigate those three beliefs. From this point, it would be not very far to where USA's national defense system, and the norms, that are behind it, are investigated and reconstructed by the students. This simple assumption would indicate, that the four types of history learning probably should not separately realized into lessons, but they should be applied in close cooperation, or in integration if possible. In this way, it would be possible for the students to investigate not only the three beliefs, but also the norms, that are supported by various persons with one of the beliefs, and the national defense system, that is established on the basis of the majority's belief and norm, and to reconstruct their own country's defense system. For example, the Self-Defense Forces of Japan, in which the norm of limiting using force to exercising individual self-defense right has been supported by the majority, the Forces of USA supported by the majority's norm, that allows exercising collective self-defense right, and small countries like the Vatican, that don't have their forces because of the norm, that is negative toward

using force, could be dealt with in the lesson. Students can know the backgrounds and processes of establishing these systems, investigating the conditions, that make them possible, and reconstruct their own country's national defense system. Four types in cooperation or integration could realize history learning for citizenship education in a more rich way.

5. Problems to be solved

How should history learning be put into citizenship education in dual subjects system? If the theory of critical history learning by Ikeno can be considered as valid and effective, how should it be applied? It depends on how to treat the four terms of belief, norm, act and system/order. They can be classified into two pairs. Belief and act are something individual, while norm and system/order are something collective. Acts are appearances of beliefs, and system/order is made on the basis of the norms supported by the society's majority. In this meaning, the individual and collective pairs of the terms could be separately treated. On the other hand, both pairs are also closely connected with each other in real processes in the society. Norms are collective beliefs, that are kept in mind and expressed by the majority, and system/order is something, that was produced in order that certain acts can be implemented or prohibited stably. In this point of view, all of the four terms should be treated in integration. According to the two different ideas about their treatment, there are two possibilities of application of Ikeno's theory of citizenship education.

1. All of the four types are applied only for history learning in Social Studies
2. Type C and D for history learning in Social Studies, and A and B for Morality

Considering the characteristics of the two subjects, the second option seems to be appropriate. The subject Morality gives importance to thinking about the way of individual life. In the column "mainly about relation with groups and society", for example, the learning subjects are the beliefs as ways of individual life like law-abiding spirit, sense of public morality, fairness, equity, social justice. Applying Type A and B for Morality, students can investigate those beliefs, and corresponding acts

as well, and recognize, that these are reinficated and should be replaced into a process of making society. And Type C and D are applied for history learning in Social Studies, and students can learn to replace the reinficated norms and system/order into a process of making society, and to remake them into something they can satisfy with.

However, if the teacher licensing and training system is taken into consideration, the first option would be preferred. The number of units available for Morality at the university is not enough to train the students for constructing history learning based on any theory. And besides, Morality is a special subject and not taught by professional teachers, but by homeroom teachers, even in junior high schools. On the other hand, there are much more units available for training over Social Studies in junior high school, so the students could get more professional instructions about the theory of critical history learning and the way of its realizing into lessons, investigating the characteristics and problems of the traditional and other types of theories inclusive of Umezu's theory of history learning. In this case, a fundamental question would be raised: Is the dual subjects system necessary and appropriate for citizenship education at all?

In any of the cases above, the "chronological and complete" contents organization should be reconsidered, whether it should be replaced with a thematic organization of various beliefs and norms, acts and systems/orders, if history learning should contribute to citizenship education more effectively.