Exploring English and Japanese teachers' views on citizenship, civic education, and citizenship experience

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Abstract

This thesis compares Japanese and English civic education teachers' views on citizenship and their pedagogical approaches to explore cross-national differences in their visions and challenges they face as civic educators. Previous research on teachers' perceptions of citizenship indicate that teachers predominantly support personally responsible citizenship, rather than justice-oriented citizenship. This means that the civic education which young people receive at schools tends to put emphasis on being a responsible law-abiding citizen, rather than making changes to address structural inequality. Previously, the majority of research in this area has concerned pre-service teachers or in-service teachers, regardless of whether they have expertise in citizenship. Therefore, further research could be beneficial through expert teachers' views, which are suggested to support civic education to empower young people to become active agents of social change. In addition to teachers' views on citizenship and civic education pedagogy, I also explore how teachers' life experience informs their views and pedagogical approaches to civic education. I interviewed twenty expert teachers of civic education in total, nine English teachers and eleven Japanese teachers. The rationale to focus on expert teachers is that they are more able to discuss their visions and challenges to bring about transformative civic education aimed at fostering justice-oriented citizenship. In addition, the comparison between England and Japan (which have distinct socio-political contexts but a shared concern about young people's political disengagement) is insightful in order to explore different meanings of citizenship and approaches to civic education. Findings illustrate that participating teachers supported justice-oriented citizenship, and in facing their challenges when delivering civic education they hoped to enable young people to make positive changes in society. This study highlights benefits that have the potential to inform education practitioners and policy makers about transformative civic education.

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Author's declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for a degree or other qualification at this University or elsewhere. All sources are acknowledged as references.

I also indicate that parts of this research will be presented in the following publications which are in press as of today:

> Hosoda, C. (2024). Active citizenship in Japan: How do Japanese citizenship teachers perceive participation in society?. *Citizenship Teaching and Learning* Volume 19, issue 2.
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1 Introduction

This thesis compares English and Japanese teachers' views on citizenship, their pedagogical approaches to civic education, and their life experiences. Teachers make instructional decisions that have influence on the civic education young people receive at school. Hence, it is worth exploring a possible link between teachers' views on citizenship, civic education, and possible factors that inform their views, such as their own life experience. Weinberg (2020) suggests teachers with expertise in civic education teaching tend to support transformative, justice-oriented citizenship. Therefore, it is probable that expert teachers tend to be critical, transformative educators who encourage young people to make a difference. While Evans (2006) focused on expert civic educators in England and Canada, civic educators with expert knowledge have rarely been focused in previous research. For this reason, I interviewed expert civic education teachers in order to understand their visions for citizenship, as well as the challenges they face as civic educators. Scholars often mention a possibility that teachers' own personal experience informs their perception of citizenship and pedagogical approaches, however, this connection is also often inconclusive or not fully explored (Evans, 2006; Dejaeghere, 2008; Zembylas et al., 2015). Thus, this study explores a possible link between teachers' life experiences and their views on citizenship. In addition, the findings from this study offer ways in which to comprehend different meanings of citizenship, and cross-cultural approaches to civic education by comparing interview data between English and Japanese teachers.

I have developed my research interest in civic education through my own life experience and academic career. My interest in civic education has been influenced by my work as a secondary school and university teacher in Japan. While this experience has further strengthened my beliefs in the importance of civic education and its ability to empower young people to address inequalities, it also highlighted existing challenges and missed opportunities of civic education. For example, the limited opportunities for young people to challenge assumed social norms and to address structural inequality. It is often the case that high schools focus on teaching content relevant to exams, as they prioritise the number of graduates who obtain places at prestigious universities. Furthermore, as a teacher I experienced constraints of time, both when teaching at universities and public high schools. This made me curious about the extent that teachers, (particularly civic education teachers) have power to exercise their agency and organise their lessons based on their own visions, what the potential obstacles are, and how they develop their views on citizenship and civic education. My emphasis on civic education's potential to empower young people comes from my experience of completing a Masters in Human Rights Law. During my studies, I realised that human rights treaties have important provisions to bring about social justice and empowerment for individuals to secure their rights. Combined with my teacher training during undergraduate study in Japan, my master's degree in human rights law has developed my view that education has the potential to empower young people to act on their own views, express their opinions on the matters which affect them, and participate in decision-making process. My belief in human rights also informs the aim of this study, which is to explore teachers' views and their pedagogical approaches that influence the potential of civic education to empower young people.

At the beginning of this thesis, the aim of this chapter is to provide definitions for key terms and explain the rationale of this research. I start with providing a definition of citizenship in this study and explaining the difference between citizenship education and civic education. I also explain why I refer to civic education throughout this thesis. I then illustrate the rationale for this study and the comparison between English and Japanese teachers' views. The rationale for this research is that civic educators have an important role in empowering young people to participate in society and interpreting the civic education curriculum in their pedagogical approaches. In addition, the comparative approach in this study contributes to understanding contextual differences in teachers' views on citizenship and civic education. This chapter also briefly illustrates my philosophical and political views as a researcher which informed research design and my understanding of concepts relevant to citizenship. The research design is based on my social constructionist view that there are diverse views among individuals with regard to citizenship and civic education. I acknowledge that there is also influence from my own political views in this research, hence this chapter illustrates how I conceptualise citizenship by illustrating my understanding of such concepts as participation, democracy, and social justice. In order to understand the socio-political and cultural contexts which inform teachers' views, the last section of this chapter discusses citizenship and civic education in English and Japanese society.

1.1 Definitions

1.1.1 National Citizenship and global citizenship

In this thesis, 'citizenship' primarily means national citizenship, as I mainly look at participating teachers' views as citizens of English or Japanese society. National citizenship is often identified with common attributes such as national language or identity (David, 1993; McCowan, 2009). While a sense of belonging to the nation based on shared history, culture, or values is an important part of citizenship, it also has the potential risk of excluding certain groups of individuals by creating social positions such as class, ethnicity, and gender etc. (Osler & Starkey, 2001, 2005; Yuval-Davis, 1997). This potential risk exists in both English and Japanese contexts. With regard to England, some scholars' views are that the Britishness promoted in political discourse leads to assimilation of minority populations, rather than supporting co-existence of diverse communities, and calls for British values instead of an international community based on human rights principles (Maylor, 2016; Osler, 2009). As for citizenship in Japan, it is worth noting that there is also a population which is historically positioned as less than citizens which makes them outcast. Those people were called *Burakumin* in the Edo period (1603-1868) and lived in segregated areas. The outcast status was abolished in 1871, but nevertheless, descendants of the Burakumin are a 'non-ethnically different minority' in Japan, and still reside in *Buraku* areas often engaging in their traditional occupations such as construction work, work in the meat industry, or unskilled labour (Cangià, 2012, p. 361). Cangià (2012) notes that Burakumin people today still face various forms of discrimination in their access to education and housing, and their employment and marriage.

Teachers' views on citizenship may vary in terms of their awareness of social injustice (which may for example, involve the aforementioned issues of exclusion and discrimination). It is probable that those who are aligned with maximal, justice-oriented citizenship are more likely to view citizenship not only in terms of legal status of a national citizen, but also in plural senses. They also tend to have more awareness of social injustice, such as discrimination, compared to those who are oriented toward minimal, personally responsible citizenship. In this study, possibly due to the influence of the Prevent strategy's requirement for schools to teach Fundamental British Values, some of my participants talked about British values. I will now briefly explain the terminology I use, specifically British values and Fundamental British values, in order to make subsequent discussion coherent. FBV is a requirement from the Prevent strategy. I use the term 'British value' to mean identity, culture, or social values that participants in this study explicitly see as British. In order to comprehend my interview data with English teachers, I draw on scholars' definitions of British values, as well as relevant findings on teachers' and young people's views on Britishness. Some of the Japanese teachers also mentioned issues of discrimination against *Burakumin* people during their interviews. In addition to the aforementioned information about outcast citizens, *the Burakumin* people, a brief explanation of context also accompanies excerpts from interviews presented in the findings chapters.

In addition, I also acknowledge that citizenship can be recognised with global scope, as several scholars ground the concept of global citizenship in the context of globalisation. Philippou et al (2009) express that citizenship is not confined to local and national contexts, but goes beyond that to include the global sense. Research findings from survey data with young people aged 10-18 in Leicester presents a possible limitation of education for national citizenship (Osler & Starkey, 2003). For this reason, Osler and Starkey (2003, p. 252) suggest a concept of cosmopolitan citizenship that helps understand the sense of global community as 'common humanity and a sense of solidarity with others.' As some of the participants mentioned global citizenship which corresponds with the concept of cosmopolitan citizenship, I draw on cosmopolitan citizenship to define global citizenship in this study. The concept of cosmopolitan citizenship potentially challenges the nationalistic conception of citizenship (Starkey, 2012, p. 25). Nevertheless, Starkey (2012) also emphasises that cosmopolitan citizenship does not mean denying national citizenship, but instead concerns making a link between one's immediate surroundings, national contexts, and global contexts.

Participating teachers in this study were also aware of the challenges to foster minds and attitudes that generate global citizenship. Part of the findings presented in Chapters 5-8 address obstacles that global citizenship participating teachers find in English and Japanese societies.

1.1.2 Citizenship education and civic education

The use of the terms 'citizenship education' and 'civic education' require explanation, as these two connote different meanings. 'Citizenship education' has broader meaning, as Crick (2002, p. 333) argues that citizenship is not only about understanding political parties and pressure groups but also knowledge and skills for effective participation in civil society. Kerr (2000) explains that citizenship education includes learning both within and outside of the classroom. Citizenship education encourages investigation-based learning through which students acquire awareness of diverse interests held by different groups in society and rights and responsibilities of citizens (Kerr, 2000). On the other hand, 'civics education' mainly concerns formal education programmes aimed at the acquisition of knowledge of national history, government systems, and constitution (Kerr, 2000). Morris and Cogan (2001, p. 119) also present a similar view that citizenship education is to promote 'participation' through 'active engagement', while civic education is to build knowledge.

Other scholars (Cohen, 2019a, 2019b; Hahn, 2016; McCowan, 2009) point out the ambiguity of these two terms. Cohen (2017) maintains that one can commonly see that these two terms are often applied indiscriminately in literature. McCowan (2009) also notes that citizenship and civic education are not always explicitly distinguished. For this reason, scholars make their decision to use either of these terms depending on their research purposes. For instance, Kerr (2000) uses citizenship education because the study focuses on 'Citizenship' in the English National Curriculum. McCowan (2009, p. 21) prefers citizenship education based on the understanding that it includes 'any education that addresses the individual as a member of a polity.' Cohen (2017) sees civic education as more suitable because it is the most common in the data examined in the study. Some use the two terms synonymously for comparative studies due to the different connotations of these terms in different countries (Hahn, 2016), while others develop a term 'citizenship and civic education' (CCE) that refers to both (Cohen, 2019b).

In terms of the definition discussed by Kerr (2000), the context of this study is within ‘civic education’ as the focus is mainly on formal education. This study aims to illustrate teachers’ views on the concept of citizenship and their pedagogical approaches used to teach the formal curriculum at secondary schools in England and Japan. For this reason and for the readability of the thesis, I refer to civic education rather than citizenship education. However, it is to be noted that this does not mean my definition of civic education excludes such learning activities as student-led extra-curricular or voluntary activities outside the classroom. In fact, some scholars see the terms of civic and citizenship education as irregular, and accept that there is not a clear boundary (Cohen, 2017; McCowan, 2009). Although I use civic education throughout this thesis, my definition includes different approaches which range from imparting knowledge from teachers, to more student-led learning. This different orientation of civic education will be discussed with regard to the theoretical framework of this study (Chapter 3). In addition, in terms of curriculum, I differentiate civic education in England and Japan by using citizenship for England and civics for Japan. As in Hahn’s (2016) approach, this is due to the contextual difference that civic education is called citizenship in the National Curriculum of England, while it is civics in the Japanese curriculum.

1.2 Rationale, aim and research questions

Teachers play an important role in the civic education young people experience at schools, as McCowan (2009) sees teachers’ views influence on classroom practice and students’ learning. Critically committed teachers encourage young people to be transformative citizens who can make the society more just and equitable (Black, 2015, p. 385). However, Black (2015) (who interviewed Australian high school teachers) is aware of teachers’ struggles, such as negotiating their vision of citizenship within schools’ hegemonic structures. Teachers, especially those who are critically committed, are likely to face the similar challenge, as studies across countries report pedagogical approaches linked to personally responsible citizenship are more common than justice-oriented citizenship (Fry & O’Brien, 2015; Marri et al., 2013). This also seems to be the case in England and Japanese contexts. For instance, Brooks (2013) reports that policy documents in the UK construct young citizens as ‘dutiful’ rather than critical citizens who question and voice their concerns to secure their rights. Similarly, Japanese education policies support citizenship that highlights moral values, such as sacrificing self-interest for collective purpose (Kitagawa, 2016).

The overarching research question that this study addresses focuses on potential constraints civic educators face in their attempts to deliver transformative civic education. In order to explore those critically committed teachers’ views on citizenship and civic education, I focus on expert teachers. This decision is also based on the research findings from the survey data with English citizenship teachers. Teachers with citizenship training are more likely to support justice-oriented citizenship, rather than personally responsible citizenship. With this aim to understand the relationship between teachers’ views and contextual constraints, this study asks following research questions:

1. How do teachers in England and Japan define the meaning of citizenship and how do their interpretations differ?
2. What is the aim of civic education English and Japanese teachers envision?
3. What are English and Japanese teachers’ pedagogical approaches to civic education?
4. How do English and Japanese teachers relate their life experience to the development of their views on citizenship and civic education?

The first question is about teachers’ views on citizenship, while the following two questions are about the aim of civic education and pedagogical approaches. These research questions are aimed at exploring a potential link between teachers’ views on citizenship and civic education. In addition, the fourth research question is about teachers’ own citizenship practice because it has potential to offer insights to understand how teachers’ views on citizenship and civic education are informed. Evans (2006) who researched English and Canadian expert civic educators’ pedagogical approaches suggests teachers’ preference on learning goals and pedagogical approaches are informed by a variety of factors including: their personal views on civic education, life experience, and contextual factors. Findings from qualitative interviews with expert civic educators in England who are oriented toward critical pedagogy also suggest that teachers' experience of citizenship and beliefs informs their views and instructional decisions (Keddie, 2008), Therefore, this study also considers participating teachers' life experience as a possible influence on their views. The fourth research question explores civic educators' own life experience related to their personal backgrounds, such as social class, ethnicity, gender, and educational experience.

1.3 Rationale of the comparative approach

In this section, I provide a rationale for comparative approach and why this study compares English and Japanese teachers' views on citizenship and civic education. I opted to use a comparative approach, as my view is aligned with several scholars of comparative research who express their reasoning that cross-national comparison provides clues to understand socio-political circumstances that informs and constructs civic education curriculum and educators' beliefs in civic education (Chin & Barber, 2010; Hung, 2013). By taking a comparative approach, this study contributes to addressing the question raised by Hahn (2015, p. 97) 'To what extent do educators cross-nationally envision and enact their task of educating young citizens similarly and differently?' In attempts to address this question, this study has a potential to fill in the gap that may have been missed in large-scale quantitative comparative studies such as those by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement Civic Education (CIVED) Studies in 1999, 2002, 2009, and 2018.

It should be worth noting that CIVED studies offer large amounts of data cross-nationally, which is time and labour-consuming (Chin and Barber, 2010) and secondary analysis of CIVED data also offers valuable findings. For instance, there is a common understanding that salient themes for civic educators cross-nationally include open classroom climates; student identity; and profiles of citizenship norms and attitudes (Judith Torney-Purta, 2005; Kerr et al., 2008; Knowles et al., 2018; Wiseman et al., 2011). However, further inquiry could be made in order to explore nuanced differences or diversities within these common features of civic education across the nations. With a qualitative research approach to interview civic educators to understand their views and pedagogical approaches, this study has a potential to address this area which would benefit from further inquiry. Moreover, some scholars raise concerns that countries in Asia and Pacific regions are underrepresented in CIVED studies (Cogan et al., 2002 ; Knowles et al., 2018). This concern is partly addressed by Knowles' (2015) second analysis of the Asian regional module in IEA data 2009. Knowles (2015) offers additional findings on Asian values that Confucianism supports acquisition of civic knowledge and self-efficacy, while the emphasis on obedience to authority may hinder democracy. Nevertheless, it cannot fully replace empirical data gathered through interacting with relevant stakeholders such as teachers today. This study contributes to pre-existing comparative studies of civic education with the empirical data from one of these underrepresented countries. Comparing England and Japan, this study explores citizenship and civic education in one of the less researched areas in CIVED. The findings also offer contextually different meanings of citizenship and teachers' visions for civic education. Therefore, this study fills in the gaps which quantitative studies such as CIVED and second analysis of their data may not have fully addressed.

In addition to providing qualitative data to present a detailed contextual understanding of citizenship and civic education, this study also contributes to further understanding of prevailing emphasis on personally responsible citizenship in civic educators' views on citizenship (Fry & O'Brien, 2015; Li & Tan, 2017; Marri et al., 2014; Patterson et al., 2012; Peterson & Bentley, 2017). Comparative research on civic education also finds that there is cross-national emphasis on personal responsibility (Brown et al., 2019; Lee & Fouts, 2005). Lee and Fouts (2005) report that the social and moral dimension of citizenship is increasingly emphasised with such key words as 'responsibility' and 'obedience' (Lee and Fouts, 2005). Moreover, a similar finding is also reported by Brown et al (2019) in their research on the official documents of moral education, citizenship education, and character education in China, England, Mexico and Spain. In spite of the diverse contexts of political democracy in these four countries, Brown et al. (2019, p. 12) report that there is a 'common legitimation of personally responsible citizen' with the emphasis on maintaining the status quo and conformity to core values of equality, non-discrimination, and tolerance. In addition, personal responsibility is also given emphasis in political discourse in both England and Japan. Conservative and New Labour politics in the UK support individuals' personal responsibilities and value of mutual help within one's own community, while the Japanese leading political party Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) endorses conservative moral responsibility such as sacrificing self-interest for collective needs of the community. It is possible that participating English and Japanese teachers are informed by these political contexts, hence one can surmise that participants' views reflect a certain degree of personally responsible citizenship. Comparing the similarities and differences between English and Japanese teachers' views, this study contributes to understanding possible reasons for personally responsible citizenship cross-nationally or diverse ways that personally responsible citizens are conceptualised among participating teachers' views.

To explain why I am comparing England and Japan, I utilise Hung (2014). Explaining the reason for comparing secondary school teachers' views in England and Taiwan, Hung (2014) maintains that comparative study is useful when there is a shared issue or concern between the countries studied while they are socially, politically, or culturally different from each other. With regard to this study, England and Japan also have shared concerns even though they have socio-politically different structures and cultures. In both English and Japanese society, young people's political participation is a concern as well as a scholarly interest. In England, the citizenship curriculum was developed based on the concern over 'democratic deficit' among young people (Jochum et al., 2005; Kerr et al., 2002). In Japan, it is of concern that the younger generation's electoral participation is lower than older generations (Takao, 2009). Furthermore, young people's political engagement is also of interest to researchers who maintain that democratic deficit may not be true as there are diverse ways in which to participate in politics. Pickard (2014, 2019) maintains that young people are not disengaged from politics as they take part in diverse forms of political protest, including civil disobedience against government policies such as cuts to public funding for higher education. Young people in Japan are often stereotyped as 'politically apathetic', however, a group of university students organised a large-scale protest in opposition to the government's bill in 2015 to reform the constitution (Falch & Hammond, 2020). Furthermore, in England and Japan, students' protests are often viewed negatively but in different terms. In political discourse and the media, student protests in the UK were often presented as anti-social behaviour by ‘self-centred and immature protesters’ with idealistic and unfeasible goals (Pickard, 2014, 2019, p.4). In Japan, political protests are often seen as anti-social and disruptive to the public. This is because social cohesion and harmony is prioritised among individuals in their social interaction as well as in society (Droz, 2021; Kobayashi et al., 2021). Therefore, young people’s political engagement is a shared concern and interest to England and Japanese society, even though there are socio-political and cultural differences between these two societies. This study compares England and Japan in order to explore socio-political and cultural differences reflected in the teachers’ views on citizenship and their vision for young people’s citizenship experiences to allow them to engage in the society.

1.4 Study design

This study aims to explore a possible link between teachers’ views on citizenship and their approach to civic education. Teachers’ life experience is also considered in order to understand how their views are formed through their own citizenship practice. For this focus, I will address the following four questions:

1. How do teachers in England and Japan define the meaning of citizenship and how do their interpretations differ?
2. What is the aim of civic education English and Japanese teachers envision?
3. What are English and Japanese teachers’ pedagogical approaches to civic education?
4. How do English and Japanese teachers relate their life experience to the development of their views on citizenship and civic education?

These four research questions are based on three theoretical frameworks which I combine for this study alongside the view to see citizenship as practice. Minimal / maximal citizenship (McLaughlin, 1992) facilitates understanding teachers’ views on the sense of being a citizen. I also draw on the three models of citizens (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) and pedagogical approaches (Evans, 2008) in order to explore teachers’ approaches to civic education. I synthesised these three frameworks discussed by several scholars in order to locate citizenship and civic education depending on the degree of critical, transformative approach. At one end is maximal, justice-oriented citizenship, which represents citizenship for transforming society to address social injustice, while a less critical, conformist approach is minimal, personally responsible citizenship placed at the other end. Lawy and Biesta's (2006) concept of citizenship as practice aids these three frameworks to consider life experience of participating teachers in this study. This will be explained with further details in Chapter 3.

The research questions for this study come from my philosophical assumptions that are informed by relativism and social constructionism. My view is that there are multiple versions of social reality depending on values and perspectives individuals have, hence the means to understand the world is to explore and observe how individuals construct meanings of the situation. I explain my view with more details in the subsequent chapter on methodology (Chapter 4). I briefly explain that my view is informed by relativism, and that social reality is not a single truth but a set of socially constructed alternatives (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). In social constructivism, multiple realities exist because individuals develop their own subjective views to construct the meaning of their experience (Creswell, 2009). I believe that there is not a single reality, but multiple versions of truth depending on how individuals construct the meaning of the world. This informs my research interest in diverse means of civic education perspectives and approaches which share a common purpose of empowering young people. I take a comparative approach in attempts to comprehend cross-national differences and similarities in the civic teachers' views on citizenship, civic education, and teachers' life experiences that informs their views.

My philosophical assumptions mentioned above inform how this study addresses the research questions. I engage in qualitative research because I acknowledge that there are diverse realities depending on how people make sense of, interpret, and construct the meaning of the world. As I recognise myself as a researcher who interprets my own experience to make sense of the world, the interpretative nature of qualitative research is well aligned with my view. Qualitative research is interpretive as it uses theoretical lenses and a researchers' own perspective to make sense of data collected through interacting with or observing participants (Creswell, 2009). I collected my data through semi-structured interviews with civic education teachers in England and Japan. Interviewing is an appropriate means to comprehend individuals' viewpoints and explore the meanings of their experience (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). It also allows researchers to interpret participants' beliefs that construct their social world (Freebody, 2003). I interviewed expert civic educators in England and Japan. Talking with English and Japanese teachers enabled me to understand what form of citizenship they envision for English and Japanese society, what they see as important in civic education, and how their views are informed by their own citizenship practice. Data analysis of interviews in this study was informed by a reflexive thematic analysis approach, as it acknowledges my active role in understanding and interpreting the interview data. There are twenty teachers, nine English teachers and eleven Japanese teachers in this study. I used data analysis software, NVivo, in order to develop main and sub-themes, and finalised the theme development with Word for translating Japanese interview texts into English. Themes were developed through the interview data itself, my interpretation of the data, and the lens from literature on civic education which includes the theoretical framework of this study.

By comparing English and Japanese teachers' views, findings from this study bring benefits to further understand cross-national approaches to civic education. England and Japan have different socio-political contexts, hence teachers' views and experience differ. However, both English and Japanese societies are concerned about young people's disengagement from politics. In both England and Japan, young people are perceived to be disengaged from politics. Due to the contextual differences and shared interest in young people's citizenship, this study offers insightful comparison of English and Japanese teachers' views to explore diverse approaches to civic education aimed at encouraging young people's political engagement. Although analysis of curriculum and education policy in England and Japan is not included in this study, the citizenship curriculum in England and the civics curriculum in Japan informed the interview questions. Interview questions and prompts were developed based on how the curriculums in England and Japan define key concepts, such as: participation, rights, and responsibility. Policy analysis is also out of the scope of this study, nevertheless, the potential influence of education policies on English and Japanese teachers' views were considered in the data analysis. As this study is a comparative study, the reminder of this chapter explains the socio-political and cultural contexts of England and Japan. The following section illustrates differences and similarities in definitions of citizenship and civic education in English and Japanese contexts.

1.5 Concepts

As my own views and values inform this research (especially with regard to how I frame citizenship), this section illustrates my political views on citizenship and relevant concepts. For this purpose, I illustrate my understanding of participation, democracy, and social justice. My political views reflected in the following discussions developed this research and influenced the decisions I made for the research process, including the development of research questions, theoretical frameworks, and data analysis. The following provides how I conceptualise these concepts for this study and refer to them throughout this thesis.

1.5.1 Participation, critical citizenship, agency

It is probable that sole emphasis on political participation potentially overlooks cross-national diversity in the forms of participation (Lo, 2010; Roh, 2004). In order to address the diverse forms of citizens' participation for comparison between English and Japanese teachers' views on citizenship, I include both civic and political involvement in my definition of participation. In this sense, my definition is close to what Yang and Hoskins (2020) see as active citizenship. Their definition of active citizenship includes both political actions, such as voting and protest, as well as citizens' involvement in civil society through community engagement and volunteering (Yang & Hoskins, 2020). Although I acknowledge that some differentiate political and civic participation, arguing that some forms of civic involvement such as philanthropic and voluntary activity is different from participation in political process (Peterson & Knowles, 2009), I propose that important factor is whether it is a process to secure the citizens' entitlement through the negotiation of power (Kane, 2007). For the purpose of facilitating the comparison of English and Japanese teachers' views on citizenship, I avoid making a fixed boundary between civic and political participation. I draw on several scholars' views to frame participation in terms of citizens' motivations and dispositions, rather than different forms such as civic or political participation. In this thesis, participation can be either civic or political involvement because citizenship is citizens' defence for their rights based on their political ideals (Crick, 2010; Jerome, 2012). It is possible to argue that civic and political involvements are both based on what Hahn (1999) calls political efficacy, or citizens' competence and belief that they can make a difference by participating in a decision-making process. In this sense, I use the term 'civic and political participation' to include both political activities such as voting and protests, as well as civic actions including community involvement.

I am aware that citizenship is not only about rights, but also responsibilities such as civic duties. This study introduces a theoretical framework to explain these two dimensions of citizenship on a spectrum of minimal, personally responsible citizenship, and maximal, justice-oriented citizenship in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, my view is that citizens need to be critical agents of social change in order to bring about civic and political participation which secure one's own and collective rights. Critical agents of social change are those who challenge and seek accountability of their government to see if it addresses the citizens' interest (McCowan, 2009; Yang & Hoskins, 2020) and act on their agency to promote social justice (Akar, 2017). In addition, I also recognise that critical citizenship is also practiced in analytical terms, such as engaging in political debates and analysing government policies to make politically informed decisions (Murray-Everett & Demoiny, 2022). In this study, I propose that it is critical citizens with a sense of agency that can address social injustice and secure their rights in society through civic and political participation.

1.5.2 Democracy and social justice

To provide definition of democracy and social justice, I draw on scholars' views and findings on civic engagement and social justice in education (Aquarone, 2021; Haste & Hogan, 2006; Jochum et al., 2005). Aquarone's (2021) definition of democratic values states that they emphasise equal opportunity and human rights. Under the democratic principle, all individuals are entitled to have their voice heard with regard to the matters affecting their lives, and individuals share such values as ‘equality, shared responsibility, compassion and inclusivity’ (Aquarone 2021, p. 42). This view is also supported by Jochum et al. (2005, p. 10) who maintain that collective actions based on shared interest to address social justice contributes to maintaining ‘strong and vibrant civil society’ in which citizens exercise their rights and respect differences. Citizens’ civic and political participation and democratic values are in a reciprocal relationship, as both support each other.

Findings from civic education research with young people also show that sense of justice motivates citizens to engage in society (Haste & Hogan, 2006; King, 2019; Peterson, 2019; Peterson et al., 2020). Exploring the modes of civic engagement through analysis of the questionnaire interviews with young people aged 11-21 in England, Haste and Hogan (2006) explain that citizens are motivated by ‘moral sensitivity’ or a ‘personal responsibility to act’ in order to make their voice heard in an attempt to bring about change. A case study based on qualitative interview data with students aged 14-16 at a democratic school in England also offers examples of citizens’ participation for social justice, such as: making voices of marginalised groups heard in society, bringing about equitable distribution of resources, and equality in opportunities (Aquarone, 2021). Therefore, citizens’ participation as individuals or collectively is a means to take part and maintain democratic values, such as: equality, human rights, and common good for the community. My understanding of democracy and social justice based on the scholars’ views and their findings informs the aim of this research, and the development of a theoretical framework related to critical, justice-oriented citizenship.

1.6 Context: Education in England and Japan

1.6.1 Citizenship and political contexts

The definition of citizenship varies depending on multiple factors, including the ideologies and agendas of the political party who holds office. This section is aimed at illustrating the political context relevant to the definition of citizenship in England and Japan in order to comprehend the civic education in these two societies. In England, both Conservative and Labour governments frame citizenship with personal responsibility but in different terms. The Thatcher administration aimed to minimise state welfare, and insisted that citizens are autonomous and self-reliant individuals who can take responsibility for their own actions and decisions (Lawy & Biesta, 2006). During the 1980s and 1990s (in which the Conservative party led the UK government), personal freedom and individual interests were given prioritised emphasis over collective needs in the political agenda to reduce the state involvement in public services (Jochum et al., 2005). On the other hand, the New Labour government starting in 1997 emphasised civic morality and the role of community, with concepts such as mutual support and contribution to wider society (Arthur, 2001). The decades of the late 1990s to 2010 led by New Labour are presented with welfare reform. In this context, citizenship in Labour politics is also characterised with individuals' responsibility to take active involvement in volunteering and organising self-help mechanisms within the community (Clarke, 2005). As it is illustrated above, both the Conservative and Labour party's visions on citizenship are influenced by personal responsibility, which is often linked to neoliberal values. Neoliberalism prioritises pursuance of individuals' own personal interest at personal capacity as consumers, rather than working towards a more just society (Ranson et al., 1997). In this model, structural inequality (particularly in terms of social class) persists. It is reported that social class inequality persists in England resulting in the gap between wealthier and disadvantaged students in their access to civic education opportunities (Tonge et al., 2012; Weinberg, 2021).

Emphasis on individual responsibility and the free market is also seen in Japanese policy discourse. The Conservative government during the 2000s is characterised as 'hybrid politics', as it pursues neoliberal values of individuals' self-reliance and moral values (such as self-sacrifice for collective purpose) (Kitagawa, 2016, p. 633). Hammond (2016) suggests that there is a patriotic rhetoric, as Prime Minister Abe emphasises respect to traditional cultures and love for the nation. The further shift in Japanese politics towards nationalism brings about a potential risk of exclusion. Asahina (2019) points out that there is a rise of right-wing politics in Japan, which is represented in the increasing cases of xenophobic political rallies by those who support racist, anti-immigrant discourse. Nationalism and the ‘sense of group position’ as Japanese citizens has been reactivated due to the increased presence of China and South Korea in the global economy, as well as the threat from North Korea with its nuclear power (Asahina, 2019, p.124). In the Japanese context, neoliberalism is combined with nationalism and patriotism, which has a potential risk of excluding certain groups in society.

The discussion on the political context of citizenship in English and Japanese society suggests that there are shared aspects and differences. Neoliberal emphasis on citizens’ individual responsibilities are reflected both in England and Japan, particularly with emphasis on self-help and self-reliance. There is a slight difference between England and Japan with regard to how personal responsibility is presented. In England, personal responsibility is represented in broad terms and includes a wide range of meanings, such as being a hard-working, independent individual in the family, community, or society (Clarke, 2005). It is also possible that personal responsibility is linked to social mobility, as Lawy and Biesta (2006) suggest that self-reliant individuals are entrepreneurs who are responsible for their own actions and able to consume public services. Personal responsibility in the Japanese context is also used in broad terms, however, it is often linked to academic success. For instance, neo-liberal initiatives in PM Abe’s Conservative government include emphasis on national academic ability tests, school evaluation, and parental choice based on these test scores and school evaluations (Kitagawa, 2016). While community is also given emphasis in both England and Japan, there are different nuances. It is active involvement in community, such as volunteering in order to create the mechanism of mutual self-help among citizens in New Labour’s political agenda. On the other hand, nationalism has prevailed in Japan’s political rhetoric, and emerging right-wing politics generate a strong sense of unity as a national community. It is also worth noting that active citizenship is encouraged by both the Conservative and Labour parties in the UK, while conservative moral tradition is given emphasis in Japan’s leading political party Liberal Democratic Party’s political agenda and rhetoric used in their political discourse.

With these political emphases mentioned above, the governments and politicians express their vision of citizens' civic and political engagement. For instance, in the English context, the Conservative's and New Labour's definitions of citizenship lead to different types of active citizens, although the common emphasis is the government's attempts to discourage citizens to rely on the welfare state. The Conservative government led by Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s to the early 1990s was a proponent of 'individualism of free market' (Kerr et al., 2008, p. 180). Active citizens interpreted through the lens of Thatcherism are those who abide by the law, are able to utilise the opportunities offered by the market, and possess a certain amount of compassion toward others (Gibson, 2015). Citizens in the Conservative government are active in seeking 'customer entitlements' as consumers of public services (Jochum et al., 2005, p. 8). Hence, individuals are supposed to be responsible for purchasing the public service they need, rather than seeking it as their own rights. In New Labour's citizenship, the political aim is also to encourage citizens to be independent from public services. Active participation in public life through community involvement and volunteering are encouraged, as it leads to a mechanism of self-help among citizens (Clarke, 2005; Peterson, 2009). In this concept of active citizenship, Clarke (2005) sees that there is a political agenda to reduce the cost and pressure on public services such as the National Health Service (NHS).

Three different terms which mean 'citizen' in Japanese language also illustrate different types of citizenship. All of the following three terms *Kokumin*, *Shimin*, and *Koumin*, are translated as 'citizen'. The difference is that *shimin* can be interpreted in broader sense of citizenship that includes citizens' civic and political participation in local, national, and global contexts while *kokumin* and *koumin* are often interpreted as national and legal citizenship. According to Parmenter et al. (2008) and Davies et al (2013), *Kokumin* is a 'national citizen' with legal rights and duties to the state, *Koumin* is legal citizenship which is about civil rights and responsibilities within the society, and *Shimin* means private individuals who actively engages with society. While *koumin* overlaps with *shimin* as both terms cover citizens' legal rights and responsibilities, *kokumin* is different as it represents the relationship between citizens and the state. Taniguchi (2011) explains that *Kokumin* is based on the concept of the imperial family state (training the emotions through moral education) especially in the WWII period, while *Shimin* is for individual freedom which started after the democratisation process at the end of WWII. Among these three, it is possible to surmise that *Shimin* has a close meaning to Ross' (2012) definition of active citizens who have critical perspectives and engage with society in an effort to make positive changes. The term *Kokumin* is often preferable especially when the emphasis is on patriotism and nationalism as in the Liberal Democratic party's emphasis on moral conservatism mentioned above. Three different words for 'citizen' have implications for my overarching research question about teachers' views on citizenship because these three terms represent different relationships between the state and citizens.

1.7 Civic education in England and Japan

As it is suggested that comparative research needs to establish validity for comparison in order to address the diversity of the culture, history, and social contexts of the countries being studied (Judith Torney-Purta, 2005), this section illustrates the socio-political contexts of civic education in England and Japan. The purpose is to provide background information relevant to citizenship in both English and Japanese society. The contexts will be discussed in terms of: 1) political context, 2) institutional context (which includes types of schools and degrees of autonomy schools and teachers have), and 3) curriculum.

1.7.1 Political context

In the political agenda, there have been calls for civic education due to the decreasing engagement of young people in politics. Governments in Western democracies increasingly put emphasis on civic renewal, assuming that citizens are becoming more and more disengaged from public life (Jochum et al., 2005). As voter turnout among the younger generation is low in both England and Japan, young people's disengagement from politics is a shared concern. Low turnout of young voters implies a potential risk that young people are feeling excluded and do not bother to engage in civil and political structures where they feel too powerless to make a difference (Kerr et al., 2002). Feelings of powerlessness may also be the reason young

Japanese citizens disengage from electoral politics. Because of the rapidly ageing population, elderly residents are ‘reshaping’ how Japan’s democracy is organised (Takao, 2009). This suggests that young people’s voices are less likely to be heard under the principles of majority rule, hence more and more young people stop voting at elections. In both English and Japanese society, lower turnout of young voters suggests a problem of exclusion and ignoring a certain group of the population.

It is also common between England and Japan that young people are often blamed for perceived political disengagement. In England, it is often termed as ‘democratic deficit’ that young people are alienated from, and developing cynicism about civic and political participation has brought increased attention towards bringing citizenship into the National Curriculum (Kerr et al., 2002, p. 180). Some scholars are of the view that young people’s disengagement from politics is not due to lack of interest in politics (Kisby & Sloam, 2009; Lawy & Biesta, 2006). Kisby and Sloam (2009) suggest that young people are not apathetic to politics, but engaged in a different means other than formal electoral participation. Lawy and Biesta (2006) also point out that complex structural and systemic causes, such as outdated UK electoral systems, need to be addressed, rather than blaming young people themselves. Young people in Japan, particularly university students, are often labelled as ‘politically apathetic’ (Falch & Hammond, 2020). However, similar to England, this may not always be true as Falch and Hammond (2020) present their interview with grassroots student activist group SEALDS which organised a large- scale protest in 2015.

It became a political interest to address perceived disengagement of young people from politics within the citizenship curriculum (Faulks, 2006; Kisby & Sloam, 2009; Tonge et al., 2012), although some scholars argue that young people are not politically apathetic (Lawy & Biesta, 2006; Kisby & Sloam, 2009). In the process of developing the citizenship curriculum, the Advisory Group on Citizenship (AGC) tried to achieve a balance between the liberal-individual concept and communitarian the concept of citizenship. The purpose was to offer a broad definition of citizenship that achieves consensus and cross-party cooperation between the Conservatives and Labour (Arthur et al, 2001). Hence, the citizenship curriculum emerged from a ‘mix of political philosophies’ as British political parties are in pursuit of policy reform to address political, social, and economic challenges and reciprocal balance between social responsibilities and individual rights (Tonge et al., 2012, p. 579). In Japan, encouraging young people's civic and political participation is of government interest given that electoral participation of the younger generation has been low. The two government ministries, the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare and the Ministry of Education, Culture, Science, Sports and Technology (MEXT) jointly issued 'Youth Development Policy Plan' (2003), which is aimed at supporting young people's social independence, endorsing the view that young people are active members of society, and creating a place for free and open discussion that young people can participate in. Nevertheless, young people's participation emphasised in this document is not fully encouraging an awareness of citizen's rights, but more about the duty to contribute because citizens are framed as '*kokumin*' in this context (as well as in textbooks of social studies). In addition to education policy documents, textbooks also need to be authorised by the government and use the word *'Kokumin.'* Meyer (2017, p. 11) finds that social studies textbooks 'recontextualise' the discourse of human rights into 'discourse of social control' based on the idea that Japanese citizens are patriotic '*kokumin*' who conform to society, rather than standing up against injustice for securing their rights.

In both English and Japanese political contexts, young people are perceived to be disengaged from politics, while scholars suggest the possibility that young people's political participation is changing. Among these scholars, Kisby and Sloam (2009) are in support of civic education's roles to enhance political knowledge, drawing on the IEA's 2008 study that indicates students who have a high level of political knowledge are more likely to be active participants within society. However, teachers who aim to foster critical, justice-oriented citizens may face challenges to negotiate their own professional visions and curriculum requirements that are influenced by the government's political ideology. As it is discussed above, the Conservative and Labour parties both encourage citizens to have personal responsibility in their own lives. The emphasis on personal responsibility is linked to neoliberal values such as personal choice which is less conducive to addressing structural inequality (Ranson et al., 1997). In Japan, preference is given to *'Kokumin'* which may not fully support the values of social activism to safeguard citizens' own rights (Meyer, 2017). The term '*Kokumin*' is intended to foster patriotic feelings, whilst also bringing a risk that citizens' means to raise awareness (such as social movements and activism) are positioned as peripheral areas. English and Japanese teachers, particularly those who envision encouraging young people to develop critical, justice-oriented citizenship, possibly find it challenging to act on their own visions in these aforementioned political contexts.

1.7.2 Institutional context

Both in England and Japan, teachers also face structural or institutional constraints on their professional agency. English and Japanese teachers' autonomies differ due to institutional contexts, such as how much control the central government has on the implementation of curriculum.

In England, teachers face obstacles when implementing a citizenship curriculum due to structural constraints, such as a lack of clear practical guidelines and teacher training (Davies & Evans, 2002; Jerome, 2006). Although citizenship is an independent subject which is compulsory for secondary school pupils, not all schools are required to follow the National Curriculum. The National Curriculum applies to state-maintained schools, while other state funded schools such as Academies and Free schools are given greater autonomy (Sant et al., 2015). This causes a potential ambiguity towards the status of citizenship as an independent subject within the National Curriculum. There is also not a clear consensus, and limited practical guidelines for schools and teachers exist to organise citizenship lessons (Davies & Evans, 2002). External organisations such as the Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT) have been established to strengthen teacher education (Davies & Issitt, 2005), but it is also reported that teachers often find it challenging to take up the responsibility to teach citizenship lessons by cramming additional hours into their already busy schedules (Davies & Evans, 2002). Scholars note the possible obstacle comes from the scarce opportunities for formal teacher training in citizenship, the lack of or limited amount of clear guidelines, and the precarious status of citizenship as a subject (Davies & Evans, 2002; Davies & Issitt, 2005; Sant et al., 2015). The limited amount of time and resources for citizenship teaching and low status of citizenship as a subject within the National Curriculum are also raised as concerns among pre-service teachers in England (Jerome, 2006). In terms of teachers' agency (Priestly et al., 2015), civic educators in England may find themselves constrained due to the structural challenges listed above. Based on the questionnaire survey with teachers in England, Davies and Evans (2002) point out that teachers are uncertain about the citizenship curriculum as they lost their confidence as professionals due to the increased centralisation of power in education. It would be less likely that teachers can offer a 'meaningful' classroom experience to young people if teachers themselves were not treated as 'citizens' (Davies & Evans, 2002).

On the other hand, teachers in Japan may feel that their professional autonomy is constrained, as the government's control is strong. For instance, all schools (regardless of being public or private) have to follow a national curriculum. Publishers are required to have their textbooks authorised by the government, and schools are required to use authorised textbooks. Textbooks represent the government's perspectives on civic education, which are then conveyed through the civic curriculum at private and public schools (Mori & Davies, 2014). In addition, it is also worth noting that teachers in Japan are required to be politically neutral in their teaching. This means that they may not present any material that implies political leanings or involves any political activities in their classroom. Some scholars view this as depoliticization of education which puts a burden on teachers (Tamashiro, 2019) and limits the opportunities for political education (Yumoto, 2017). Although the central government's influence is strong in Japan, private schools still have a certain level of autonomy compared to state schools. Individual teachers can also act on their professional agency within their legal responsibility. For instance, they are still able to selectively emphasise or allocate spare time to a certain unit in a textbook. Those who are opposed to the focus on nationalism use textbooks creatively and selectively in order to avoid nationalistic content (Bamkin, 2018). English and Japanese teachers may find themselves in need of negotiating their professional agency in the diverse institutional contexts mentioned above. For both English and Japanese teachers, they find themselves in a hierarchical structure controlled by the central government, which imposes requirements on their teaching and schools (Davies & Evans, 2002; Davies & Mori, 2014; Yumoto, 2017). Exploring teachers' pedagogical approaches in one of my research questions, this study offers further understanding of how teachers exercise their professional agency through constructing their pedagogical approach. In Priestly and colleagues' words, this study brings the focus away from top-down approach toward teachers' active role in in 'shaping their work and its conditions' (Priestly et al., 2015, p. 1).

1.7.3 Curriculum and education policies.

Given that young people are perceived to be disengaged from politics, the curriculum of civic education in England and Japan encourages young people's participation in society. The Citizenship curriculum in England has three strands introduced in the Crick report (1998). These three strands include: social and moral responsibility, community involvement, and political literacy (Davies, 2014; Hahn, 2015). These main strands of citizenship are reorganised in subsequent years through evaluation of citizenship education led by Keith Ajegbo and further revision of National Curriculum for England in 2014 with the aim to:

- acquire a sound knowledge and understanding of how the United Kingdom is governed, its political system and how citizens participate actively in its democratic systems of government
- develop a sound knowledge and understanding of the role of law in our society and how laws are shaped and enforced
- develop an interest in, and commitment to, volunteering that they will take with them into adulthood
- are equipped with the financial skills to enable them to manage their money on a day-to-day basis as well as to plan for future financial needs.

(Department for Education, 2014)

Although active participation is encouraged, the emphasis is on responsibility which can be interpreted as 'moralised' citizens who make reasonable choices and behave responsibly (Clarke, 2005, p. 451). For instance, 'knowledge and understanding of the role of the law' and financial skills to manage one's own money are linked to what Clarke (2005) sees as reasonable and decent behaviour in terms of morality, social etiquette, and personal character. These dispositions are possibly linked to the Conservatives' (as well as Labour's) emphasis on personal responsibility in their political discourse discussed above.

In Japan, there is emphasis on social and moral responsibility in formal education in general, because there is an independent curriculum called moral education which is aimed at development of personality, moral responsibility, laws, and social norms (Kimura, 2011). This study focuses on civics curriculum in social studies because it is a subject that encourages young people to be active participants within society. Parmenter et al. (2008) maintain that civics is aimed at development of intelligence and active engagement in public space by:

> 'making connections with the family and local community, make [students] realize that humans are essentially social beings, make [students] think about the relationship between the individual and society, the dignity of the individual in the contemporary family system, the intrinsic equality of the sexes, and make [them] realize the importance of conventions in social life, the significance keeping the conventions, and the responsibility of the individual.'

The excerpt from the civics curriculum encourages development of disposition to engage in society, and values such as equality. Nevertheless, there is also emphasis on social and moral responsibility. This is reflected in realising the 'importance of conventions in social life' and 'responsibility of the individual.' The emphasis on social and moral responsibility is similar to the citizenship curriculum in England mentioned above, while the responsibility in the Japanese context possibly contains patriotic feelings. Due to the experience of WWII, Ide (2013) expresses the support for 'correct patriotism' that citizens who have experienced the misery of war are aware of the importance of establishing an international peace. As it is mentioned earlier in this chapter in the discussion on 'Citizenship and political context', the Japanese government led by the LDP conservative party encourages people to develop patriotic feelings, such as respect for traditional culture and love for the nation. This patriotism is also combined with the aim to foster 'self-governing and self-directed individuals' who are responsible for themselves (Kitagawa, 2016, p. 634).

Both the citizenship curriculum in England and the civics curriculum in Japan face challenges of a diverse and multicultural society. Due to the growing number of immigrants in the UK, 'what it meant to be "British"' became a topic of political discussion (Hahn, 2015, p. 100). It is in this context that the Ajegbo review recommended the citizenship curriculum add a new strand, identity and diversity, living together in the UK. The Ajegbo report acknowledges that British identities are plural, as many young people have 'multiple and flexible' identities as well as backgrounds (Starkey, 2018, p. 155). However, it is also pointed out that the report may not necessarily lead to a sense of solidarity across diverse groups in society. Osler (2009, p. 97) maintains that solidarity at 'global scale' to question the 'periodic infusion of imperial pride' is missing in the Ajegbo report. In addition, diversity is often viewed as a threat. This becomes even more explicitly felt as anti-immigrant incidents and attitudes increase, possibly due to the increasing number of immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees coming to the UK as well as terrorist attacks by radicalised Islamists (Hahn, 2015). The UK government introduced the Prevent strategy which includes a requirement to teach FBV in the attempt to counter terrorism and extremism. Some scholars say that FBV causes exclusion and othering of ethnic minority communities (Farrell, 2016; McDonnell, 2021; Szczepek Reed et al., 2020).

Similarly, in Japan, recognising citizenship as fixed national and legal status is becoming less feasible. Fujiwara (2011) sees society becoming increasingly multicultural and diverse. Assumed homogeneity in Japanese society does not hold true in reality, as there are minority groups such as the *Buraku* (descendant of outcasts) and indigenous populations called Ainu or Ryukyuans (Davies et al., 2010). Although there is not a particular education policy in Japan directed at addressing diverse identities of young people, Siddle (2010) argues that ethnic diversity exists with a considerable number of ethnic minorities living in Japan. Education policies and civic curriculum in Japan may not fully address the diversity among the Japanese population, due to the emphasis on patriotic attitudes, respect to traditions, and love for the country (Hammond, 2016). Increasing numbers of people in Japan support the right-wing ideology which positions the migrant population as a threat. Asahina (2019, p. 124) argues that right-wing groups such as '*Zaitokukai*' gained popularity in Japan because some people feel their 'sense of group position' is threatened by increased presence of other East Asian states, such as China and South Korea in the global economy. This reactivated patriotic identity is of concern with regard to addressing diversity in society because some of the *Zaitokukai's* activities involve hate speech which the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) also condemned (Asahina, 2019). In both England and Japan, the curriculum emphasises personal responsibility through understanding the rule of law and being considerate of conventions of social life. Although there are contextual differences, both English and Japanese societies face the challenge of addressing diverse populations and maintaining social cohesion. Teachers may or may not agree with the aforementioned emphasis on personal responsibility in English citizenship or the Japanese civics curriculum. Teachers' visions of and pedagogical approaches to civic education are also informed by their own views on what it means to be British or Japanese citizens today. This study offers further understanding about these questions.

1.8 Overview of this thesis

This thesis has nine chapters divided into three parts. It is organised as follows: the first part is the introductory section which consists of Introduction (Chapter 1) and literature review (Chapters 2-3); the second contains methodology (Chapter 4) and data analysis (Chapters 5-8); the last part is conclusion (Chapter 9).

Following the introduction (this chapter) which explains the aim and rationale of this research, the first part of the thesis provides a literature review and the theoretical framework for this study. In Chapter 2, I discuss findings from previous studies of citizenship and civic education and conceptual debates on the concept of citizenship. The purpose of the chapter is to explore potential areas this study can contribute, particularly with regard to the following: teachers' agency and contextual influence, teachers' perceptions of citizenship and pedagogical approaches, and teachers' citizenship practice. Chapter 3 then introduces the theoretical framework for subsequent data analysis chapters. I propose that it is maximal, justice-oriented citizenship and civic education that empowers young people to seek a more just society by critically analysing and engaging with society. I also suggest that learning and life experience to act on one’s own agency leads to maximal, justice-oriented citizenship. The second part of this thesis starts with Chapter 4 which details my methodology. In the chapter, I explain my philosophical assumptions which generated the research questions and informed my decisions throughout this PhD research. I also reflect on data collection, my data analysis method, and the implication of my power to interpret and translate the interview data. The subsequent chapters present the findings from the data analysis to address the four research questions. The Research questions 1-4 correspond with Chapter 5-8 respectively: Chapter 5 is about teachers’ views on citizenship; Chapter 6 presents participating teachers’ views on the aim of civic education: Chapter 7discusses the findings about teachers’ pedagogical approaches. Then, Chapter 8 discusses the findings on teachers’ reflections of their life experience, which they see influential on forming their views on citizenship and civic education. Throughout these findings chapters, I also provide a clarification about the presentation of data and my discussion on comparison. In most cases, I compared views of English and Japanese teachers in sections and subsections within each chapter. However, there are also some sections which present only English or Japanese teachers’ views when it is only one of them who talk about the idea or theme.

In the last section of this thesis, Chapter 9, I summarise my findings and discuss how they address the research questions of this study. I also consider possible contributions that this study can make for relevant research on citizenship, civic education, and comparative research of these two. While I also acknowledge limitations of this research, I conclude this thesis with possible insights for future research, contributions for education policy makers, and civic education practitioners.

2 Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This study interviewed expert civic education teachers in England and Japan in order to address research questions about their views on citizenship, pedagogical approaches, and any possible influence from their own life experience. The focus on expert civic education teachers stems from their likelihood to support justice-oriented citizenship and encourage young people to make change for a more just society. The ideal is to foster young people's confidence so that they can make a difference through civic and political involvement. McLaughlin (1992, p. 238) also argues that civic education aimed at 'socialization into existing political and social status quo' without questioning is not fully able to address this purpose. For this reason, I analysed my interview data with the theoretical framework (Evans, 2008; McLaughlin, 1992; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) which facilitates data analysis to understand the degree of critical, transformative citizenship reflected in teachers' views. However, it is probable that those teachers who encourage young people to be critical, justice-oriented citizens may find it challenging to pursue their educational vision in practice due to diverse contextual influences, including school cultures, curriculum, and socio-political contexts. The scholars' work reviewed in this chapter also suggests this is possibly the case, as there is a prevalence of personally responsible citizenship in pre-service and in-service teachers' perceptions of citizenship. The findings from interview data have the potential to help further understand the challenges that expert teachers in English and Japan face in their attempts to pursue their educational vision.

I draw on three frameworks in order to explore different aspects of citizenship: teachers' sense of being a citizen (McLaughlin, 1992), forms of participation (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004), and civic education pedagogy (Evans, 2008). In addition, my data analysis is also informed by the perspective of viewing citizenship as practice (Lawy & Biesta, 2006) in order to understand teachers' views and their life experiences. The perspective of citizenship as practice (Lawy & Biesta, 2006) also provides a link between teachers' views and their life experience as young citizens in the past as well as civic education practitioners today. The details of the theoretical frameworks I utilise will be explained in Chapter 3. The purpose of this chapter is to locate a potentially less-researched area with regard to my research questions:

1. How do teachers in England and Japan define the meaning of citizenship and how do their interpretations differ?
2. What is the aim of civic education English and Japanese teachers envision?
3. What are English and Japanese teachers' pedagogical approaches to civic education?
4. How do English and Japanese teachers relate their life experience to the development of their views on citizenship and civic education?

My literature review focused on studies about teachers' perceptions of citizenship and civic education, particularly those which draw on the aforementioned frameworks of citizenship. In order to locate possible cross-national characteristics of teachers' views on citizenship and pedagogical approaches to civic education, I reviewed those studies which use theoretical frameworks of minimal / maximal citizenship, three models of citizens, or models of pedagogical orientations (Evans, 2008; McLaughlin, 1992; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) rather than focusing on English or Japanese contexts. Therefore, the contexts of literature I reviewed vary, including not only English and Japanese contexts but also other societies. This approach informed me about the cross-national prevalence of teachers' preferences to personally responsible citizenship. In the following, the first section reviews studies in order to locate potential areas for further research with regard to the relationship between civic educators' own vision and the contextual influence. In this section, I draw on teachers' agency in order to conceptualise teachers' visions for civic education. Recognising teachers as educators with their own agency helps understand how teachers' views on citizenship informs their pedagogical approaches to civic education and navigate socio-political or cultural constraints in English and Japanese society. The subsequent sections then review previous research findings on teachers' perception of citizenship, their pedagogical approaches to civic education, and their own citizenship practices in their life.

2.2 Teachers’ agency and contextual influences

In this section, I discuss the role of teachers as civic educators with their own visions, and explore potential areas or gaps to be filled. In order to conceptualise civic educators’ visions, I draw on teachers’ agency as discussed by Priestly et al (2015). According to Priestly et al (2015, p.1), teachers are acting with agency when they make an “active contribution to shaping their work and its conditions” and play a central role in the ‘‘educational movement’ rather than being controlled by a ‘‘top-down approach.’’ Teachers’ professional agency is a result of ‘‘interplay’’ between their capacity and environmental conditions, because it is not only teachers themselves who determine their capacity to become active agents but also the structures and cultures that they are situated in (Priestly et al., 2015, p.2-3). This definition of teachers’ agency facilitates my literature review on the relationship between civic educators’ views and the environmental conditions, including not only socio-political or cultural contexts but also the schools in which teachers work. It is worth noting that teachers’ professional agency, instructional decisions, and their pedagogical approaches are influenced by the socio-economic backgrounds of the schools in which they work. For instance, a school’s location often corresponds with its students’ socio-economic backgrounds. Prestige given to schools and students’ socio-economic backgrounds seem to inform teachers’ pedagogical approaches. Students with disadvantaged backgrounds tend to receive civic education which emphasises social responsibility, while those who are of a higher social class are likely to experience programmes which emphasise critical and active citizenship (McCowan, 2009). Deimel et al. (2019) also found that students with higher socio-economic status experience an open classroom climate, student participation, and more opportunities to receive citizenship lessons. Curriculum, and social class, impact each teacher’s perspective and the professional freedom they have within a given socio-political context on the forms of civic education (McCowan, 2009, p. 5). Disparity in access to civic education opportunities between disadvantaged children and those who are from wealthy family backgrounds is reported across the world, including in the UK (Deimel et al., 2019; Hoskins et al., 2012; Middaugh, 2008). Whilst not explicitly attributed to socio-economic background, civic education which offers opportunity to have political discussion also tends to be offered at prestigious schools in Japan (Mizuyama, 2021; Okubo, 2021). Having conceptualised teachers' visions for civic education as their agency, the following reviews literature relevant to the relationship between civic educators' views and socio-political and institutional contexts.

Drawing on various research methods, including quantitative and qualitative approaches, internationally scholars call attention to teachers' perceptions of citizenship, teaching philosophies, and citizenship practices in their own life (Li & Tan, 2017; Knowles, 2018a, 2018b; Keddie, 2008; Dejaeghere, 2008; Peterson & Bentley, 2017) in order to understand potential conflicts with social contexts or views of other groups, such as students. For instance, through secondary analysis of CivID data (which consists of over 700 civic education teachers at secondary schools), Knowles (2018b) maintains that studies about the relationship between teachers' views and their instructional decisions contribute to understanding a potential conflict with students' perspectives. While the findings of Knowles (2018b) are valuable to understand the tendency among teachers' approaches to civic education cross-nationally, a large-scale quantitative study might not be able to illustrate detailed cross-national differences between teachers' views. There are qualitative studies on civic educators, such as Keddie's (2008) analysis of teacher interviews. Keddie (2008) contributes towards comprehending teacher philosophies and knowledge based on life experience, however, the findings are based on a single interview with one participant. This study is also small-scale, but it has value in offering a comparative analysis between England and Japan and presenting a detailed account of the differences and similarities between the teachers' views from each of these societies. As in Li and Tan (2017), this study also has a potential to further understand teachers' perspectives on citizenship and civic education, which may not necessarily correspond with official definitions provided in education policies or government policies. For instance, Li and Tan's (2017) study offers a nuanced understanding of Chinese secondary school teachers' views on good citizens (which is different from the definition provided by the official curriculum guidelines issued by the Chinese government). This study also contributes to understanding English and Japanese teachers' attempts to exercise their professional agency in the contexts where the influence of the central government is also strong. The discussions above located areas this study can contribute to understanding where there is a potential gap between teachers' agency and socio-political or institutional contexts. The last part of this section then looks at possible constraints on teachers' professional agency in English and Japanese contexts. The following reviews the literature on civic education in English and Japanese contexts to explore possible contributions this research can make in order to understand teachers' agency in civic education and possible contextual constraints in these two societies.

In the following, I review the studies on education policies which have relevance to civic education in England and Japan. With regard to the English context, the UK's policy of Counter Terrorism and Security Act 2015 (Prevent Duty or Prevent strategy) forms the context in which English teachers exercise their agency. This is because the Prevent strategy requires schools to teach Fundamental British values (FBV) which includes democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs. It is possible that teachers might find that the Prevent strategy brings a political agenda for national security into education. Several scholars (Elton-Chalcraft et al. (2017); Farrell and Lander (2019) point out that the Prevent strategy serves the counter terrorism agenda rather than an educational aim, as it reads that ‘‘Extremism is vocal or active opposition to fundamental British values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs" (HM Government 2011, p. 107). Farrell (2016) raises a concern that the requirement to teach FBV blames Muslim minorities and generates political antipathy by attaching extremist ideology to Muslim culture. There is also a concern that teaching FBV causes ‘‘imaginary binary opposition’’ between Islam and the West, potentially leading to intolerance and discrimination against Muslims (Richardson, 2015, p. 45). Others also raise a similar concern about the problem of othering minority groups (McDonnell, 2021) and further dividing ethnic and diasporic communities rather than integrating them (Szczepek Reed et al., 2020). Therefore, Winter and Mills (2020) argue that the Prevent strategy jeopardises education's autonomy by connecting the national security agenda to schools.

It is worth noting that teaching FBV can be an opportunity to activate discussions on themes such as democracy and democratic values. Based on interviews with secondary and primary teachers in English schools and classroom observations, Vincent (2019) found that it is possible that teachers and schools can offer places to discuss values (such as democracy and rule of law) which are part of FBVs. Nevertheless, scholars also point out that FBV or British values are complex concepts (Elton- Chalcraft et al., 2017; Jerome & Clemitshaw, 2012). Elton-Chalcraft and colleagues (2017, p.34) carried out an online qualitative questionnaire with pre-service teachers in England in order to explore how student teachers construct their 'own meanings' of FBV. The findings suggested that Fundamental British values are recognized in multiple terms, which include democratic values of equality and respect to each other, and personal attributes such as politeness (Elton-Chalcraft et al., 2017). Although it was prior to the implementation of the Prevent strategy, the survey data with pre-service teachers (postgraduate students on a teacher training programme) tells us that there is increased awareness about British values and identities among pre-service teachers, but they are uncertain about what British values mean exactly (Jerome & Clemitshaw, 2012). Participants in Jerome and Clemitshaw's (2012, p. 32) study agree that British culture is complex and fluid, but they are not able to identify 'particularly British' values. Drawing on several scholars (Jerome & Clemistshaw, 2012; Davies & Issitt, 2005), it is possible to suggest that increased attention to Britishness and British values due to the Prevent strategies also offers opportunities for teachers to develop their understanding of diversity and identity. Teachers are required to use their own sense of judgement with regard to whether to present FBV as an 'antidote' to extremism, or as an opportunity for 'deeper exploration' (Elwick et al., 2020, p. 69). Based on the scholars' views presented above, FBV are not only about fixed definitions promoted by the Prevent strategy, but also about how teachers present it in their classrooms using their own judgements and professional agency. This research offers clues to understand how teachers interpret government policy, such as the Prevent strategy, and form their views on British values and British identities.

In the Japanese context, some teachers, especially those who envision transformative civic education, may not fully agree with education policies which are often aligned with conservative government's political agenda. Education policies in Japan tend to emphasise respect to traditions and patriotic feelings, which foster conformity rather than criticality. For instance, the Revised Fundamental Law of Education (ELF) 2006 stresses interest in society, developing understanding of and love for the country, and cultivating civic character in order to create a democratic and peaceful nation while living in international society (Davies et al., 2010). Revision of the Fundamental Law of Education in 2006 caused controversy where there was emphasis on schools' and parents' responsibilities to nurture patriotic attitudes and moral sense as a result of the conservative Liberal Democratic party's political agenda to reform the constitution (Bamkin, 2018; Takayama & Apple, 2008). Scholars (Bamkin, 2018; Mori & Davies, 2014) also highlight that stakeholders (such as teachers and local governments) may not necessarily agree with the central government's conservative emphasis on traditional cultures and ways of life. Drawing on interviews with secondary school teachers in Japan alongside classroom observations, Bamkin (2018) found that teachers participating in the study did not feel that love of the nation was an important value. According to Mori and Davies' (2014, p. 168), analysis of civic education textbooks, they contributed to the ''lively debate'' with an example that some local governments refused to use the government-authorised textbooks due to the ''political interference in education'' which favours a nationalist approach. Not all authors of textbooks and their publishers are in support of teaching traditional ways of living, such as harmony in one's own community (Mori & Davies, 2014).

Moreover, teachers in Japan also face challenges to maintain political neutrality in their classroom due to the legal requirement for teachers to avoid political education. Scholars point out that education in Japan is depoliticised (Tamashiro, 2019; Yumoto, 2017). Yumoto (2017) (who analysed the education policy related to civic education), and Tamashiro (2019) (who carried out case study research of civic education with secondary school teachers and university students in Japan) both expressed their views that education in Japan is depoliticised. This is due to article 14 of the Education Act, which requires schools to refrain from political education or other political activities (for or against any specific political party)(*Kyoiku kihonho* [Basic Act on Education], Act No. 120 of 2006, art. 14, para. 2.). This regulation potentially influences the civics curriculum in Japanese schools that is aimed at developing skills of participation, rather than encouraging participation in social actions. Although there is influence from the leading conservative party's (Liberal Democratic party) political agenda in education policies and teachers are required to be politically neutral, teachers are still able to exercise their agency. For instance, findings from case studies of a local area committed to civic education suggest that some 'progressive' schools take initiatives to develop their own citizenship lessons which involve young people's participation in the local policy making process (Hasumi, 2012). By interviewing progressive educators, those who practise global citizenship education at secondary schools, and in informal education settings such as non-governmental organisations which provide education programmes, Motani (2007) also found that progressive educators are keen to bring about changes in education policies and curriculums.

Studies discussed above offer understanding into the relationship between the government's political agenda, which is reflected in education policies, teachers' views, and their pedagogical approaches. While findings from previous research inform us about civic educators' views on government policies, the focus was on pre-service teachers (Elton- Chalcraft et al., 2017; Jerome & Clemitshaw, 2012) or education practitioners not limited to school teachers (Motani, 2007; Tamashiro, 2019). Bamkin (2018) interviewed secondary school teachers, but the focus was on moral education, which is a different curriculum from civic education. This study offers further insight into comprehending secondary school teachers who teach citizenship or civics curriculum in England and Japan. Exploring participating teachers' views on citizenship and civic education, the findings of this study also explore how they navigate through political contexts influenced by policies such as the Prevent strategy in the UK and the depoliticization of education in Japan.

2.3 Teachers’ perceptions of citizenship and pedagogical approaches

Previous studies applied theoretical frameworks of citizenship such as minimal / maximal citizenship and three models of citizens in order to explore civic educators’ views and pedagogical approaches to civic education. Scholars working on civic education at secondary schools in various countries draw on minimal / maximal citizenship (Sim & Print, 2009; Sim et al., 2017; Wahrman & Hartaf, 2021). In these studies, the framework of minimal and maximal citizenship facilitates exploring the different versions of citizenship envisioned among teachers, as well as institutions such as schools. For instance, in the Israeli context, Wahrman and Hartaf’s (2021) study focuses on informal education and interviews with social education coordinators rather than teachers who deliver any formal civic education curriculum. The study suggests there are diverse civic education agendas between formal and informal pedagogy as the findings (from semi-structured interviews) indicate that social education coordinators envision maximal citizenship, while the formal curriculum presents a mixed emphasis of maximal as well as minimal citizenship (Wahrman & Hartaf, 2021). Both Sim and Print (2009) and Sim et al (2017) offer findings based on semi-structured interviews and classroom observations with secondary school teachers in Singapore. Sim and Print (2009) found that teachers’ conceptualisations and practice of citizenship diverged from the one endorsed by the state. Teachers’ views on citizenship and their teaching practice also differed among themselves, as some of them presented minimal citizenship while others were more oriented toward maximal citizenship (Sim & Print, 2009). Print et al (2017) also look at civic education teachers in Singapore, but use both minimal / maximal citizenship and Westheimer and Kahne’s (2004) three models of citizens in order to analyse the data from a social justice perspective. While most of the teachers that participated in the study presented views related to personally responsible, minimal citizenship (with characteristics such as patriotism and personal responsibility), there were those who presented an altered version of justice-oriented maximal citizenship which does not challenge existing structures, but instead encourages critical inquiry and understanding of multiple perspectives (Sim et al., 2018). Their study is valuable in terms of providing insight into teachers' manoeuvres to navigate state control on education, which is tight in countries like Singapore.

Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) three types of citizens is also a citizenship typology used by scholars in various countries (not only in the US, but also other countries such as Australia and China). Research findings on civic educators including pre-service and in-service teachers internationally indicate that personally responsible citizenship is prevalent in teachers' perceptions of good citizens (Fry & O'Brien, 2015; Li & Tan, 2017; Marri et al., 2014; Patterson et al., 2012; Peterson & Bentley, 2017). In the US, Fry and O'Brien's (2015) survey data and follow-up interviews indicate that good citizens are those who offer help, such as volunteering and following rules and laws. Similar findings are presented in the qualitative study on teacher training courses by Marri et al (2014), who collected data which included recorded classroom interactions, in-class writing, and interviews with pre-service teachers. They found that pre-service teachers would like their prospective students to be personally responsible citizens, rather than encouraging social actions for addressing structural inequality (Marri et al., 2014). With regard to in-service teachers' views, Patterson et al (2012) also provide similar findings based on survey and interview data with high school social studies teachers. Findings from Peterson and Bentley (2017) and Li and Tan (2017) are also similar in the context of Australia and China respectively, and offer further insights. Interviews with Australian primary and secondary school teachers suggested that they encourage their pupils to behave with ‘‘correct conduct’’ and obey the school rules, hence Peterson and Bentley (2017, p. 117) point out that there seems to be deficit model among participating teachers' views that potentially disregards ‘‘students' own experience'', including their involvement in sporting clubs, local organisations, or online communities. Interview data with high school teachers in China found that good citizens are those who have a patriotic desire to support the country, and positive personal or behavioural attributes, and such civic virtues as honesty (Li & Tan, 2017). Based on these findings, Li and Tan (2017, p. 41) offer their views that not only does political and civil participation challenge the existing structures, but citizens with ‘‘morality’’ and ‘‘good individual character’’ can also solve social problems.

Scholars (Fry & O'Brien, 2015; Li & Tan, 2017; Marri et al., 2014; Patterson et al., 2012; Peterson & Bentley, 2017) are aware that justice-oriented citizenship can address structural injustices, and their findings indicate in-service and pre-service teachers' perceptions of citizenship are predominantly linked to personally responsible citizenship. It is reported that good citizens are prevailingly linked to personally responsible citizenship internationally, nevertheless, the studies mentioned above did not explicitly focus on civic educators with expertise. The prevalence of personally responsible citizenship in civic educators' views possibly influences their pedagogical approaches. Researching on civic education in the US (based on survey data with high school teachers), Knowles (2018a) and Knowles and Castro (2019) explore the relationship between teachers' views on citizenship and their pedagogical approaches. Both of the studies use Evan's (2008) theoretical framework of civic education pedagogy in combination with other frameworks, including Westheimer and Kahne's work (2004) discussed above. Their aim was to assess the connection between teachers' support for critical citizenship perspectives in order to make structural changes and their instructional practices (Knowles, 2018a; Knowles & Castro, 2019). The findings reflect the prevailing citizenship concepts of personally responsible citizenship. Knowles (2018a) found that teachers participating in the study were less inclined toward a critical citizenship perspective, and hence were not too willing to draw on social justice pedagogies. As the survey data in Knowles and Castro (2019) also indicated similar results, the authors raise a concern over whether or not young people at school gain educational experience that develops their competencies for advocacy and critical analysis of their society.

Building on the previous findings of civic educators from the studies mentioned above, this study potentially contributes to further understanding the diverse views on citizenship and civic education among teachers. With regard to teachers' views on citizenship, the findings of this study build on Sim et al's (2017) study, as teachers in Japan also face a similar challenge to navigate through the state's control (such as requirement for political neutrality) while exercising their professional agency to empower young people for social justice. In addition, this study also addresses the gap between civic educators' professional agency and the contextual constraints identified in Wahrman and Hartaf's findings. Teachers' manoeuvring their professional agency through political constraints also benefited from comparison between English and Japanese teachers' views. As for teachers' views on the aim of civic education, this study offers insights to consider whether or not dominance of personally responsible citizenship persists among expert civic educators. With regard to teachers' expertise in curriculum knowledge, Weinberg (2020) offers survey data with secondary school teachers in England that finds that those who have training in citizenship are less likely to support personally responsible citizenship. As this study focuses on expert civic education teachers, the possible contribution this study can make is further understanding expert teachers' views on citizenship based on findings from qualitative interviews. In addition, this study also builds on Li and Tan's (2017) views that there are possible alternatives to justice-oriented citizenship to solve social problems. As justice-oriented citizenship (such as challenging the existing social structure to make change) may not be a preferred option in Japanese society where collective harmony is valued (Droz, 2021; Kobayashi et al., 2021), this study has the potential to explore alternative means through analysis of interviews with Japanese civic education teachers. English teachers' views are likely to be distinct from Japanese teachers as Weinberg's (2020) survey data also indicate the majority of secondary school teachers with expertise in England are in support of justice-oriented citizenship of bringing about systemic change and challenging existing power relations in society. This difference potentially provides an insight in understanding the diverse ways in which to address social problems. This study offers further understanding of how maximal, justice-oriented citizenship can be practised in English society, in which teachers feel less constraint to challenge existing structures, and in Japanese society where teachers often have to navigate through constraints such as the depoliticization of education. Therefore, by comparing English and Japanese teachers' views, this study informs us about cross-culturally diverse meanings of justice-oriented citizenship.

Regarding the findings on participating teachers' pedagogical approaches to civic education, there seem to be two contributions this study can make. As this study also explores a possible link between teachers' views on citizenship and their pedagogical approaches to civic education, the findings also inform expert civic educators' pedagogical approaches (which could be helpful for education practitioners). Comparison between two sets of interview data with English and Japanese teachers also brings understanding of cross-national differences in pedagogical approaches to civic education. Firstly, this study explores expert civic educators' views and their pedagogical approaches. While my participants are expert civic education teachers, quantitative studies by Knowles (2018a) and Knowles and Castro (2019) did not put a particular focus on the expertise/knowledge of participants. Although this study cannot offer generalisable findings, it offers one possible understanding of expert teachers' views on citizenship and their pedagogical approaches. Secondly, this study provides insights as to understand contextual influences on teachers' views and their approaches to civic education. Looking at both English and Japanese socio-political contexts and comparing the findings from interviews with English and Japanese teachers leads to further understanding of what Priestly et al (2015, p.2) call the 'interplay' between teachers' professional views and environmental conditions.

2.4 Teachers' citizenship practice

In addition to teachers' views on citizenship, their pedagogical approaches of civic education, and the potential link between the two, this study also explores possible influences from teachers' own life experiences. Research shows that civic educators' life experiences inform how they see citizenship and their pedagogical decisions (Dejaeghere, 2008). Based on the findings from interviews with various civic educators in Australia (including secondary school teachers and teacher educators), Dejaeghere (2008) found that Australian civic educators' citizenship practice was in their involvement in local, national, and global communities with varying degrees of power and privilege, such as access to resources and the rights to participate. Drawing on Dejaeghere's (2008) argument that greater understanding of how civic educators engage with curriculum and deliver their lessons is generated through exploring their life experience as citizens (including civic, political, and social acts), this study also explores the possible connection between teachers' life experiences and their views on citizenship, as well as pedagogical approaches to civic education. The scholars mentioned above (who work on teachers' perception of citizenship) recognise the influence of teachers' background on their views (Fry & O'Brien, 2015; Knowles, 2018a). Fry and O'Brien (2015) point out that prevalence of personally responsible citizenship and the weak support for justice-oriented pedagogy in their participants' view comes from limited opportunities for learning about social movements, social transformation, and systemic change throughout their school experiences. Knowles (2018a) also found that teachers in rural schools preferred conservative pedagogical styles such as text-based instructions, while those in suburban and urban schools indicated a preference of collaborative, research-based instruction.

Studies also suggest that teachers' experience influences their values and concepts relevant to citizenship, such as human rights (Durdukoca, 2019; Zembylas et al., 2014). Value education is included in the teaching and learning of all courses offered in formal curricula throughout primary and secondary education in order to help young citizens to learn social values, support character development, and enhance academic achievement (Durdukoca, 2019). Based on a survey and interviews with secondary school social science teachers aimed at understanding how important value education is for teachers, Durdukoca (2019) reported that teachers' attitudes towards value education differs depending on their professional experiences (which is possibly due to the increasing gap between the value education they were taught in pre-service training and the value education in practice they currently teach at their schools). Zembylas et al (2015) analysed interviews with primary school teachers in Cyprus in order to explore their understanding of human rights and human rights education. Their findings were that teachers' understandings are linked to their own personal experiences, as well as wider social contexts such as curriculum. For instance, their participants made profuse references to children's rights which are emphasised in the curriculum, while teachers' views of seeing human rights as 'natural' universal entitlements were reflective of being Greek-Cypriot citizens who experienced the conflict between two communities, Greek-Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. In terms of the contextual focus, the sampling population, and being comparative research on civic education, Evans' (2006) study on teachers' pedagogical approaches of civic education in England and Canada is more relevant to this research than the ones discussed above. The study focuses on specialist citizenship teachers at secondary schools in

England. Drawing on the three pedagogical approaches (Evans, 2008), the findings indicate that teachers' pedagogies are diverse depending on individuals, while the transmission approach tends to dominate (Evans, 2006). Although participating teachers view their personal experiences (including immigrant status and professional learning experiences as influential), Evans (2006, p. 425) concludes this is rather 'respondent-specific' and the findings are less conclusive about the relationship between teachers' backgrounds and their pedagogical preferences. This study explores the possible influences of teachers' life experiences on their views on citizenship and civic education pedagogical approaches, which is referred to in the previous research but not fully heeded attention to. For this purpose, I draw on Lawy and Biesta's (2006) perspective to see citizenship as practice, in order to aid the theoretical frameworks based on the typologies of citizenship and civic education, and to consider the possible connection between teachers' life experiences and their views. Essentially, teachers' life experience is viewed as their practice of citizenship.

Studies on the perception of citizenship by civic educators internationally draw on Lawy and Biesta's (2006) perspective viewing citizenship as practice (Akbulut-Tas & Sanberk, 2021; Agbaria & Pinson, 2019; Cavieres-Fernández, 2017; Cohen, 2017). Agbaria & Pinson (2019) and Cavieres-Fernández (2017) relate their findings and see citizenship as practice. With the analysis of interviews with civic teachers in Arab state high schools in Israel in order to understand how teachers conceptualise Israeli citizenship, their study finds that citizenship is a survival strategy, learning process, or practice of being an Arab minority in Israel that links to ethnic and cultural identities (Agbaria & Pinson, 2019). Agbaria and Pinson (2019) maintain this finding is citizenship practice because it is reflexive and relational practice, rather than common knowledge that everyone learns at school. Findings from qualitative interviews with Chilean social studies teachers' offer a detailed illustration of how teachers construct their counter-narrative to confront power structures through citizenship practice (Fernández, 2017). Cavieres-Fernández (2017, p. 430) views citizenship as practice because the teachers interviewed in the study used ''curriculum space'', a place where they practise their profession in their everyday lives, in order to foster the citizenship they envision for their students. In the findings of these studies, authors point out that citizenship is a context-dependent reflexive and relational practice (Agbaria & Pinson, 2019) and practise for a professional civic educator who criticises state policy (Cavieres-Fernández, 2017). It is these relational, reflexive practices of individual citizens that this study explores through the participating teachers' life experiences in the past and today. Rather than locating the practice within teachers' perception of citizenship as in the findings mentioned above, this study explores citizenship as practice in teachers' experiences as young citizens and professional civic educators.

Other scholars (Akbulut-Tas & Sanberk, 2021; Cohen, 2017) also use the perspective of seeing citizenship as practice in their theoretical frameworks. In an attempt to understand social and political tensions experienced by civic teachers working at Jewish high schools in Israel, Cohen (2017) draws on Lawy and Biesta's (2006) perspective viewing citizenship as practice. Citizenship as practice (Biesta & Lawy, 2006) is used in Cohen's (2017) study as an alternative model to understand the connection between citizenship and the learning process, which includes not only formal schooling but also informal educational opportunities in citizens' own life experiences. Akbulut-Tas and Sanberk (2021) also draw on the citizenship as practice perspective for similar reasons, but with a purpose to investigate the influence of implicit knowledge on student teachers' perspectives. Based on the analysis of structured interviews, their study aims to understand student social studies teachers' perspectives on being a citizen in Turkey. Akbulut-Tas and Sanberk (2021) analysed the data based on Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) three models of citizenship, with the perspective that the sense of being a citizen is affected by both the formal learning process and any informal learning within citizens' own life experiences. Looking at both the influence of knowledge obtained through formal learning and the socio-cultural and political environment, their findings show that student teachers' perspectives are linked to a personally responsible citizenship. This study aligns with these two studies which incorporate the citizenship as practice perspective in their theoretical framework (Akbulut-Tas & Sanberk, 2021; Cohen, 2017), and brings further understanding of possible connections between teachers' views on citizenship and their own citizenship practice. In this section, I have discussed previous research findings on teachers' perceptions of citizenship and civic education pedagogies. I acknowledge the limit that I focused on studies which share the theoretical frameworks of this research; however, in doing this I illuminated potential areas of contribution that this research offers with the findings from my interview data Having discussed relevant findings in research prior to my research questions and theoretical frameworks, the next chapter will provide a detailed explanation of the theoretical frameworks used in this study. In the next chapter, I will explain how the theoretical frameworks serve the purpose of this research and facilitate my data analysis.

2.5 Chapter conclusion

This chapter reviewed previous work on citizenship and civic education with the focus on teachers' perceptions and pedagogical approaches. In order to explore the possible areas that this study can make contributions to, the following themes were explored: teachers' professional agency and contextual influences, teachers' perceptions on citizenship and pedagogical approaches, and teachers' citizenship practice. These themes are relevant to the four research questions about teachers' views on citizenship and civic education, their pedagogical approaches to civic education, and their life experiences which might inform their views. While some studies reviewed in this chapter concern the English and Japanese context, most of the papers are in an international context which include not only the UK or Japanese context, but also other countries. This is because I focused on the use of theoretical frameworks (Evans, 2008; McLaughlin, 1992; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Lawy & Biesta, 2006) in order to locate a potential cross-national focus or trend in teachers' views on citizenship and civic education.

As for teachers' professional agency and contextual influence, this chapter started with a discussion on how teachers' capacity to act on their vision as professionals and the environmental conditions such as school atmosphere and socio-political contexts are interdependent with each other. Having also discussed previous findings on the links between teachers' views on citizenship and their pedagogical approaches to civic education, I then illustrated education policies and political contexts of civic education in England and Japan, (such as the Prevent strategy in the UK and requirement on Japanese teachers to avoid political topics). With regard to contextual influence on teachers' professional capacities to act on their own visions, this study is able to provide insight into how English and Japanese teachers navigate through political context which might put constraints on their professional agency. Second, with regard to teachers' views on citizenship and civic education, international literature indicates that the majority of teachers' (including pre-service and in-service teachers) views are aligned with personally responsible citizenship. There is a possibility that expert civic educators tend to support justice-oriented citizenship, rather than personal responsibility. Based on the previous research reviewed in this chapter, this study further explores expert teachers' views by interviewing them and illustrating their knowledge and insight as civic educators. Lastly, I also reviewed studies which draw on Lawy and Biesta's (2006) perspective which views citizenship as practice in order to consider ways this study can contribute to or build on the previous findings. Several scholars demonstrated possible means of locating teachers' citizenship practice in classroom practice, or in teachers' reflections (Agbaria & Pinson, 2019; Cavieres-Fernández, 2017). Building on these findings, this study also offers another possible means to locate citizenship practice in teachers' own life experiences (both past and present). In addition, findings from the research questions in this study also contribute to understanding socio-political and cultural differences between citizenship and civic education by comparing English and Japanese teachers' views.

While findings from previous studies show that teachers, especially those who are without or have limited expertise, tend to support personally responsible citizenship, this study can provide ways in which to understand whether expert civic education teachers' views are also similar. Although survey data with English secondary school teachers suggests those who have training to teach citizenship curriculum tend to support justice-oriented citizenship (Weinberg, 2020), expert teachers' views might also be aligned with personally responsible citizenship. Judith Torney-Purta et al. (1999) report that there is a gap between the ideal of democracy envisioned in civic education and the reality of the school, due to limited hours spared for civic education and the lack of relevance to students' lives. Moreover, teachers find it difficult to encourage students to express opinions when school policies are aimed at making kids ‘‘silent and powerless’’ (Hahn, 1999, p. 116). These findings (Torney-Purta et al., 1999; Hahn, 1999) suggest that civic education is provided through formal education and a school environment that silences and disempowers students, as well as teachers. It is concerning that civic education provided at schools may not lead to the democratic values that Jerome and Starkey (2021) define as a way of looking at the world with awareness of structural injustice, as well as respect to dignity and human rights. Furthermore, students' socio-economic backgrounds are another possible factor that seem to influence teachers' pedagogical decisions in their classroom or approaches to civic education. Students with disadvantaged backgrounds tend to receive civic education which emphasises social responsibility, while those who are of a higher social class are likely to experience programmes which emphasise critical and active citizenship (McCowan, 2009). Deimel et al. (2019) also show similar findings that those with a higher socio-economic status tend to have more access to civic education lessons and learn in an open classroom climate which offers more student participation. Having located possible areas this study can make contributions to, the next chapter explains the theoretical framework of this study that informs data analysis and discussions on the findings from interview data.

3 Theoretical frameworks

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains how I combine three different typologies of citizenship and civic education proposed by several scholars (Evans, 2008; McLaughlin, 1992; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). I synthesised these frameworks in order to address my research questions about teachers' views on citizenship and civic education. As this study also considers the possible influences from teachers' life experiences, I also draw on a perspective which sees citizenship as practice (Lawy & Biesta, 2006). By combining these perspectives, I address following research questions:

1. How do teachers in England and Japan define the meaning of citizenship and how do their interpretations differ?
2. What is the aim of civic education English and Japanese teachers envision?
3. What are English and Japanese teachers' pedagogical approaches to civic education?
4. How do English and Japanese teachers relate their life experience to the development of their views on citizenship and civic education?

I combine the different frameworks of citizenship and civic education because they facilitate addressing these four research questions. Minimal / maximal citizenship (McLaughlin, 1992) and the three models of citizens (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) offer a means to understand citizens' senses of being and the forms of citizens' participation, while Evans's pedagogical orientation model helps answer my research question about teachers' pedagogical approaches. Citizenship as practice perspective (Lawy & Biesta, 2006) offers an aid to link teachers' views to their own life experience as citizens in the past and present.

The three sets of frameworks of citizenship and civic education illustrate the sense of being a citizen (McLaughlin, 1992), forms of participation (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004b), and pedagogical approaches of civic education (Evans, 2008) in terms of degree of criticality and the extent to which civic education is aimed at transforming and addressing inequality in society. These frameworks complement one another, as minimal / maximal citizenship (McLaughlin, 1992) addresses disposition of citizens' identity, civic virtue, and political involvement, while the three models of citizens (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004b) illustrate ideal citizens that educators or education programmes aim to develop. Evans's (2004) three kinds of civic education orientation also inform us about how civic educators teach their lessons or curriculum subjects in the classroom. Accordingly, the proposed three frameworks offer a perspective to understand participating teachers' views on the dispositions of citizens (such as identity, civic virtue, and politics)as well as civic participation (McLaughlin, 1992), citizenship they would like young people to develop (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004), and their pedagogical approach (Evans, 2004). The perspective to see citizenship as practice (Lawy & Biesta, 2006) aids these frameworks, as it links teachers' views to their life experiences in the past as young citizens and civic educators today.

This chapter starts with theorising the concept of citizenship in terms of minimal or maximal citizenship, drawing on several scholars (Kerr, 2000; McLaughlin, 1992; Osler & Starkey, 1999) and explains why this study uses McLaughlin's (1992) framework. The second part of this chapter relates the three frameworks of citizenship and civic education (Evans, 2008; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004b; McLaughlin, 1992). I then explain how I integrate them to form a spectrum of citizenship which informs my interpretation of participating teachers' views. The spectrum offers a way to conceptualise citizenship and civic education in terms of criticality and degree of emphasis on social justice. It locates maximal, justice-oriented citizenship at one end, and minimal, personally responsible citizenship at the other end. The perspective to view citizenship as practice (Lawy & Biesta, 2006) is not integrated into the spectrum, but it is used as an aid to understand possible influences from teachers' life experiences. I conclude this chapter by suggesting that learning that provides experience to act on young people's own agency empowers them to become justice-oriented citizens.

3.2 Theorising citizenship: minimal or maximal citizenship

Scholars theorised citizenship with the idea to locate active citizenship at one end as maximal, and passive citizenship at the other end as minimal (Kerr, 2000; McLaughlin, 1992; Osler & Starkey, 1999; Ross, 2012). Ross (2012, p. 7) suggests citizenship is passive or active: passive citizens are obedient and patriotic with a preference towards social stability, in contrast to active citizens who "critically engage with and seek to affect the course of social events." Others (Kerr, 2000; McLaughlin, 1992; Osler & Starkey, 1999) use minimal and maximal citizenship. Osler and Starkey (1999) see minimal citizenship as understanding the social and political structures and cultural contexts, while maximal citizenship concerns not only knowledge but also competencies to actively participate in society. McLaughlin (1992) shares a similar sense with Osler and Starkey (1999), linking minimal citizenship to knowledge about existing government structures and social morality, while maximal citizenship concerns critically reflecting on government policies and working towards eliminating structural inequality. Kerr (2000) provides a summary of minimal and maximal citizenship discussed by Osler and Starkey (1999) and McLaughlin (1992). Kerr (2000) explains that minimal interpretation defines citizenship in a narrow sense that citizenship is exclusive to a certain group of people, such as those who have national citizenship, while maximal interpretation defines citizenship in a broader sense to include and address the interests of diverse groups in a society.

Interpreting citizenship as minimal and maximal helps understand the degree of criticality and conformity in how individuals practise citizenship. Minimal citizenship is characterised as understanding existing political and social structures in support of social coherence, and is linked to conformity (McCowan, 2009). Winch (2004, p. 475) recognizes that allegiance to a country and respect of law and order are favoured by those who wish to avoid ‘‘danger of instability.’’ On the other hand, maximal citizenship is linked to criticality, which McCowan (2009) interprets as challenging the government when not upholding the interests of its citizens. Drawing on several scholars (Kerr, 2000; McLaughlin, 1992; Osler & Starkey, 1999), individuals' means to practise maximal citizenship includes: civic and political participation, sense of community, and awareness of rights and responsibility. Osler and Starkey (1999, p. 201) see that civic education should provide a learning process with ‘‘opportunities for active participation’’ and develop a ‘‘feeling of belonging to a community’’ in order to empower young people to secure their rights in the society. McLaughlin (1992, p. 237) also frames maximal citizens as those who participate in society, as they have a sense of ‘‘effective personal agency’’ and see themselves as members of a ‘‘living community’’ based on a common good.

Moreover, a minimal and maximal citizenship framework can be applied to the context of civic education. Chapter 2 presented that previous studies with empirical findings drawing on theoretical frameworks of citizenship suggest that minimal, personally responsible citizenship is prevailing in teachers’ perceptions of citizenship and civic education internationally. However, some scholars support maximal citizenship based on the argument that education should develop critical citizens who are keen to address structural injustices through social movements (Wheeler-Bell, 2014, p. 464). Jonson and Morris (2010) suggest that civic educators need to support young people so that they become competent in addressing the root causes of oppression and injustice in society. There are also ‘‘perennial dilemmas’’ teachers face, as they need to educate citizens not only to follow laws and social norms, but also to be creative and critical (Johnson & Morris, 2010, p. 78). Prevalence of personally responsible citizenship reported in previous studies on teachers’ perception of citizenship (see Chapter 2) is possibly related to this dilemma, as teachers may not always be able to act on their own vision of citizenship. It should be noted that frameworks of citizenship, including minimal and maximal citizenship, are not complete. For instance, Ross (2012) notes that the distinctions between passive and active citizenship are not always clear, as there are cultural variations which reflect historical and political developments of a state. I acknowledge minimal or maximal citizenship may not explain the diverse perspectives on citizenship individuals and society have. Nevertheless, the framework still helps address the overarching question of this study, ‘Do expert civic educators support education for critical citizenship?’

Although there are several scholars who interpret citizenship as minimal or maximal (Kerr, 2000; Osler & Starkey, 1999; McLaughlin, 1992), this study draws on McLaughlin's (1992) interpretation of minimal and maximal citizenship as a framework because of the four dispositions of citizens McLaughlin illustrates, and the applicability to form a spectrum of citizenship (Wood et al., 2018). First, McLaughlin (1992) interprets citizenship in terms of the four senses of being a citizen including: identity, virtues, political involvement, and social prerequisites on a continuum of minimal and maximal citizenship. These four features offer an insight into individuals' awareness or memberships as citizens in society. McLaughlin(, 1992) maintains that minimal citizenship implies ''unreflective socialisation into'' (p. 238) status quo, while maximal citizenship involves consciousness of rights and responsibilities as a member of a democratic society. McLaughlin's (1992) interpretation of minimal and maximal citizenship helps this study to address the research questions about teachers' views on citizenship, and their approaches to civic education, as it offers a perspective to comprehend individuals' membership as a citizen (identity), awareness of citizens' rights and responsibility (civic virtue and political involvement), and sense of justice (social prerequisite). Second, minimal and maximal citizenship interpreted by McLaughlin (1992) forms a spectrum of citizenship along with Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) three models of citizens. According to Wood et al. (2018) and Idrissi et al. (2019), these two frameworks of citizenship form a spectrum of citizenship which illustrates a degree of criticality and sense of justice. This spectrum facilitates data analysis by providing a means to relate individuals' sense of being a citizen, and forms of participation in society. Furthermore, the combined framework of minimal / maximal citizenship and three models of citizens is also linked to Evans's (2004) three pedagogical orientations of civic education (Knowles, 2018b), hence the spectrum also provides a lens to analyse participating teachers' pedagogical approaches to civic education. The next section explains how minimal / maximal citizenship and the three models of citizens are combined to form the spectrum of citizenship and its relation to pedagogical orientation of civic education.

3.3 Theoretical framework

3.3.1 Spectrum of citizenship and civic education

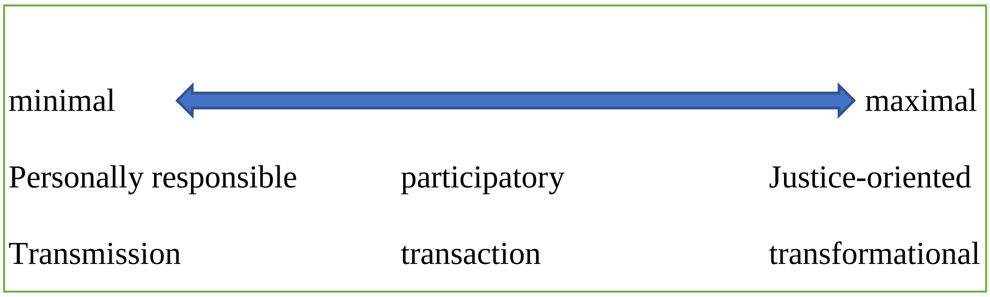
In addition to minimal / maximal citizenship explained in the previous section, Westheimer and Kahne (2004b) propose three models of citizens (personally responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented citizens) to illustrate the degree of criticality reflected in how citizens participate in society. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) explain their three models as: acting responsibly in one's own community is an attribute of personally responsible citizens, participatory citizens contribute actively to the improvement of the community, and justice-oriented citizens have critical perspectives with which to analyse society and address inequalities caused by social, economic, and political structures. Some scholars (Idrissi, 2020; Wood et al., 2018) suggest that these three models of citizens form a spectrum of citizenship combined with McLaughlin's (1992) minimal / maximal citizenship. Wood et al. (2018, p. 260) propose a ''spectrum of conceptions of active citizenship'' which locate maximal, justice-oriented citizenship at one end, and minimal, personally responsible citizenship at the other end based on levels of awareness and capacity to address social injustices.

The spectrum is based on the interpretation that both the idea of maximal citizenship and that of the justice-oriented citizen illustrate attributes of transformative and active citizenship which involve critical analysis of society, questioning societal norms, and addressing social injustice or inequality (Wood et al., 2018). Idrissi (2020, p. 276) also suggests a similar interpretation that 'ideals of good citizen' is obedient, law-abiding, and public-spirited when framed in minimal, personally responsible citizenship while maximal, justice-oriented citizenship is about critical, transformative perspective to challenge power relations to transform socio-political structures. The spectrum of citizenship facilitates understanding citizenship in terms of degree of criticality and conformity reflected in individuals' senses of being a citizen (McLaughlin, 1992) and forms of participation (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004b). Those who are oriented toward minimal, personally responsible citizenship see good citizens as the ones who understand existing government systems and social norms, while those who have a maximal, justice-oriented conception of citizenship tend to emphasise critical reflection of government and eliminating structural inequality. Moreover, participatory citizenship which can be placed between minimal, personally responsible citizenship, and maximal, justice-oriented citizenship (Knowles, 2018b). Wood et al. (2018) explain that participatory citizenship is a more active form of citizenship than minimal, personally responsible citizenship, as it is about active engagement but falls short of any critical analysis of society and challenging the status quo. The framework can illustrate and facilitate further understanding of individuals' senses of membership and involvement as citizens which may not sufficiently fit conventional classifications (such as conformity/passive or critical/active citizenship).

As the spectrum of citizenship mentioned above is also related to Evans's (2008) three types of pedagogical orientation (transmission orientation, transactional orientation, and transformative orientation), it facilitates the understanding of the relationship between teachers' views on citizenship / civic education and their pedagogical approaches. Evans (2008) explains the three types of civic education pedagogy as follows: transformative orientation aims to develop an awareness to address injustice and make a required change; transactional orientation puts emphasis on developing particular skills required in society, such as ability to participate; transmission orientation focuses on imparting knowledge from teacher to students. In common with the minimal/ maximal citizenship and three types of citizens explained above, these three pedagogical orientations also address the degree of emphasis on critical analysis of social and political structure to address inequality or injustice. For this reason, Knowles (2018b) relates the three frameworks of citizenship and civic education including McLaughlin's (1992) minimal / maximal citizenship, Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) three models of citizens, and Evans's (2008) three orientations of civic education pedagogy. According to Knowles (2018b), Evans's (2008) framework on pedagogical orientation of civic education contributes to this spectrum as follows: transmission orientation is related to minimal, personally responsible citizenship with the aim to secure social coherence; transformational orientation is about maximal, justice-oriented citizenship due to the aim to develop capacity to critically analyse social and political structure to make change. This study combines these three frameworks in an attempt to explore and understand civic educators’ senses of being a citizen, forms of citizens’ participation they envision to foster through civic education, and their approach to teaching civic education curriculum.

Figure 1 below provides a spectrum of citizenship which I visualised for this study.

FIGURE 1 SPECTRUM OF CITIZENSHIP



Maximal, justice-oriented citizenship corresponds with scholars’ argument that civic education should aim for developing dispositions to address the structural problems that hinder the freedom of various individuals within society (Knowles & Castro, 2019). It is also possible to argue that social activism is one of the characteristics of maximal, justice-oriented citizenship as Broom (2015) maintains that individuals with a confidence that they have control over their lives bring about a political and social change. This is also supported by several other scholars, who state that individuals’ senses of efficacy, or confidence to make a difference, leads to civic and political participation (Kahne & Westheimer, 2006; Wood et al., 2018). Hence, it is probable that acting on one’s own agency to make a difference forms a part of maximal, justice-oriented citizenship.

3.3.2 Possible critique on the theoretical framework.

Characteristics of maximal, justice-oriented citizenship such as critically analysing power relations and structural injustices in the society can be preferred in order to bring about social transformation. For example, Westheimer and Kahne (2004, p. 245) argue it is ‘committed civic actors’ who make change for justice rather than ‘armchair activists’ who are silent but actively converse about politics. Minimal citizenship or personally responsible citizenship, are interpreted through forms of participation such as volunteering and community involvement which are often criticised as not necessarily intended to bring about political change (Annete, 2009; Mayo et al., 2009; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). However, individuals' citizenship practice may not fit neatly to maximal, justice-oriented or minimal, personally responsible citizenship, hence cross-nationally nuanced and diverse forms of citizenship and civic education may not be fully explained by the theoretical framework.

As forms of political participation can vary among individuals and across societies, empirical studies can offer insights to understand theoretical frameworks further. Based on analysis of semi-structured interviews with social studies teachers in Singapore and classroom observations, Sim and Print (2009, p. 715) report that teachers' understandings of citizenship and their pedagogical approaches are oriented towards maximal interpretation of citizenship. This is because their participants' view is that civic education that offers opportunities to develop a positive self-image and sense of achievement enables young people to actively participate in and inquire into their own (or collective) concerns. These findings inform that maximal citizenship is not only about bringing social change but also developing dispositions such as belief in oneself to make a difference (Sim & Print, 2009).

Moreover, it is possible that some citizens practise implicit activism. Horton and Kraftl (2009) explain that implicit activism is a less dramatic modest movement with political intent, which has a potential to transform society. Scholarship on implicit activism in Asian context informs us that there are explicit forms as well as more subtle ways to express calls for change. (Cheng, 2022; Cheng & Jacobs, 2019). Based on fieldwork that consists of interviews with university students studying in Shanghai and on-site observations, Cheng (2022, p.9) found that implicit activism is a preferred means to express political agency among students in 'authoritarian context as expressing dissent and taking part in activism are seen as 'potential seeds of discord'. Findings on implicit activism among university students in China (Cheng, 2022; Cheng & Jacobs, 2019) offer clues to understand different forms of citizens' political participation, and possible diversity in citizens' means to effect changes depending on socio-political and cultural contexts.

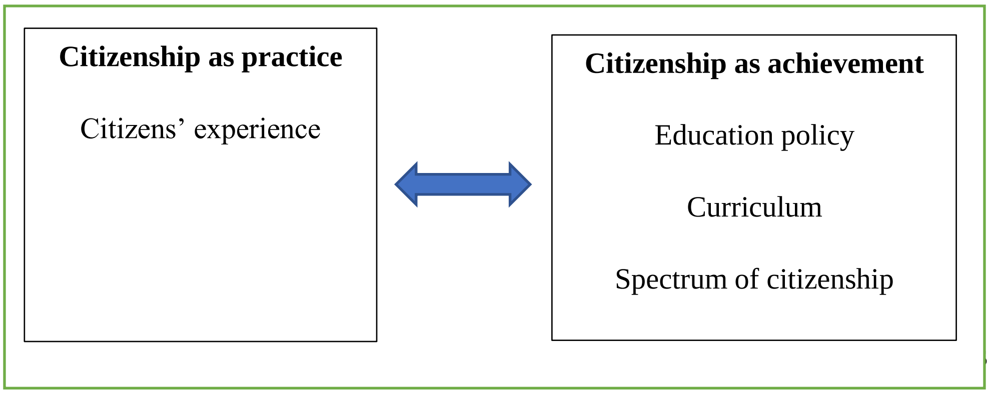
Studies also suggest that socio-political and cultural contexts influence citizenship practices. With the cross-national quantitative online experiment carried out in nine countries (including US, UK, France, Germany, Japan, China, Hong Kong, South Korea, and India), Kobayashi et al. (2021, p. 400) found that democracy in East Asia was delivered in a top-down manner through which political institutions were ‘‘transplanted’’ following the defeat in WWII or due to the influence of the Cold War. The local contexts possibly lead to diverse forms of citizenship practice. Droz (2021) explored how globalised environmental activism is enacted in local contexts through analysing semi-structured interviews and participatory observation with environmental activists in Japan. The findings suggest that confrontational approaches such as protests are not preferred option in the Japanese society which puts emphasis on social harmony (Droz, 2021). It is also reported that citizens can practice justice-oriented citizenship internally through their attitudes or mindsets. For instance, based on analysis of survey data from the Japanese Election Study, Krauss et al. (2016) note that Japanese people have become critical in their attitudes toward the government, especially after the government’s failure to address the damage caused by the huge earthquake in 2011. The findings from aforementioned scholars indicate that activism, civic and political participation for social change, can be carried through not only explicit forms but also implicit forms. Therefore, they raise a question about whether theoretical models of minimum, personally responsible citizenship and maximal, justice-oriented citizenship can account for more diverse and subtle forms of citizenship practice. This study could contribute to further theoretical understanding of citizenship and civic education with empirical findings which unpacks civic education teachers’ views, pedagogical approaches, and experiences.

It also needs to be acknowledged that each teacher’s view may be complex, containing both aspects of maximal, justice-oriented and minimal, personally responsible citizenship. Knowles (2018b) suggests that a teacher draws on both conservative and critical, transformative teaching. As this study comparatively analyses interviews with English and Japanese teachers, the findings have a potential to further understand shared but different meanings of citizenship and values of civic education. Hence, this study could unpack nuanced practice of citizenship embedded in participating teachers’ views, civic education pedagogies, and their life experience. In this section, I acknowledged my awareness that individuals' views are complex and theoretical frameworks may not provide full account for nuanced, subtle practices of citizenship. While acknowledging this limitation, the theoretical framework also has benefits to analyse my interview data in terms of criticality and conformity (minimal, maximal citizenship), degree of social justice concern in civic education, and transformative pedagogies. Therefore, I draw on the spectrum of citizenship, a combined model of theoretical frameworks of citizenship (Evans, 2008; Joel Westheimer, 2004; McLaughlin, 1992), in order to unpack civic education teachers' views.

3.3.3 Citizenship as practice: individuals' experiences and citizenship

In addition to the spectrum of citizenship, this study requires additional perspective in order to link participating teachers' life experiences to their views on citizenship and civic education. While the proposed spectrum of citizenship informs about the different conceptions of citizenship, aims of civic education, and approaches to civic education, individuals' experiences as citizens may not be fully addressed. A possible reason for this is that the theoretical frameworks of citizenship and civics education (Evans, 2008; Joel Westheimer, 2004; McLaughlin, 1992) are based on a perspective of viewing ‘‘citizenship as achievement’’ of the required conditions in order to be a member of society (Lawy and Biesta, 2006, p.37). Lawy and Biesta (2006, p. 37) propose an approach to see citizenship as practice which offers citizenship status to ‘‘everyone in society including children and young people.’’ Research questions 1 -3 look at the teachers' views on their concepts of citizenship, how they view the aims of civics education, and how they teach the citizenship / civics curriculum, hence the emphasis on developmental and educational trajectory is appropriate. On the other hand, the fourth research question addresses how teachers' life experiences in their past and present shape their views. Understanding teachers' own citizenship practice requires another dimension. Recognising citizenship as practice offers beneficial aids, as Lawy and Biesta (2006, p. 37) suggest that citizenship is about individuals' life conditions and processes to learn democratic values.

FIGURE 2 CITIZENSHIP AS PRACTICE OR ACHIEVEMENT



Recognizing citizenship as practice connects teachers' views on citizenship and their experiences of citizenship in their past and their professional experience at school. Wyn and Dwyer (1999) note that individuals' experiences in their own life influences their development of sense of agency, which can be recognized as confidence or feeling empowered as citizens (Conner & Cosner, 2016) or personal or collective efficacy that enables individuals to participate in society with critical perspectives (Watts & Flanagan, 2007). A possible interpretation is that individuals' experiences eventually inform their civic and political participation, hence what individuals experience in their lives also forms a part of their citizenship. Kahne and Westheimer (2006) also recognize the importance of the sense of agency, as they note that active civic participation requires individuals to have personal efficacy: a confidence that he / she can make change. In other words, individuals' life experiences influence their sense of self-efficacy and agency, which then inform the means of political and civic involvement. Hence, Lawy and Biesta's (2006) interpretation of citizenship as practice informs us how teachers develop their agency as citizens, which possibly influences the way they see citizenship, civic education, and their pedagogical approaches to teaching the citizenship / civics curriculum.

Additionally, 'social divisions' such as class influence individuals' senses of agency in making their own decisions (Wyn & Dwyer, 1999, p. 18). Social class could influence access to civic education opportunities and political participation. Disparity in civic education opportunities and political participation between students of higher and lower social classes have been reported in several studies (Marri et al., 2013; Middaugh, 2008; Weinberg, 2021). In England, Weinberg (2021) notes that working class children are less likely to vote, volunteer, or be able to make an informed decision about politics. Marri et al (2014) report that wealthier students are more likely to have opportunities to develop skills and knowledge to engage in society. Kahne and Middaugh (2008) also see that higher levels of parental education and income lead to more civic learning opportunities and increased political participation in adulthood. Rather than addressing inequality, schools contribute to widening the gap by equipping those who are already likely to have a civic and political voice (Middaugh, 2008). Thus, the experience of learning citizenship could differ depending on one's social class background, such as family income, the level of prestige schools have, etc.

In addition to individuals' socialisation processes related to their backgrounds, such as social class which leads to varied levels of capacity as well as means for civic and political participation, Knowles (2018b) reports that teachers' decision-making and preference on teaching methods differ depending on factors such as characteristics of school community, the racial makeup of the school, and students' gender. It is reported that the level of diversity in the community one grew up in and the working environment influences the development of inclusive citizenship and intercultural competence (Osler & Solhaug, 2018). Solhaug and Kristensen (2019) suggest that a sense of justice, recognition of differences with regard to majority and minority populations, and solidarity with others are important in order to develop citizens' competence to participate in society. Awareness of diversity in society leads to development of a sense of justice as Castro (2013) illustrates that those who have a diversity-oriented view recognize the history of injustice and the issue of marginalisation in society today. Teachers could be more aware about diversity and intercultural competence if they grew up in (or work in) schools which have diversity in students' or teachers' backgrounds (Solhaug & Kristensen, 2019).

Understanding teachers' own citizenship practice offers the means to understand socio-political and cultural contexts of England and Japan that influence teachers' own lives and their views. With regard to the relationship between social and cultural contexts and individuals' political and civic participation, Jasper (2011, p. 41) notes it is a ''twin process'' in which individuals are influenced by society and cultures, while they also shape cultural and social change by practising their agency as a member of society. Marri et al. (2013) note that teachers' life experiences, beliefs, and assumptions are important factors that influence how teachers conceive citizenship and organise their civics education lessons. Hence, teachers' life experiences, cultural values, and ideologies inform their views on citizenship and civics education. Durdukoca (2019) explains that human beings are social beings who are guided by culture, values, and beliefs in society. Addressing the influence of teachers' life experiences in the past and their professional experience as a civic educator, this study attempts to link teachers' conceptions of citizenship and civics education with their personal experiences which reflect their cultural and societal values.

3.4 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter discussed the theoretical framework for analysing the interview data with civic education teachers in England and Japan. I combined three typologies of citizenship and civic education for this study. The synthesised framework consists of McLaughlin's (1992) minimal / maximal citizenship, Westheimer and Kahne's (2004b) three types of citizens, and Evans's (2008) pedagogical orientations of civic education. In this chapter, I have provided my explanation for why I draw on these three typologies, and how I combined them. My reason for combining these frameworks is to address the research questions in this study. Minimal and maximal citizenship addresses teachers' views of being a citizen, while the three models of citizens and pedagogical approaches facilitate understanding teachers' views and aims and pedagogical approaches to civic education. These three frameworks use a degree of criticality and conformity as criteria to locate citizenship or civic education.

For this study, I synthesised these frameworks into a spectrum of citizenship in order to understand the degree of criticality reflected in teachers' views on citizenship and their approaches to civic education. The spectrum offers a means to explore to what extent participating teachers support maximal, justice-oriented or minimal, personally responsible citizenship. It is maximal, justice-oriented citizens who are capable of critically analysing social and political structures, identifying social and political problems through inquiry, and bringing about change to address injustices (Wood et al., 2018). However, it is worth noting that previous findings on teachers' perception of citizenship indicate that personally-responsible citizenship is prevalent. This is increasingly becoming important, as there is a persistent gap between higher and lower social classes of children in their access to opportunities for civic education, as well as political involvement (Deimel et al., 2019; Marri et al., 2013). Civic education has a potential to empower individuals to challenge structural inequality if it can develop competence to critically analyse social and political structures, and provide the capacity to act on one's own agency in order to address the root causes of injustice. For this reason, the spectrum is helpful to explore to what extent teachers in this study conform to prevailing emphasis on minimal, personally responsible citizenship, or act on their own agency moving toward maximal, participatory or justice-oriented citizenship. While the spectrum of citizenship is useful in this regard, I acknowledge that individuals' views may not be neatly explained by the typology of citizenship due to many factors including the influence of socio-political contexts. This is addressed in the last part of this chapter with possible illustrations of maximal, justice-oriented citizenship and minimal, personally responsible citizenship.

While the spectrum of citizenship explained in this chapter offers a lens to link participants' views on citizenship to their pedagogical approaches, I am aware that the spectrum may not fully facilitate data analysis to address the fourth research question of this study. This is because the fourth question is about teachers' life experiences in the past as young citizens and in the present as civic educators. With this fourth question, the purpose is to understand how teachers' life experiences inform their views on citizenship and civic education. Lawy and Biesta (2006) aid this study with an additional dimension to see citizenship as practice. Recognizing citizenship as practice informs the possible correlation between teachers' citizenship experiences and how they develop their own views on citizenship and civic education. Teachers' own life experiences possibly influences how they construct their views on citizenship and how they approach civic education. For instance, forms of participation that each teacher envisions might differ depending on past experience. Research findings also show that individuals with experience of actively participating in civic and political life possess higher levels of confidence to make change through political involvement (Kahne &

Westheimer, 2006). The additional dimension to frame citizenship as practice facilitates understanding participating teachers' own experiences. Therefore, the combined theoretical frameworks and the citizenship as practice perspective enables this study to explore how teachers' life experiences influence their views on citizenship and civic education.

4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a reflective account of the methodology of this study. I first explain my philosophical assumptions which influenced how I developed and carried out this research. I start with a discussion on philosophical assumptions about my views on the social world (ontology) and knowledge (epistemology). As I see reality as multi-layered and knowledge as constructed through individuals' interpretation of and perspectives on the world, this study is aimed at exploring and understanding how civic education teachers in England and Japan construct their views on citizenship and civic education. My epistemological and ontological views also brought my research's focus on how teachers' life experiences influenced their views. I then provide reasons for my methodological decisions to address my research questions. With regard to methodology, I explain how I collected data through interviewing teachers and how I analysed the interview data. These are practical matters, such as narrowing down potential participants, and addressing ethical considerations. Moreover, I also reflect on relational aspects of interviews with teachers in this study, and my role as researcher. The purpose of the reflection is to acknowledge my involvement in this research and the influence of my own views. The last section of this chapter explains how I analysed my data using thematic analysis, especially reflexive thematic analysis.

To discuss the aforementioned issues, I draw on literature on qualitative research methods and also weave in my reflection on the research process and the decisions I made. This chapter is aimed at explaining approaches taken and my own views that informed how I addressed the research questions throughout this PhD project. Scholarship on research methods and citizenship education provided me with guidelines, but carrying out research requires constant decision making which is influenced by one's own views, experiences, and insights gained through literature. In this sense, this chapter reads more personally than the rest of the thesis.

4.2 Philosophical underpinnings: situating myself as a researcher

Merriam and Tisdell (2015) view that explanation of ontological and epistemological beliefs is a helpful means to philosophically locate and understand qualitative research. Ontological and epistemological beliefs are also viewed as personal philosophy :a world view of a researcher to identify question(s) and approaches to find answer(s) (Birks, 2014). Moon and Blackman (2014) provide definitions of epistemology and ontology. Ontology is the perspective to see ‘‘what exists for people to know’’, while epistemology is concerned with how people ‘‘create knowledge and what is possible to know’’ (Moon & Blackman, 2014, p. 1170). As ontology and epistemology are intertwined to form a philosophical belief of a researcher (which influences his or her methodological choices) (Birks, 2014; Moon & Blackman, 2014), I illustrate my ontological and epistemological assumptions.

The ontological view informs perspectives about what the nature of social reality is that research aims to investigate (Mason, 2002). Ritchie and Lewis (2003) maintain that key ontological questions in social research are concerned with whether social reality exists independently of people’s beliefs and interpretations. With regard to my ontological assumption, my views on the social world are informed by relativism which states that ‘‘reality is only knowable through socially constructed meanings. There is no single social reality but only a series of alternative social constructions’’ (Ritchie & Lewis 2003, p. 16). I see that multiple realities exist depending on individuals’ perspectives or values which are shaped by their diverse experiences and social backgrounds. I also believe that people’s views are a reflection of socio-political and cultural contexts. This ontological assumption of relativism informs my approach to research the concept of citizenship and civic education. The research questions of this study come from my view that citizenship has different meanings depending on individuals as well as social contexts rather than being a universal truth. I developed the research questions of this study as I am interested in understanding multiple realities by exploring both English and Japanese teachers’ perceptions of citizenship and pedagogical approaches to civic education. I also consider teachers’ social backgrounds and experiences, which bring about the multiple versions of citizenship concepts and pedagogical approaches.

Epistemology in research is a ‘‘theory of knowledge’’ that determines how social phenomena can be studied and how knowledge is ‘demonstrated’ (Mason, 2002, p. 16). My theory of knowledge is that multiple versions of reality exist, which is aligned well with social constructionism. Creswell (2009, p. 8) explains social the constructivists’ approach to research as follows:

> Social constructivists hold assumptions that individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. Individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences-meanings directed toward certain objects or things. These meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas. The goal of research is to rely as much as possible on the participants’ views of the situation being studied…participants can construct the meanings of a situation, typically forged in discussions or interactions with other persons.

The social constructivist view informs my approach to address the aforementioned research questions through qualitative inquiry that Creswell and Poth (2018, p. 21) view as a means to obtain knowledge through ‘‘observing and assembling subjective experience of people.’’ To address the research questions, my approach is to understand how civic education teachers in England and Japan construct the meaning of citizenship and civic education based on their own views on the world in which they live and work. This is reflected throughout the research process, including the research design and the decisions made with regard to methodological matters, such as data collection and analysis. These will be explained further in the subsequent sections in this chapter.

I also acknowledge that my view is informed by critical theory, which is a research paradigm that seeks to redress social injustices (Birks, 2014). This can be elaborated on with emphasis on political agenda and social issues:

> An advocacy / participatory worldview holds that research inquiry needs to be intertwined with politics and a political agenda. Thus, the research contains an action agenda for reform that may change the lives of the participants, the institutions in which individuals work or live, and the researchers' life. Moreover, specific issues to be addressed that speak to important social issues of the day, issues such as empowerment, inequality, oppression, domination, suppression, and alienation.' (Creswell, 2009, p. 9).

Critical theory is often recognised as ''methodological postures'' in research (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 29) or a ''driving force behind all methodological choices'' that influences on data collection, analysis, and interpretation of the results (Creswell, 2009, p. 215). My 'political agenda' is to explore a potential of critical, justice-oriented citizenship reflected in teachers' views on citizenship and their pedagogical approaches to civic education. This focus comes from my view that teachers are the ones who can empower young people to challenge injustices and make a difference in their own lives. This agenda is reflected in my decisions with regard to theoretical framework, data analysis, and the interpretation of results. Through the inquiry into (and presenting) civic educators' views on citizenship, I also raise the issues of social inequality in England and Japan, such as the exclusion of certain groups in society. Data analysis which constructs participants' stories is influenced by my belief in the possibility of civic education to address issues of injustice.

In addition, Creswell (2009) suggests that values, biases, and personal backgrounds (including gender, history, culture, and socioeconomic status) need to be identified, as these inform the interpretation of the data and analysis. For this reason, I briefly reflect on my own experiences and background with regard to this research. I am aware that I have benefited from the existing social structure, as I grew up in a middleclass family in a developed state, while being a female means I often face gender inequality and develop a critical theory perspective to seek a more just society. My privilege is that I grew up surrounded by various kinds of books and private tutors, for subjects such as English and Maths that my parents could afford to provide. While some opportunities are equal between men and women, I am aware that some teachers and other adults discouraged me to go on to higher education saying that girls do not need it. I see my views as identifying with critical theory. Fay (1987, p. 28) explains as an empowering resource to ‘‘overthrow’’ the given social structures that cause or perpetuate injustice in an attempt to seek a more satisfying life. The idea of critical theory to empower people to transform society corresponds with my view that civic education and teachers have a potential to empower young people to participate in society. This view led to my decision to draw on theoretical frameworks of citizenship and civic education (McLaughlin, 1992; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Evans, 2008) in order to understand the degree of (or elements of) transformative civic education in teachers’ views.

My philosophical assumptions discussed above informed my decisions on how I addressed the research questions. As I aim to offer further understanding of English and Japanese civic education teachers’ views on citizenship and how they see civic education, it is feasible to take a qualitative approach. This is because qualitative research collects data through interacting or observing participants in order to interpret participants’ views and experiences based on theoretical lenses as well as researchers’ own backgrounds, prior experiences, or contexts (Creswell, 2009). I collected my data through qualitative interviews (interacting) with civic educators in England and Japan, as I see this method as enabling me to understand their views and experiences. Interviewing participants provides ways in which to understand their viewpoints, thus unpacking the meaning of their experiences (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). This will be further explained in the subsequent section on my data collection method. Further details on research questions and how I address them will be explained in the next section.

4.3 The research question and research design

The research questions of this study are informed by my philosophical assumptions that multiple realities are possible depending on the contexts and individuals’ perspectives on the world. With the aim to understand how teachers view citizenship and civic education in English and Japanese contexts, I developed the following research questions:

1. How do teachers in England and Japan define the meaning of citizenship and how do their interpretations differ?
    - What does citizenship mean to teachers in terms of identity, virtue, political involvement, and social prerequisite?
2. What is the aim of civic education English and Japanese teachers envision?
    - What kind of citizens do teachers envision?
3. What are English and Japanese teachers' pedagogical approaches to civic education?
    - How do they teach civic education lessons to achieve the aim they have mentioned?
4. How do English and Japanese teachers relate their life experience to the development of their views on citizenship and civic education?
    - How do English and Japanese teachers relate their views on citizenship to their experience in terms of the following: social class, ethnic, and gender identity, family or interpersonal relationship?

The first three research questions address how civic education teachers in England and Japan construct their meanings of citizenship and civic education. The fourth research question explores the possible influences of teachers' life experiences on their views. Addressing these research questions will offer insight into how English and Japanese teachers construct their views on citizenship and civic education according to their own life experiences and socio-political contexts.

Interview data offers participants' own verbal accounts of events and activities based on their views and understandings of their experiences (Taylor, 2015). For this reason, I address these research questions through interviewing civic educators in England and Japan. However, I am also aware of my role as a researcher. I interpret participants' stories based on a theoretical lens as well as my own perspective informed by prior experience and my own social background. I draw on Kvale and Brinkmann's (2009) traveller metaphor in order to explain the process of constructing knowledge through interpreting participants' stories. Interviewers are like travellers who wander through the landscape and come back to their home with interpretations of stories of the people they encounter (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The traveller metaphor illustrates that the researcher is an ‘‘active player’’ in developing the data and meaning through interpreting participants’ views and experiences (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p. 139). Several others have a similar view that interviews are social interactions in which researchers take part in construction of meaning (Legard & Keegan, 2003; Taylor, 2015). Legard and Keegan (2003) position the researcher as a participant in the process of constructing the meaning of the data because interviewees’ stories are developed into knowledge through researchers’ interpretations and negotiations with the interviewees. As interviews are social experiences constructed by both participants and the researcher (Freebody, 2003), I am also a contributor to the process of creating the meaning of the interview data. I also acknowledge my active role in data analysis, as Merriam and Tisdell (2015) maintain that qualitative research is based on researchers’ lenses to interpret data drawing on a theoretical framework as well as their own interest. In this sense, the data analysis in this study is inductive. Inductive data analysis leads to concepts, themes, or models through the readings and interpretation of raw data (Thomas, 2016). Accordingly, I, as a researcher, document and construct the meaning of the data. This means that I interpret the participants’ views based on my research interests and my own views informed by experiences and understanding of literature. How I carried out interviews and analysed the interview data will be further discussed following the explanation of the data collection for this study.

4.4 Data collection: purposive sampling and data collection strategy

Purposive sampling: Inclusion and exclusion criteria

Qualitative inquiry purposefully selects sites of study or individuals that are best suited to addressing the research questions (Creswell, 2009; Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). For instance, Hurenkamp et al. (2011, p. 211) demonstrate the benefit of purposive sampling in their study, that the criteria was for participants to be ‘active citizens’ in order to access to advanced knowledge. This study is informed by Tongco (2007), who maintains that purposive sampling is efficient when the aim is to talk to specialists or informants who are knowledgeable for a particular research question. Therefore, I purposefully focused on civic education teachers with expert knowledge in order to understand their vision as experts to empower young people in England and Japan. This study cannot represent generalizable data, nevertheless, it can offer possible understanding of viewpoints of teachers who are actively involved in research and practice about civic education in England and Japan.

While focusing on expert civic educators, I also excluded a certain population. This study is not focusing on primary school teachers because citizenship is non-statutory in the National Curriculum in England. Civics is also not included in the primary school curriculum in Japan. Although I recognise that civic educators at primary schools have their own visions, I focus on teachers at secondary schools in which citizenship or civics are compulsory in the curriculum. This is to make comparison between English and Japanese teachers' views feasible. Although citizenship is given a status of statutory subject for secondary schools in the National Curriculum, it is worth recognising that some schools (such as academies and free schools) may or may not follow the National Curriculum. In addition, it is likely that many English participants have additional subjects to teach, such as history, literature, or drama. For this reason, English participants in this study are not limited to those who solely teach citizenship but include those who may or may not teach other subjects in addition to citizenship. Similar to England, the majority of civic educators in Japan also teach other social studies subjects, such as history and geography. Although some see moral studies as a part of civic education in the Japanese context, I focus on the civics area of the social studies curriculum because Ikeno (2011) argues that social studies (Geography, History, and Civics) play an important role in developing young people's awareness of the real life issues they experience in their community, and developing their ability to solve problems in society. In this study, participating Japanese teachers are those who specialise in civics, or those who teach civics in addition to other social studies subjects.

As discussed above, both English and Japanese teachers may teach citizenship or civics in addition to other curriculum areas. However, there are also additional criteria for participants in this study. As I focus on expert civic education teachers, participating teachers are expected to be actively involved in events or Continuing Professional Development (CPD) opportunities provided by relevant bodies such as ACT or/and researching on citizenship education. In this study, a participant should have experience of teaching the citizenship curriculum in England or the civics curriculum in Japan. He or she also would need to meet at least one of the following criteria (a)-(c):

a) participating in professional development or academic activity, such as giving a talk or attending conferences, or writing a journal article,

b) having a membership of academic groups such as ACT (Association for Citizenship Teaching) in England, or the Japanese Association for Citizenship Education (JACED) in Japan, or

c) studying materials or methods of civic education for their teaching in practice.

These criteria are aimed at identifying appropriate informants and approaching a particular group of people who are expected to be knowledgeable enough to address the research questions. In addition to having experience of teaching the citizenship / civic curriculum in addition to other expertise, the participating teachers meet one or more criteria listed above.

It is ideal to have almost equal or partial numbers of male and female participants; however, I have to acknowledge that this study has the limitation that female civic educators are underrepresented. In this study there are much fewer female teachers than male teachers. I was informed by several Japanese scholars that there are far fewer female civic education teachers than their male counterparts. Although citizenship teaching in England might not be as male dominant as in Japan, there seems to be more male citizenship teachers among the Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT) ambassadors representing seven regions of England (London, East Midlands, South East, South West, Yorkshire and Humber, North West, and North East). Since there are more male ambassadors than females, it is likely that there might be fewer female citizenship teachers in England too. In addition, previous findings suggest women engage less with politics, as men are more likely to be involved in political activism while women face challenges balancing family responsibility, work, and other private engagements (Coffe and Bolzendahl 2010). This study has to acknowledge the limitation of underrepresenting and overrepresenting a certain group of civic educators in England and Japan. Underrepresenting female teachers in this study comes from the convenient and snowball sampling's dependency on participants' voluntary cooperation for the research, as mentioned by several scholars (Blandford et al., 2016; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Potential risk of overrepresentation is due to the criteria for participants mentioned above. This study might not be able to show diverse views of civic educators. Nevertheless, this is an inevitable risk, as this study aims to explore the views of expert teachers who can meet the criteria mentioned above. Although I was aware of the potential risk of underrepresenting female participants, I used snowballing and a convenient sampling strategy. I made this decision because of the possibility that the dataset would mirror the male-dominated field of civic education teaching, at least in a Japanese context. The strategy for data collection will be explained in the following sections.

Data collection strategy

This study combines convenience and snowball sampling, as Blandford et al. (2016) suggest that a common strategy is to start with convenience sampling and utilise snowball sampling to recruit more participants. I started data collection based on my own network and expanded through participating teachers' correspondence. Using convenience sampling, I was able to contact a target group through my existing network and expanded the recruitment process through the participants' networks. This strategy helped my data collection, as the first couple of participants were able to put me into contact with their colleagues. I also developed new networks through participating in online events or contacting relevant organisations. Some of these correspondences referred me to their colleagues. However, both snowball and convenience sampling cannot avoid the risk of overrepresenting or underrepresenting a certain population. Braun and Clarke (2013, p. 58) point out that the snowball effect has a risk of overrepresenting ''usual suspects: educated, white, middle-class people'' who often dominate social research participants. Convenience sampling presents a similar problem. Blandford et al. (2016) recognize that working with the most accessible participants involves a risk that the participant population is not representative of a broader population, and limits the generalisability of findings. One of the possible limitations of my data collection is underrepresentation of female civic education teachers as discussed above. However, it should be noted that convenience sampling and snowball sampling do not allow control on participants' background, such as gender, as the researcher has to rely on participants' voluntary responses to the call for participation (Blandford et al., 2016; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Acknowledging this limitation, data collection still can benefit from these sampling techniques. Snowball sampling is an effective means to access a particular group of people (Blandford et al., 2016) who have similar interests or characteristics (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). In this study, the benefit outweighs the risk of less diverse participants because the purpose is to understand the views of expert civic education teachers who meet the aforementioned criteria. In the following, I explain my data collection strategy.

Contacting through organisations

Ritchie and Lewis (2003) also recommend that approaching organisations which offer services to the relevant population is useful to recruit participants. There are organisations or academic groups about citizenship education in England and Japan. The Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT) is one of the major organisations in England. The Japanese Association for Citizenship Education (JACED) and Japan Citizenship Education Forum (J-CEF) are the organisations / study groups on civic education in Japan. I contacted these three organisations to seek some assistance for my research. Some of them referred me to the secondary school citizenship or civics teachers they work with, while others circulated a call for participants within their network. I also attended several events organised mainly by ACT and JACED, such as online webinars and virtual informal discussions, because of my research interest as well as the potential opportunity to extend my network. Online meetings may not provide as many networking opportunities as in person meetings, but I was able to utilise the chat function to contact potential participants directly. These approaches led to several participants. In addition to contacting the organisations relevant to citizenship and civic education, I also contacted individual citizenship teachers (which is explained below).

Direct contacts

I also made attempts to identify potential participants through reading the relevant publications and online profiles of teachers who are actively involved in research activity relating to citizenship. As I was seeking participants with knowledge and interest in citizenship, I checked reports published by ACT, and social networks such as Twitter where civic education teachers advertise their published work or projects. My selection of authors that I contacted for this study was informed by my theoretical frameworks, my research interest, and research questions. I contacted teachers who write on the topics I see relevant to critical, justice-oriented citizenship. When correspondence is available, I contacted the potential participants. I also joined a Facebook group of citizenship teachers in England. Posting a call for participants on Twitter and the aforementioned Facebook group also brought several contacts. The Facebook group was only for English citizenship teachers, but there is also a search engine for scholars and teachers in Japan which I relied on for making individual contacts. As suggested by Blandford et al. (2016) the motivation to participate in the research should be considered, and emails were tailored to each individuals' interests as closely as possible. In most cases, I could see whether these people were working as civic education teachers, nevertheless, it was not always clear. A few contacts noted during the interview or in email correspondence that they had left teaching and moved on to something else (such as research). During the pilot study there was one case of this occurring, due to the profile information not being updated. However, this still led to further contacts to potential participants. This section explained how I approached participants and collected the interview data. Before moving to a discussion on the tools of data collection (semi-structured interviews), the next section explains how I addressed the ethical considerations for this study. In the next section, I also provide a brief account for the types of schools participating teachers worked at, and the number of participants according to their social backgrounds.

4.5 Ethical considerations

A plan needed to be made to address the possible ethical issues throughout the research process, including data collection, data analysis, reporting the data, and presenting the results of data analysis in the forms of publications (Creswell & Poth, 2018). A recommended procedure to avoid ethical problems is to have a research plan reviewed by the Institutional Review Board at the institution that researchers belong to (Creswell, 2009). This research had a research plan (The Ethical Issues Audit Form for Research Students) approved by the University of York. An informed consent form was also developed through this process. Informed consent outlines the topic and aim of research and asks whether or not participants agree to take part in it. How much and what level of complexity an informed consent can tell about the research requires careful thinking (Mason, 2002). I also found it necessary to explain research questions and the purpose of this research in coherent language for my participants. It took some time to have the informed consent ready as I had to rewrite the section about this research several times.

All of the participants in the study agreed and signed the informed consent form. The informed consent outlined what this study is about and the aims of the research. Due to the pandemic, informed consent was sent and signed electronically. I also attached my CV in the initial email correspondence with the participating teachers in an attempt to introduce myself. I did this particularly due to the data collection being online. In the online interview, it is important to provide participants with a means to know who the researchers are (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Although participants informally agreed to take part in my research before receiving the informed consent form, they were able to withdraw by choosing not to consent . Most of the Japanese teachers who participated in this study are competent in comprehending documents written in English, however, I also prepared a translated version which was easier for them to read and saved time from their already hectic schedule (especially during the pandemic). In addition to the informed consent form, participants were assured at the beginning of the interview that they could refrain from answering questions if they wished to. The process of storing and managing data followed the University's General Data Protection Regulations (GDPR). Information that can identify individuals such as school names, participants' name, and specific sites was anonymised, hence participants and individuals mentioned during the interviews are given pseudonyms in this thesis. Through informed consent, participants were also notified about how long I will store the interview data and the possibility that I will present the anonymised data in forms of publication, including conferences and published papers.

Pilot study

It is worth noting that part of my interview data comes from pilot study. The main purpose of the pilot study was to check if research instrument (interview questions) functions well and provide sufficient information from participants. In the pilot study, the focus was on whether the research instruments generate data that is robust enough to address the research questions. In addition, my decision to carry out the pilot study corresponds with scholars' views that piloting initial interviews provides valuable opportunity to adjust research method, get initial ideas about the research field, and refine the research instrument (Aspers & Corte, 2019; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). For the pilot study, I interviewed two English and two Japanese civic education teachers, totalling four participants. Both English and Japanese participants are civic education experts who can meet the sampling criteria which are explained in the section, '4.4 Data collection: purposive sampling and data collection strategy'. I also note here that English participants were working at secondary schools while Japanese participants were working at an elementary school which teaches 'citizenship' in the curriculum. Although I was aware that I will not be able to use pilot study data with Japanese participants for main study which focuses on secondary school teachers, conducting initial interviews with these two Japanese participants was valuable as they have both expertise and research network. They were leading expert teachers in the field with published papers and experiences to organise seminars for teachers and academics. Hence, they are not only knowledgeable but also able to connect me to secondary school teachers with expertise of teaching or researching civic education in Japan. Their connection helped this study to secure two participants for the main data collection. It should be noted that this study keeps the pilot interviews with English participants in the main dataset while Japanese pilot interview data is not included due to the aforementioned reason. The inclusion of pilot data can be justified as Ritchie and Lewis (2003) argue that pilot interviews does not have to be excluded if there are no significant changes but minor ones because the data collected can still address the research questions. It turned out that my interview questions did not need significant changes after carrying out pilot interviews, hence my decision to include pilot interview data is reasonable.

The pilot study helped me to add some minor revisions to interview questions and how I would carry out interviews. Interview questions were slightly modified following the pilot study. Pilot interviews provided a valuable opportunity to consider different terms to say citizens in Japanese language and the translation into English. Following the initial interviews, I found the term *'shimin'* more appropriate to address the research questions rather than '*kokumin*' or *'koumin'*. This is because the differences of the meaning of these three terms. According to the scholars' discussion on these three terms (Davies, 2013; Parmenter et al., 2008), '*shimin*' is appropriate when discussing citizens' active engagement in civic and political lives rather than relationship to the state or legal status. While the interview questions about teachers' views on civic education and pedagogical approach remained the same, I refined the interview questions about participating teachers' life experience. The pilot interviews enabled me to understand further about what influences participating teachers' views. The preliminary pilot findings confirmed that family backgrounds shapes views on citizenship and civic education and suggested that gender identity could also play an important role. It also informed me that questions about schools or pupils they teach is about pedagogical adjustment rather than influence from their life experience. Hence, minor changes were added following the pilot study. The changes include editing the wordings of the existing questions, removing the questions about schools and pupils they teach, and adding questions about gender. The details about the revisions and the translation of the word '*shimin*' is explained in the following section, '4.7 Development of research instrument (Interview questions)'.

The revisions made to the interview questions were minor ones. Following the Ritchie and Lewis (2003) mentioned above, this means that I was able to use pilot interview data for the main study. In addition, participants' feedback was also valuable for me to make additional arrangements such as preparing introductory questions which ask about schools participants work at, what their schools are like etc. I also added a slight change that participants were able to access interview questions prior to the interview. This could alleviate the asymmetrical power relationship between the researcher and the participants without significantly compromising the quality of the interview. Detailed explanation for this is provided in the section '4.6 Data collection method: semi-structured interview'.

Participants and types of schools

In this section, I explain how I identify participants' social class and provide a brief account on the types of schools where they work. There are 9 English citizenship teachers and 11 Japanese civics teachers who participated in this study. In this study, participating teachers self-identified their social class during the interview. I relied on participants' subjective social class, because it allows participants to self-define their social class both in the past and present (Kallschmidt & Eaton, 2019). Subjective social class offers clues to understand individuals' accounts of the socioeconomic circumstances they experienced in their lives (Singh-Manoux et al., 2005) and worldviews based on the experience of their own social class (APA Taskforce on Socioeconomic Status, 2006). As the purpose is to understand participating teachers' life experiences with regard to their views on citizenship and civic education, understanding participants' subjective experiences of social class would be a reasonable approach for this study. In addition, I also prepared prompts in case participants did not have a clear idea about their own social class. Drawing on Lee et al. (2019) who see that education, occupation, and income are core components of individuals' socio-economic status, the prompts were about home educational resources, cultural resources, parental education, and parental occupation. This helped some of the Japanese teachers, as people in Japan may not always have clear ideas about their own social class.

I will now briefly explain about the schools my participants work at. In both England and Japan, private schools tend to be more prestigious than state schools. However, there are also different school systems. Participating English teachers worked at various kinds of schools, including private schools, state schools, and other kinds of state-funded schools such as academies, free schools, and voluntary schools. In this study, I differentiate state schools and other state-funded schools such as academies, free schools, and voluntary aided schools because of the curriculum requirement and students' backgrounds. Academies and free schools are state-funded, but they have more independence from the National Curriculum. This means that citizenship is not a compulsory subject. Although it might not always be the case, students' socio-economic status tends to be higher at these types of schools. In addition, there are also voluntary aided schools that are maintained by local authorities and often have religious character in their school ethos. Due to the context that each type of school has distinctive characteristics, I differentiate English participants' schools as follows: state schools, public schools, free schools, academies, and voluntary aided schools.

In Japan, there are not as diverse types of schools as in England. Although some state schools are prestigious, it is similar to England in that majority of the students at private schools tend to be from affluent families who can afford to pay the expensive tuition fees. Sometimes, students from wealthy families get private tutoring. Prestige of the school also comes from the deviation scores of entrance exams and the number of graduates going to universities ranked higher academically. Some of the state schools my participants work at are located in disadvantaged areas, and consequently fewer students get their place at higher education institutions. There are other participants who work at state schools which have high deviation scores with relatively wealthy students. One of the Japanese teachers in this study works at a part-time state school, where students' backgrounds vary owing to the flexible curriculum that can accommodate those who have to work during the day but wish to complete their education. The tables below show the number of participants according to their backgrounds (social class and gender), types of schools they work in, and subjects they teach.

TABLE 1 PARTICIPANTS' BACKGROUND & TYPES OF SCHOOL (ENGLISH PARTICIPANTS)

Background	**Number of participants**
Social class	
Working class	(n=3/9)
Lower middle	(n=2/9
Middle class	(n=2/9)
Mixed	(n=1/9)
N/A (Prefer not to say)	(n=1/9)
Gender	
Male	(n=7/9)
Female	(n=2/9)
School type	
State school	(n=4/9)
Voluntary aided school	(n=2/9)
Free school	(n=1/9)
Academy	(n=1/9)
Public school	(n=1/9)

TABLE 2 PARTICIPANTS' BACKGROUND & TYPES OF SCHOOL (JAPANESE PARTICIPANTS)

Background	**Number of participants**
Social class	
Working class	(n=1/11)
Middle class	(n=8/11)
N/ A (Not known)	(n=2/11)
Gender	
Male	(n= 10/11)
Female	(n= 1/11)
School type	
State school	(n=7/11)
Private school	(n=3/11)
Part-time state school	(n=1/11)

TABLE 3 LIST OF PSEUDONYMS (ENGLISH PARTICIPANTS)

Pseudonym	**Gender**	**Social class.**	**Subject they teach**	**School type**
Andrew	M	Working class	Citizenship	Academy
Brian	M	Lower middle	History, citizenship	State school
Colin	M	Lower middle	Citizenship	State school
Henry	M	Middle class	Citizenship, literature	State school
Katie	F	Mixed: middle & working class	Citizenship	State school
Larry	M	Middle class	Citizenship, sociology	Voluntary aided school
Linda	F	Working class	Citizenship	Public school
Oliver	M	Working class	Citizenship	Voluntary aided school
Rupert	M	N/A: prefer not to say	Citizenship	Free school

TABLE 4 LIST OF PSEUDONYMS (JAPANESE PARTICIPANTS)

Pseudonym	**Gender**	**Social class.**	**Subject they teach**	**School type**
Eita	M	Middle class	History, Civics, Geography, and Japanese	State school (junior-high)
Haruto	M	Not known	Civics, Social science	State school (high school)
Isao	M	Middle class	Civics, Social science	Private school (High school)
Kotaro	M	Middle class	History, Civics, Geography	Private (junior high school)
Kumi	F	Middle class	Civics, Social science	State school (high school)
Mamoru	M	Middle class	Civics, Social science	Private (integrated system of junior high & high school)
Ren	M	Middle class	Civics, Social science	State school (part-time high school)
Shirou	M	Not known	Civics, Social science	State school (high school)
Takuya	M	Working class	Civics, History, Geography	State school (junior high)
Tomohiko	M	Middle class	Civics, Social science	State school (high school)
Yuichi	M	Middle class	Civics, Social science	State school (high school)

As it is indicated in the tables above, there are 20 participants in this study. I interviewed 9 English teachers and 11 Japanese teachers mainly through Zoom calls, but the dataset also includes one email interview. The next section explains the data collection method: semi-structured interviews.

4.6 Data collection method: semi-structured interview

Qualitative interviews are tools to understand participants' points of view about the world they live in and how they see their experience (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Hence, a qualitative research interview is a facilitative method to address my research question about English and Japanese teachers' views on citizenship, their pedagogical approach, and their life experiences. This study uses what Blandford et al (2016) term as semi-structured interviews, in which prepared questions are asked but further enquiries are made when anything interesting emerges during the interview. I drew on a semi-structured interview because it aligns well with my philosophical assumptions explained above, and for the purpose of facilitating the data collection. I believe that there are multiple truths depending on the subjective meanings individuals construct, the meaning through their experiences, and their own viewpoints. Hence, my view corresponds with Mason (2002), who explains that data and knowledge is constructed through dialogues and interactions during the interview process. I also draw on other scholars whose view is that qualitative interviews (including semi-structured interviews), position researchers as instruments who collect and generate the data (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Birks, 2014). Therefore, a semi-structured interview is a tool to collect and construct the data to address my research questions. In addition, semi-structured interviews also offer methodological effectiveness, as they have a thematic focus while allowing fluidity and flexibility which generate unexpected but informative discussions (Mason, 2002). In the semi-structured interviews, a set of planned questions are often followed by subsequent questions for further information or pursuing emerging topics of interest (Ritchie and Lewis 2003). When interviewing civic education teachers for this study, I first asked prepared questions, followed by probing questions and requests for clarification, examples, and elaboration. This section explains how I carried out the semi-structured interviews with participating teachers.

Use of interview protocol and pre-viewing interview questions for participants

I prepared a set of interview questions prior to the data collection in order to have a certain degree of structure for the interviews. This helped me to stay focused and ask relevant questions to my research interest, although I did not read the questions from the list. I also had probing questions ready, but I asked additional or different questions from the ones I prepared first when participants talked about relevant themes which were worth pursuing further. The list of interview questions and probing questions will be discussed in detail in the next section, ‘Developing the research instrument.’ In addition to the purpose of the research illustrated in the informed consent form, the list of interview topics was shared with all of the participants. This arrangement was made following the pilot study in which one of the participants indicated that it would be helpful to know about topics of the interview in advance. Blandford et al (2016) note that giving information about the research to participants prior to the interview helps them to reflect on the topic, feel reassured, and increases motivation. For this reason, participating teachers in this study had the opportunity to familiarise themselves with the research aims, as well as topics they are going to talk about. It turned out that some participants were too busy to read the additional information, but all had an opportunity to know about the topic prior to the interview. I made this arrangement in order to maintain the trust with the participants, and alleviate the asymmetrical power relationship which I will explain later. On the other hand, it is also possible that participants’ being able to prepare their response prior to their interview might lead to the risk of losing an immediate and natural response. However, this study is not aimed at obtaining spontaneous response, but the views and opinions of participating teachers regarding citizenship and civic education. It is less likely that having time to think and form their opinion alters participants’ views. Hence, the consequences of potentially losing a spontaneous natural conversation are small for this research, although it is possible that participants would be prepared to answer questions.

Conducting interviews: relational aspects

In addition, there are also relational aspects that involve power asymmetry between the researcher and research participants. The power asymmetry in interviews is explained by Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), in that the interviewer (researcher) decides a topic and which questions need following up, while interviewee is expected to provide descriptions, narratives, or accounts of their views. It is also often the case that interviewees are not aware of what the interviewer is looking for. Given that the teachers I have interviewed for this study were informed about the purpose of research and topics for the interview, the power asymmetry was somewhat alleviated. My participants had the opportunity to know what the research is about and the topics beforehand. However, as Letherby (2003) suggests that involvement with research participants inevitably entails power dynamics, I am aware that some power asymmetry remains. I still had the ‘power’ to shift the topic and ask follow up questions if I found it relevant to my research. It is also not participants themselves, but me as a researcher who interprets and constructs a story based on the account they provided during the interviews. Moreover, I also recognize that the degree of power asymmetry shifts depending on the social backgrounds of participating teachers. Interview interactions are complex and multidirectional, as some participants are ‘‘powerful people’’ who control the agenda, thus reversing power relations (Mason, 2002, p. 80). It was me who controlled the agenda, but some participants who had a longer period of teaching and research experience in teaching citizenship or civic curriculum in England or Japan often had a certain level of ‘power.’ For instance, some participants rephrased a term I used in the interview question or redirected a question asking my opinion about the topic of the discussion. In the interviews with teachers, I carried out for this study, there were different degrees of power asymmetry including the one which participant was more powerful in terms of experience. Hence, I experienced ‘‘complex, changeable relationship between the researcher and the researched’’ (Kim, 2012, p. 138).

Implication of online data collection & computer-assisted interview

In this study, all the data was collected through online interviews (including both virtual meeting formats such as Zoom and email interview), although my initial plan was to conduct interviews in person. Meeting participants in person, possibly at the schools they work in or the surrounding area, could have offered the opportunity to take notes on the school atmosphere and the area where it is located. My decision to collect interview data virtually was not a voluntary one. It was because there was no other alternative, due to the pandemic. However, online interviews are not less valuable than in-person interviews, but merely a different type of interview method (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 97). There is not a significant reason that online interviews should be excluded because answering to the question sent via an email is still a form of interview (computer-assisted) (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) or email interviews (Braun & Clarke, 2013). However, it is worth recognising the difference from face-to-face interviews. I reflect on what I benefited from by using online interviews, and what I was not able to achieve due to moving to an online data collection method.

Online interviews bring about advantages in that participants can choose where they feel comfortable such as their own home or any convenient location, although some forms of information such as visual communication cues are not readily available. To some extent, I benefited from the online interviews, in that participants felt comfortable to talk about sensitive topics (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Interviews taking place at participants' homes offered an environment possibly ideal for talking about citizenship which involves one's own political perspectives. This is more relevant to the Japanese context, in which people often feel reluctant to talk about their views on politics in public. In addition, email interviews can alleviate the asymmetrical relationship between interviewer and interviewee, as participants can reflect on their answers before sending their response to the researcher (Braun and Clarke, 2013). This is possibly the main reason why one of my participants requested answering questions via email correspondence, saying that he would like to think thoroughly so that he can provide coherent answers. In terms of credibility of participants criteria, I was able to confirm this through email correspondence. Therefore, online interviews bring about benefits such as convenience of location, which is often suitable to talk about sensitive topics and alleviate asymmetrical power relationships. On the other hand, I am also aware I missed out on visual communication cues and also fieldnotes I could have made at schools and school locations. Although I acknowledge that information available online does not fully replace visiting the sites, I researched the schools the teachers worked at prior to each interview. At the beginning of each interview, I also asked several questions about the school where the teachers worked. This was to open the interview conversation and to check Zoom was functioning properly, but it was also an opportunity to learn about how the teachers felt about each school. Not being able to meet my participants at their schools did not directly impact my research, but pieces of information about participating teachers' workplaces could have informed my lens to analyse the interview data.

Power dynamic of language and translation of interview text

Languages establish and maintain hierarchical relationships because some languages (such as English) are given more power than others (Temple & Young, 2004). Goitom (2020, p. 548) also recognises the prevalence of English as a ‘‘widely accepted medium’’ as a means to publish and transmit knowledge globally. As suggested by these scholars, the English language carries weight in this research. Although I interviewed Japanese civics teachers in Japanese because it was the easiest means of communication for both of us, this means the transcribed interviews needed to be translated into English when writing PhD thesis for a degree programme in a UK university. This is also for future publications in English, so that my research can have a broader readership globally. In this section, I explain the power asymmetry due to translation, and reflect on my role in the process of translating Japanese participants' words into English. I am aware that I inevitably have linguistic power noted by the scholars (Cormier, 2017; Goitom, 2020; Kim, 2012). Translation puts a researcher in a position of linguistic power to translate a minority language into a majority language, such as English (Cormier, 2018). In addition, translation in research context also adds another layer of power to the researcher. Kim (2012, p. 138) recognises a ‘‘dual transformation’’ in the research context that non-English speaking participants' words are translated not only into English, but also ‘‘academic prose’’ through which researchers convey participants' life stories for theoretical analysis with an academic purpose. I acknowledge my own subjective influence, as Goitom (2020) argues that translation cannot be a neutral activity because language is closely linked to identity and individuals' interpretation of life experiences. In the process of translating my interview data with Japanese participants, I recognise that my views and experiences played a role in constructing participants' stories for academic audiences.

As translation puts a researcher into a position of power, some recommend that researchers reflect on their position and relationship to the participants and acknowledge how these influence on the translation (Cormier, 2017; Kim, 2012; Lee, 2017; Temple & Young, 2004). A possible approach is to reflect on the professional backgrounds (Cormier, 2018), subjective views, and reports on dilemmas faced when translating (Lee, 2017). Reflecting on translating interview data with Japanese participants for this study, I am aware of the socio-political and cultural differences between Japan and England because I grew up, obtained my first degree, and worked for several years in Japan, while I also studied and worked in the UK for my postgraduate studies (including my PhD). Nonetheless, I found it challenging to translate some Japanese terms such as *'aichaku'* (sense of belonging) and '*tasha rikai'* (being considerate of others or empathy). It is possible to translate them into English, but I am aware that the English translation is not able to represent the diverse meanings of these terms fully. Cormier (2018) also recognises this translation dilemma, and that there are not always equivalent terms between two languages. I addressed this dilemma by paying attention to the context in which the participants mentioned these terms and supplied contextual information for readers. I retained the original transcribed text until the very last phase of data analysis in order to avoid losing the context which nuances of these terms depend on. In this approach I draw on Temple and Young (2004), that translation is delayed as long as possible in recognition of the reality participants construct through their language, and for the purpose to avoid the loss of nuanced meaning due to early translation. This section provided reasons as to why I draw on semi-structured interviews, the benefits and challenges of online interviews, and power dynamics in research interviews. The next section informs how the interview questions were developed for this study.

4.7 Development of research instrument (Interview questions)

Having explained how I carried out semi-structured interviews for this study and transcribed them, I will now explain how I developed research instrument: a list of interview questions. I prepared the interview questions prior to starting data collection in order to facilitate the semi-structured interviews. The process of interviews for data collection is challenging, because researchers need to ensure the interviews generate relevant data to the research questions and manage the ‘‘intellectual and social dynamics’’ of the interview interaction (Mason, 2002, p. 67). In attempts to alleviate this challenge, I followed the procedure recommended by several scholars on qualitative research (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Creswell, 2009) to prepare interview protocols that list interview questions prior to the data collection. Interview protocols are helpful to keep in mind the topics to be covered (Blandford et al 2015), and to facilitate discussion during the interview (Ritchie and Lewis 2003). The interview protocol of this study is organised into the three sections (Sections I-III) which cover research questions 1-4. Following the suggestion from Creswell and Poth (2018), I rephrased sub-questions of this research in order to prepare interview questions that are simple enough for participants to understand. I will now briefly summarise the relationship between the research questions and the interview questions presented in each of the sections I-III. The first section (Section I) concerned the first research question which is about teachers’ views on citizenship. The interview questions were about the definition of citizenship in terms of identity, virtues, political involvement, and social prerequisite. Section II dealt with the second and third research questions about teachers’ views on the aims of civic education and their pedagogical approaches. Interview questions listed in this section are about what kind of citizens teachers aim to foster through civic education and (models of citizenship), and how they teach the lesson (pedagogical focus). The fourth research question about influences from teachers’ life experiences was addressed by the interview questions listed in section III. The interview questions address the following: social class and ethnic diversity, family background, and personal relationships. The remainder of this section explains how I developed the interview questions and the minor changes made following the pilot study. The interview questions will also be presented for the discussions in this section. The full list of interview question is also presented in the Appendix A.

In the first section, the purpose is to explore shared aspects and diverse meanings of citizenship informed by different socio-political contexts of England and Japan. This is because civic education in England and Japan share three emphases (social and moral responsibility, community involvement, and political literacy) while greater emphasis is given to values such as adherence to social coherence, and the collective needs of community in Japanese society (Mori & Davies, 2014). To develop the interview questions, citizenship Programmes of Study for Key Stage 3 and 4 (England) and Courses of study for Civics at junior-high or high schools (Japan) were reviewed for English and Japanese contexts respectively. I also drew on relevant studies on citizenship and the civic curriculum in England and Japan (Kakuda, 2016; Shah, 2019; Toda, 2006). Reviewing these documents and literature identified overlapping themes between English and Japanese concepts of citizenship which then facilitated the development of interview questions. These themes are summarised as follows:

- Identity: Diverse identities, mutual respect, responsibility.
- Virtue: Critical engagement in political and social issues, requirements for (obedient / active) citizens, engagement in political / social issues.
- Political Involvement: political literacy, solving problems, improving social conditions, participation in democratic / political process, understanding of political systems.
- Social prerequisite: resist and challenge any form of injustice, contribute to the democratic nation by playing an active part in society, interest in the welfare of others, and being law-abiding.

These themes helped to inform me in order to develop interview questions which are broad enough to cover shared aspects, but also capture different nuances.

As there are three different terms in Japanese which are translated as ‘citizen’ in English (see the section 1.6.1 ‘Citizenship and political contexts’), translation of the English word ‘citizen’ into Japanese required careful consideration about which term to use in this study. I used the term *‘shimin’* in the interviews rather than *‘Kokumin’* or *‘Koumin’*. This is because ‘*shimin’* means citizens within a state who actively engage with society while *‘kokumin’* and ‘*koumin’* is more oriented towards national citizenship, meaning national citizens who have the legal rights and fulfil duties for a nation (Davies, 2013; Parmenter et al., 2008). Hence, the term *‘shimin’* corresponds with these shared aspects of citizenship (identity, virtue, political involvement, and social prerequisite) in England and Japan mentioned above.

Hence, in this study, Japanese interview questions used the term '*yoki shimin*'(good citizen), rather than '*yoki kokumin*' (good national citizen). While acknowledging the risk that there could be emphasis on responsibility, I translated *'yoki shimin'* as 'responsible citizen'. This is because of the attempts to align with civic education theories in Japan which features practical citizenship skills to for civic and political participation while recognising the 'old type of citizen' who takes up a passive role and have their citizenship position determined by public institutions (Toda, 2011, p. 166). It is also worth noting that I clarified the term *'yoki shimin*' with participants if needed. Japanese participants were given opportunities to think about the meaning of *'yoki shimin'* which includes citizens who are able to act independently on one's own decision about what is wrong and right; those who are able to be contribute to social cohesion. Below shows the interview questions presented in Section I:

TABLE 5 INTERVIEW QUESTION FOR RESEARCH QUESTION 1:

Features	**England**	**Japan**
Identity	What kind of identity would you think is required for a good citizen? (e.g. mutual respect and responsibility etc.)	What kind of identity would you think is required for a responsible citizen? (e.g. respects others, etc.)
Virtue	What kind of behaviours do you think citizens should espouse / represent in society?	How do you think citizens should behave as members of the public/ society (Shimin)?
Political Involvement	How would you define political literacy and participation in a democratic/ political society?	How would you define the political rights and responsibilities of citizens to address problems in society?
Social prerequisite	What would you think is required for effective citizenship which encourages people to act responsibly and actively participate in society?	What would you think is required for effective citizenship which contributes to people's welfare and the formation of a peaceful and democratic society?

Section II addresses two of the research questions (2 and 3), which are about teachers' views on the aim of civic education and their pedagogical approaches. Research question 2 asks about the kinds of dispositions or actions teachers would like their students to develop, while research question 3 is about the pedagogical approaches they see helpful to achieve the aim. As for teachers' views on the aim of civic education, the interview questions and probes are informed by Westheimer and Kahne's three models of citizens. Regarding the pedagogical approaches to civic education, the interview questions draw on the three types of pedagogical approach identified by Evans (2008): transmission orientation, transactional orientation, and transformative orientation. The interview questions first invite teachers to talk about dispositions or skills they aim to develop, and then ask about how they would organise their lessons to achieve their goals. In most cases, follow-up questions were about the reasons for their opinions, and examples of their lessons through which teachers aim to build knowledge and develop participation skills and capacity to bring about change. There were no changes in this section of the interview questions following the pilot study, nevertheless, follow-up questions were revised in order to have more detailed responses to address the research questions. The interview questions in Section II are presented below:

Section II of interview protocol. Interview question for Research Question 2 and 3: What is the aim of civic education English and Japanese teachers envision and what are their pedagogical approaches ?

- 2-1. What kind of learning outcomes do you think citizenship education should bring about?
    - ➢ Prompts: What kind of dispositions and capacities of citizens would you like your students to develop? What kind of action would you like your pupils to take in order to solve a problem in a society? Could you please provide an example of how you think a student should act in a situation where one should address the problem of 'World hunger' for example?

- 2-2. How do you teach citizenship education to achieve that outcome you have mentioned?

With regard to your goal of citizenship education, how important are knowledge, participation skills, and capacity to make change? Why or why not? How would you organise your lesson?

Section III addresses research question 4, which is about teachers' accounts of how their life experiences developed their views on citizenship and civic education. Research question 4 is based on the perspective that citizenship is a practice and experience in individuals' lives (Lawy & Biesta, 2006). The interview questions were aimed at exploring the influence of participants' life experiences related to their social backgrounds, including social class, ethnicity, and gender. Following the pilot study, minor revisions were added to the interview questions. For instance, questions about the influence from pupils were removed, because it is more likely to be related to pedagogical adjustment teachers make depending on the interest or their characteristics of their students. On the other hand, questions about family background and education remained, as the pilot study suggested that both English and Japanese participants think their parents or university degrees influenced their views. It is likely that teachers' family backgrounds informed their views on citizenship, and their approaches to civic education. Findings from the literature also suggest that family environment and education inform individuals' sense of justice, democratic values, and political participation (Akar, 2017; Graham et al., 2020). Moreover, following the pilot study, interview questions about gender identity were added for the interview questions. It was expected in the pilot study that the social class and ethnicity of individuals were the salient influences on their views about citizenship and civic education, because of the civic participation gap between those who are from affluent families and those who are from disadvantaged families which is related to people's socio-economic status or ethnicity (Clay & Rubin, 2019; Deimel et al., 2019). Nevertheless, as the literature review further proceeds, I became aware that gender socialisation could result in different types of political knowledge and engagement (Coffe & Bolzendahl, 2010; Stolle & Gidengil, 2010). Therefore, it is probable that citizenship teachers in this study might emphasise different aspects or express various views depending on their experiences related to their gender. Accordingly, the interview questions in Section III ask about the following: social class, ethnic and gender identity, family or interpersonal relationships, and education. Interview questions in Section III are presented below:

Section III of interview protocol. Interview question for Research Question 4: How do English and Japanese teachers relate their life experience to the development of their views on citizenship and civic education?

3-1. Social class, ethnicity, and gender

- In what ways do you think social class influences your views on citizenship / citizenship education?
- How about your ethnic identity? Do you think it is influential for developing your viewpoint?
- How do you see your gender identity? Do you think it influences our views on citizenship/ citizenship education?

3-2. Family background and personal relationships

- To what extent do you think your family influenced your views on citizenship and citizenship education?
- Who is the most influential person for you to develop your views on citizenship / citizenship education? (parents, teachers, friends, family relatives, etc) Why?
- Do you remember anyone else who could possibly have influenced you? For example, your work colleagues, students, boss etc

3-3. School where teachers have learnt citizenship education or related studies

- Based on your experience of learning about citizenship education or related studies, what is the most influential class/ course/ learning materials/ school activities which has contributed to development of your views on citizenship and your citizenship education pedagogy? Why?
- Do you think your educational experience influences your views on citizenship and pedagogical approach? Why or why not?

As I draw on snowballing sampling, I also asked the following questions at the end of each interview:

- Please let me know if you have any questions or comments.
- Would you please give me suggestions on who you would recommend that I could talk with for this research project?

I have so far explained how I carried out data collection for this study in the previous sections. The last section of this chapter then provides an illustration of how I analysed the interview data with my participants.

4.8 Data analysis: Reflexive thematic analysis

Thematic analysis (TA) is a method to identify, analyse, and report patterns (themes) that organise and describe the dataset in detail (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2013). I acknowledge that there are three types of TA which Braun and Clarke (2020) identify as the TA ‘‘family of methods’’ including: coding reliability approaches, reflexive approaches, and codebook approaches. In this study, I draw on reflexive TA to analyse interview data ,mainly because it is flexible and recognizes the active role of researchers’ interpretation. Understanding different types of TA helped me to make my decision, hence I summarise the characteristics of these three different types of TA below. According to Braun and Clarke (2022, p. 236):

> coding reliability TA codes the data according to the predetermined set of themes based on theory as well as inductively. This approach involves multiple independent coders to alleviate researcher subjectivity.
>
> codebook TA acknowledges the subjectivity of the researcher and encourages reflexivity. Coding is aimed at identifying evidence for pre-developed themes (codebook), although these themes can be redefined.
>
> reflexive TA positions researchers as active players in interpreting the data. Coding process is an inductive (bottom-up) approach aimed at constructing the meaning of the dataset.

My initial plan was to code the interview data according to the theoretical framework of this study. Following the attempts to code the data according to the pre-established codes based on the theoretical framework, I found it less reasonable to fit my interview data to these codes I developed prior to reading the data. This is because a large part of interview data was not fully explained by these pre-established codes. For this reason, I decided to draw on the Reflexive TA approach which allowed me to interpret the data in order to develop themes. Reflexive TA brings about knowledge relevant to the research interest through the ‘‘the intersection of the data and the researcher’s contextual and theoretically embedded interpretative practices’’ (Braun & Clarke, 2016; 2021, p. 210). In Reflexive TA, researchers actively contribute to knowledge production, as codes represent researchers’ own interpretations of the dataset (Byrne, 2021). Although it needs to be acknowledged that my subjectivity plays a role in coding the interview data and developing themes, I was able to understand participating teachers’ views by constructing their stories.

The reason why I found coding the interview data according to the pre-established codes less feasible is also related to my philosophical assumptions of relativist ontology explained earlier. To briefly restate, I believe that there is not a single reality but multiple versions as reality is constructed depending on how each of us interpret our experience based on different perspectives, values, and cultures. Braun and Clarke (2022, p. 174) explain that relativist views can work with reflexive TA to provide ‘partial reading’ of the dataset and explain how participants ‘make sense of their reality.’ In other words, relativist reflexive TA offers an account of what kinds of realities are produced and constructed within the data. In addition to participating teachers’ views on citizenship and civic education, reflexive TA facilitates understanding possible influences of participating teachers’ life experiences. Participants talked about their experiences of childhood, adolescence, and their life as civic educators, hence each interview contains a participants' life story, which is often less structured. This means the data analysis requires actively making sense of participants’ views on citizenship / civic education and their own life experiences. I address my research questions by providing one possible reality constructed by a group of civic educators with expertise and interest in citizenship who participated in this study. The following sections explain how I develop themes that offer clues to understand the data in order to answer my research questions.

Developing themes from data: Six procedures of thematic analysis

In this section, I explain how I developed themes through analysing my interview data. I followed the six procedures of TA (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2013, 2016): familiarisation with the data (1), generating initial codes (2), creating initial themes (3), reviewing initial themes (4), defining and naming themes (5), and writing the report (6).

(1), familiarisation with the data

Familiarising yourself with the data is ‘‘repeated reading’’ of the data in an ‘‘active way’’ to search for meanings and patterns (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.87). This process involves reading the data analytically with curiosity and asking questions about the implication of the data and possible reasons for participants’ views (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2016). In this process, I read each of the transcribed interviews several times. The process to familiarise myself with the data also included transcribing the interviews, as Terry (2016) notes that transcribing interviews manually is a valuable process which allows you to be familiar with the data, but it requires time and energy. Although it was a time consuming process, I realise that transcribing my data helped me to reflect on each of the interviews I conducted. Listening to the recorded data, making the transcription, and reading the transcribed interview reminded me to think about the topics of discussion. In this process, I also kept some notes about possible key ideas across the dataset.

(2), generating initial codes

The second phase is to generate initial codes based on the readings of the data. For practical matters, I coded my data with the aid of computer software (NVivo) but I finalised theme development manually using a WORD document. For generating initial codes, my approach was data-driven, as I drew on Terry (2016, p. 108) who explains that coding is to create meaning through the ‘‘intersection’’ of data and researchers’ interpretation. This means I created the codes based on the data itself. For instance, I coded the following texts using the words participants mentioned:

TABLE 6 CODE & CODED TEXTS

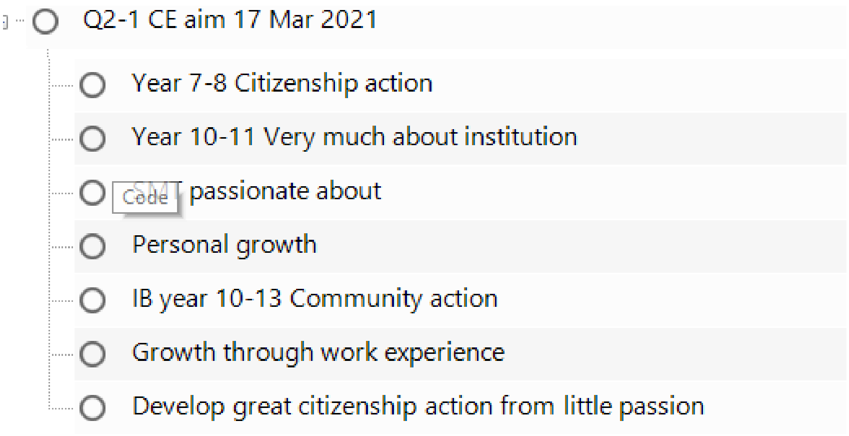
Codes	Coded texts
Shared identity	I also think all citizens need to have a shared **identity**. It's something that [people] are willing to share with other people. (Andrew, male English teacher).
Empathy	I think an important thing is **empathy**, it is not only about intelligence but also being considerate of others, being responsible. (Eita, male Japanese teacher).

Although I acknowledge that my interpretation of relevant literature and my understanding of theoretical frameworks also influences the coding process, this approach is useful to avoid potential risk of overlooking parts of data that seem irrelevant to the theoretical framework. In my data, some initial codes were explicitly related to the theoretical frameworks which I draw on for this study, while there are quite a few others that were not too clearly identified with minimal or maximal citizenship. To create initial codes, I coded each interview separately according to the research questions. The examples of this is provided in the Appendix B. I also followed ''key advice'' from Braun and Clarke (2006, p.89) that initial coding can generate as many codes as possible for potential themes, and each code can keep a wide chunk of extracts at this stage in order to retain the contextual information. Accordingly, each of these categories contained numerous codes. I had rough ideas about what each of the participants spoke about, but it was difficult to understand what my dataset was telling me about the research questions at this early stage.

(3), generating initial themes

Once initial codes were generated, the next phase was to search for themes. This process involved putting the codes together to form potential themes and bringing about a collection of candidate themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As I coded each interview separately to generate initial codes, I started generating the potential themes within the interview data. I was able to merge or combine initial codes into a theme with or without accompanying sub-themes in some cases while there were quite a few initial codes remaining (see Appendix B). Nevertheless, merging the initial codes to form themes was not always possible. In addition, I was not able to find a connection between codes to combine them at this point. For instance, the interview with Linda still retained seven initial codes as the screenshot from NVivo suggests:

Candidate case not found in the interview with Linda



- ○ Q2-1 CE aim 17 Mar 2021
  - ○ Year 7-8 Citizenship action
  - ○ Year 10-11 Very much about institution
  - ○ SMT passionate about
  - ○ Personal growth
  - ○ IB year 10-13 Community action
  - ○ Growth through work experience
  - ○ Develop great citizenship action from little passion

The two codes presented from these seven initial codes were later combined into a theme: ‘Being passionate about’ which is illustrated below. However, I was not able to see the connection when I first tried developing initial themes.

TABLE 7 THEME ‘BEING PASSIONATE ABOUT’

Being passionate about	codes	texts
	Personal growth	they [students] grow personally out of it because they see their ideas have validity, that actually their views and opinions matter, other people think the same. (Linda, female English teacher)
	Something passionate about	I would like, I would like them [students] to bring about a change or to raise awareness of something that they feel passionate about. (Linda, female English teacher).

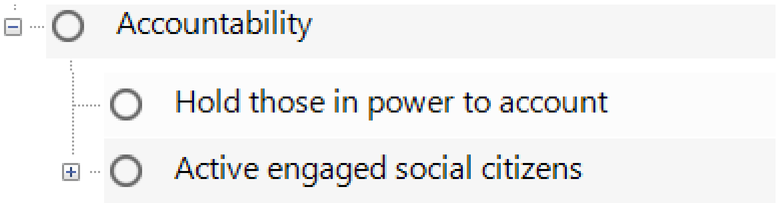
The reason why I was not able to generate this theme ‘Being passionate about’ at first was possibly because I was not aware of the themes across the dataset. I was able to further refine themes by comparing initial codes across interviews with different teachers at the later stage. In an attempt to develop themes across the whole dataset, I moved these candidate themes in each transcript of interview data into the following categories:

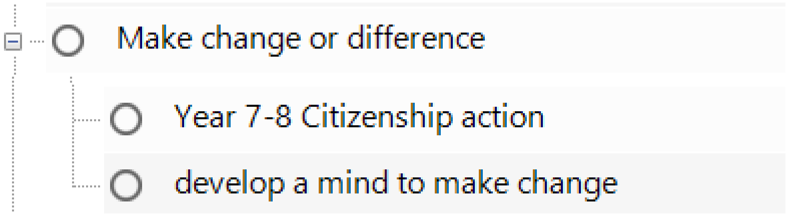
- Research question 1: identity
- Research question 1: civic virtue
- Research question 1: political participation
- Research question 1: social prerequisite
- Research question 2: the aim of civic education
- Research question 3: pedagogy
- Research question 4: life experience

For example, the aforementioned candidate themes developed from interviews with Haruto (Appendix C) and Linda went to the category of ‘Research question 2: the aim of civic education.’ These candidate themes were the initial themes which will be further refined at a later stage. For instance, ‘Being passionate about’ became one of the sub-themes of ‘Active citizenship’, while the two candidate themes in the interview with Haruto were merged to form a theme ‘Self-efficacy.’ At this stage, the themes did include ideas about participating teachers’ perspectives, but I was not able to clearly identify what these themes were telling with regard to my research questions. A possible reason was that there were too many candidate themes which may not have been actual themes, or that they could have been merged together.

(4), Reviewing initial themes

Reviewing initial themes means to make the themes coherent and meaningful with differences between each of them, hence this process involves identifying the themes which are not themes, merging two related themes together, or breaking down one theme into multiple themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). When reviewing the themes, I went back to the coded texts, read the surrounding texts, and reflected on the context each part was mentioned in by the participants. I also referred to literature and my theoretical framework again in order to further understand the data. For instance, the following themes were merged together to become sub-themes to ‘Active citizenship’:


- ○ Accountability
  - ○ Hold those in power to account
  - ○ Active engaged social citizens


- ○ Make change or difference
  - ○ Year 7-8 Citizenship action
  - ○ develop a mind to make change

These themes are combined to form the theme ‘active citizenship’ in English data and ‘participation’ in Japanese data. This means that the themes presented above now became the sub-theme of either ‘active citizenship’ or ‘participation’ I made this decision because they are related to political participation, which is defined as active citizenship by several scholars (Hoskins & Mascherini, 2008; Yang & Hoskins, 2020) and justice-oriented citizenship such as making changes. The themes (active citizenship and participation) are presented in the Appendix D. Through this process, some themes were merged together or broken down into sub-themes of other themes. I also categorised themes according to the research questions. For the first three research questions (which are about teachers’ views on citizenship and civic education), themes were categorised to one of the following: ‘citizenship’, ‘aim of civic education’, or ‘civic education pedagogy’ depending on the relevance. Below are examples of themes related to each category:

- ***citizenship***: For English teachers, citizenship is about ‘community’, ‘critical thinking’, ‘active citizenship’, 'British identity/ values’, ‘responsibility.’ For Japanese teachers, they see citizenship as being about ‘community’, ‘human rights’, ‘critical thinking’, ‘understanding / respecting others’, ‘participation’, and ‘self-efficacy.’
- ***aim of civic education***: English teachers see the aim of civic education is to foster citizens with the following competence: ‘political literacy', ‘critical thinking’ ‘community involvement’ ‘active citizenship’ and ‘being able to form arguments.’ For Japanese teachers, the aim is to help students

to be ‘Independent citizens’, ‘cooperative’, ‘active participants’, ‘having shared responsibility’, ‘critical citizen.’

- ***Civic education pedagogy***: English teachers talked about ‘building and applying knowledge’; ‘competence to form and exchange arguments’; ‘active citizenship projects’; ‘community in pedagogy.’ For Japanese teachers their pedagogical approach is about ‘developing self-efficacy’; ‘discussion’; ‘inquiry-based learning’; ‘developing collective unity.’

At the end of this phase, I was able to identify the participating teachers’ views on citizenship and civic education. There seems to be a certain degree of common emphasis between English and Japanese teachers on active participation, community, and critical thinking ,while English and Japanese teachers’ views possibly differ with regard to what they mean by these themes

As for the research question about participating teachers’ life experiences, Appendix E presents the initial themes. Through these initial themes, I refined to developed the following themes: personal relationship, professional experience, learning experience, and identity. These themes were refined based on interview questions about teachers’ life experiences and my theoretical framework. Through this process, the theme ‘professional experience’ includes sub-themes such as ‘work experience’ or ‘schools teachers work at’, while initial themes such as ‘education’ and ‘social class’ became sub-themes to the themes such as ‘learning experience’ and ‘identity’ respectively. Below are the themes and the examples of the sub-themes:

- ***personal relationships:***
  - For English teachers, themes in this category include ‘family or parents’, ‘civic educators at school’, and ‘university friends.’ Similar themes are developed from interview data with Japanese teachers which include ‘parents’, ‘teachers at junior/ junior-high schools’ and ‘university teachers.’
- ***professional experience:***
  - Both English and Japanese teachers have work experience that raised their awareness about structural inequality. For

    English teachers, it is about ‘social class’ and ‘gender inequality.’ For Japanese teachers, themes include ‘encountering *Burakumin*’ and ‘children with migrant background’,

- ***learning experience:***
    - For English teachers, themes about learning experience are ‘university degrees’ such as sociology and politics which raised their awareness about racism and allowed them to develop a perspective to challenge power for social justice. Japanese teachers in this study feel their learning experiences informed their views via ‘university courses’ which involve discussions and independent research, ‘extra-curricular activities’, and ‘studying for university exams.’
- ***identity:***
    - In this category, English teachers talked about ‘awareness of racism’ ‘British identity’ ‘(acceptance and tolerance of) diverse identities‘, 'gender’, and ‘social class.’ Interviews with Japanese teachers brought about themes such as ‘social class’, ‘gender’, and ‘ethnicity and intercultural competence.’

Through some minor changes the themes were then further refined. For instance, two themes (‘professional experience’ and ‘identity’) both contained sub-themes related to social class and gender. These sub-themes, ‘social class’ and ‘gender’, later became another theme which covers teachers’ life experiences concerning their social class and gender.

(5), defining and naming themes

When reaching this point, my data presented itself with a series of themes which contained several sub-themes. To tell a story, Braun and Clarke (2016) recommend that there are three theme levels at maximum, which include:

> Overarching themes organise the analysis by capturing several underpinning themes across the data.
>
> Themes tell a detailed meaning of central concepts of the data.

Sub-themes inform about key aspects of a theme or patterns within the theme.

With regard to the story my data tells, I was aware of recurring concepts across my dataset which potentially form overarching themes as I have read the interview transcripts, coded texts, and developed themes. I interpreted these recurring concepts across the dataset as main themes. These main themes are 'active citizenship', 'community', and 'British values' for interview data with English teachers and 'human rights' for interview data with Japanese civic teachers. Active citizenship and community were also mentioned by Japanese teachers frequently, although different word '*sanka*' (participation) was used for active citizenship. I also utilised the word frequency function in NVivo to confirm these were the main themes appearing across the research questions. As the NVivo result of the search confirmed this, I also reorganised themes according to these main themes. This process led to possible interpretation of the data that civic education teachers participated in this study think citizenship is about:

- active participation
- community
- democratic values (British values among English citizenship teachers and human rights for Japanese civic teachers respectively).

Themes and sub-themes within these main themes tell the details of the participating teachers' views on citizenship, their pedagogical approaches to civic education, and life experiences.

(6), writing the report

The final phase of TA is to write a report by developing analytic writing. Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that this report should tell a complex story of the data, provide a coherent and concise account of the story, and present sufficient evidence (themes) to support the story. In this study, I present themes that represent the story that participants told me in their interviews. This means there are other participants who mentioned similar things in interview excerpts presented in data analysis chapters (Chapter 5-8). The decision not to present all the themes is due to the limit of space given to a doctoral thesis, and to avoid being too descriptive. I also draw on Terry (2016) in presenting the data in relation to previous research findings and synthesising literature to support my arguments. In Chapters 5-8, I discuss my findings with regard to previous research findings in order to provide analytical depth. Synthesising insight from literature also opened up opportunities to further understand the data. Minor readjustments were made (changing a theme to sub-theme of another theme or merging two themes together etc) during the writing process. My approach corresponds with Braun and Clarke (2020, p.39) who also maintain that the six procedures of reflexive TA are ‘‘recursive.’’ I also repeated the aforementioned six procedures in this study. For example, some sub-themes in the theme ‘participation’ in the Japanese interview data were later moved to be included in another theme, ‘responsibility’, as I understood that there was emphasis on ‘responsibility’ to contribute. I realised this possibility as I reread the interview data in the process of writing the analysis report and revisited the literature.

Notation for excerpts

I will now briefly explain the process of notation for excerpts from the interviews with participating teachers. Part of the interview data will be presented as excerpts in order to discuss the findings in the subsequent chapters (Chapters 5-8). For readability and clarification, some words were added for the purpose of enhancing readers' comprehension about contexts or for the benefit of clarity. When words were added, it is indicated with brackets which I illustrate below:

> [ ] is for words added for clarification. For example: some excerpts have inserted words as in ‘them [students].’
>
> () is for words added for readability. For instance, there is an excerpt which contains the following, ‘identify issues (of their interest or concern)…’

These were minor changes and did not influence what the participants intended to tell, but it is worth acknowledging that texts presented as excerpts were edited for clarity and readability.

4.9 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, I acknowledged and reflected on my views which informed my research questions and approaches to pursue them. I am aligned to Merriam and Tisdell (2015) who state that locating researchers' own philosophical ideas and beliefs on the world and knowledge (ontological and epistemological views) helps understand the research. Therefore, this chapter reflected on how my own view informed this research. My view is that reality varies depending on contexts and one's interpretation of the world. However, I also acknowledge that there are alternative perspectives that possibly bring about different approaches to pursue the research questions of this study. For instance, one could seek generalizable findings through surveys to present teachers' views, rather than understanding details of views on citizenship among particular groups of civic education teachers.

During the research process (but particularly in the data analysis phase), I am aware that I played an active role in constructing a story based on my interview data. An example of this is that my relativist view influenced my decision to draw on reflexive thematic analysis, rather than the other two TA approaches, coding reliability and codebook TA, which are more oriented toward realism. Realism is the other side on the spectrum compared to relativism. TA informed by realism, such as coding reliability and codebook approaches, aim to uncover the truth or reality hidden in the data collected (Braun & Clarke, 2022). This is different from relativist reflexive TA. As explained earlier, reflexive TA is relativistic attempts to construct one possible reality based on the account provided by the participants in the study. Hence, the findings presented in the following chapters are stories I constructed based on interviews with civic education teachers in England and Japan. In reflexive TA, researchers are actively involved in generating themes based on their own values, experiences, and their understanding of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2020, 2022). Hence, I also acknowledge that the data analysis in this thesis involves my own subjective views, which includes my theoretical insights, values, and previous experiences.

With regard to data collection, this study also has to admit the shortcoming that female civic education teachers are underrepresented. It is possible that the data presents a realistic picture that civic education is dominated by males, particularly in the case of the Japanese context, although I recognize the time constraint of a three-year period given to PhD research and limited opportunities of networking due to the pandemic could have impacted the data collection. In addition to this issue, this study also inevitably involves power dynamics as data is collected through interviews. I tried alleviating the power asymmetry of interview interaction by sharing the purpose of the research with participants through informed consent, offering an opportunity to have a look at the topics of the interview, and being flexible to participants' requests for email interviews. As interviews with Japanese participants required translation into English, I as a translator had another layer of power to interpret and construct their stories. I addressed the asymmetrical relations by reflecting on my views and experiences which influenced my translation. Following my explanation and reflection on how I conducted this research, the subsequent chapters will present the findings which address the research questions about teachers' views on citizenship and civic education as well as how their life experiences informed their views.

5 Teachers' views on citizenship

5.1 Introduction

The findings section of this study starts with teachers' perceptions of citizenship. It offers insights which help to understand their pedagogical approaches to civic education and their own life experiences. This chapter addresses the first research question about English and Japanese teachers' perceptions of citizenship. This research question is worth pursuing because understanding teachers' views offers insights into the emphasis they place in civic education, and their pedagogical approaches. To what extent civic education is aimed at developing critical transformative citizenship which Wood et al (2018) view as a means to bring about social transformation to address structural inequality depends on teachers' interpretations of citizenship and perspectives on civic education. There is reportedly a persistent disparity between higher and lower social class pupils in access to civic learning opportunities and levels of civil and political involvement (Deimel et al., 2019; Marri et al., 2013). Hence, Leivisk¨a (2018) calls for civic education that develops critical understanding of inequality and injustice perpetuated by economic, social, and political structures. With the theoretical framework discussed in the Chapter 3 (McLaughlin, 1992; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004b), the findings from the data analysis offer an understanding of how likely participating teachers' views lead to ‘‘robust'' form of civic education (Westheimer, 2019, p. 9) that enables pupils to envision more just society, have diverse perspectives on controversial issues, and critically engage with social issues. If teachers' views are oriented toward maximal, justice-oriented citizenship, they are likely to deliver critical transformative civic education. Nevertheless, it is also feasible to expect that teachers have mixed views or may even be oriented toward minimal, personally responsible citizenship for many reasons including socio-political or cultural contexts. This chapter presents the themes developed through the analysis of the interview data and discusses my findings in relation to other scholars' works in previous years. The analysis of interview data with English and Japanese teachers brought forward three themes: participation, community, and democratic values. These are explained in the following sections. Contextual differences between English and Japanese societies will also be discussed with regard to these themes.

5.2 Participation

This section presents and discusses the findings from the first main theme, ‘participation’ with the sub-themes including ‘active citizenship’, ‘personal efficacy’, and ‘conformity and criticality.’ The first subsection is about active citizenship in English teachers’ views. English teachers relate active citizenship to taking part in activism for a cause one is passionate about, and civil disobedience to challenge injustice. On the other hand, Japanese teachers relate participation to such dispositions as self-efficacy. In Japanese teachers’ views, citizens who actively participate have the ability to articulate one’s opinions. This will be discussed in the sub-section ‘self-efficacy.’ In addition, there is also a difference between English and Japanese teachers’ views. Japanese teachers show conformist views, as they are reluctant to take part in protests, although they see criticising government policies as an important aspect of participation. On the other hand, as it will be discussed in the first subsection below, some English teachers in this study support activism including civil disobedience. This will be discussed in the last section, ‘conformity and criticality.’

5.2.1 Personal efficacy for activism and social change

English citizenship teachers’ views on active citizenship are aligned with maximal citizenship that Idrissi et al. (2019) define as active political engagement and agency that includes not only voting, but also forming opinions and critical thinking. Their views on active citizenship also correspond with justice-oriented citizenship. Marri et al. (2013) define justice-oriented citizens as those who actively engage in social critique in order to bring about a structural change. Four English citizenship teachers (Larry, Oliver, Linda, and Henry) think active citizenship is about being passionate for a cause and taking actions such as campaigning. For instance, Linda and Henry say:

> I try to get [students] to identify issues (of their interest or concern) from a human rights perspective. (I ask them) what do you feel passionate about? is it animal? is it pollution? is it slavery? what is it

> that you really feel fire in your body for? Where would you get that passion? If you want to be an active citizen, I think you have to have fire, fire in your belly. I truly believe everybody has a point where they stand up to take action." (Linda, female citizenship teacher, working class, prestigious boarding school)
>
> I think the nature of citizenship education is massively important in allowing our young people to be active citizens… it is really important that they [students] get exposure to these real-life situations, being out campaigning for something that troubles them, something that they are concerned with, something that should raise awareness. (Henry, male citizenship / literature teacher, middle class, state school)

Their emphasis is on critical analysis of social, political, and economic inequalities and citizens' engagement to address the injustice. Linda refers to ''human rights perspectives'' such as pollution and slavery and Henry puts emphasis on the importance of campaigning for ''something that troubles'' students. Teachers tend to highlight volunteering as active citizenship in order to avoid contentious political matters (McCowan, 2009). It is reported by Weinberg (2020) that teachers in England tend to be oriented towards personally responsible citizenship with emphasis on activities such as volunteering. Henry and Linda are not following this tendency, as they see active citizens as those who take part in campaigning for what they are concerned or passionate about. Their views represent active citizenship linked to progressive aspects of political participation, such as social movements that develop awareness of an alternative perspective to the one endorsed by the state (McCowan, 2009). The findings suggest that Henry and Linda are in support of the idea of ''learning democracy'' that brings personal and collective development with the value of pluralism and equality of citizens (Ranson et al ., 1997, p. 117). This is because their views on active citizenship are that passion and citizens' concern generate a sense of purpose or motivation to address structural inequality and injustice.

In addition to the passion for causes mentioned above, English teachers also see participation as a means to challenge the existing power relations, and stand against injustice. Their views vary as a participant, Katie, thinks that challenging injustice should be ''within the law'', there are also others (Andrew, Larry, and Rupert) who believe that activism for social justice often involves disobedience. There are also multiple interpretations of 'disobedience' among participating teachers in this study. For instance, Larry sees it is about breaking laws, but it is a 'disruptive element' to challenge power structures in Rupert's view:

> (Political literacy is) being able to critically evaluate the current goings on in the world locally, nationally and internationally. Participation could be considered as voting, lobbying, basically any form of taking democratic action. But it could also be resisting new laws and breaking the law in a justified way, e.g. Mandela, Pankhurst, etc. (Larry, male citizenship teacher, middle class, voluntary aided school)
>
> I think you always have to teach disruptive elements to some extent. I feel students need to be taught to be constructively disruptive. That's linked to things like effective disagreement, I suppose it's linked to things like community action. It's the sort of empowerment that (students) can do now, (they) can have a voice. it's (about) challenging power, challenging structure but in the right way… I'd say it is about not accepting what is being told. I think education for years and years created passive citizens whereas we just need to flip and create active citizens. (Rupert, male citizenship teacher, working at free school)

Larry and Rupert talk about disobedience in different terms. Larry and Rupert see that making change often involves disobedience. For Larry, disobedience such as resisting or breaking laws is sometimes justifiable as in the case of Nelson Mandela who fought to end apartheid system in South Africa, or Emmeline Pankhurst who led a campaign for women's suffrage. This view is explained by Watts and Flanagan (2007, p. 782) who also see civil disobedience as a means for ''committed citizens'' to interrogate authority, bring about community betterment, and address socio-political issues collectively. The examples of civil disobedience include Civil Rights Movements in the U.S., and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa (Watts & Flanagan, 2007). In Rupert's view, disobedience is ''disruptive'' as it is about challenging power structures. A possible interpretation is that

Rupert talks about ‘‘power literacy’’ to analyse citizens’ means to exercise power and utilise political tools including protest, advocacy, and political disobedience with the intent to generate social and political change (Gibson, 2020, p. 440). However, Larry and Rupert have in common that both of them put emphasis on critical thinking. It is teaching a ‘‘disruptive element’’ in Rupert’s words. In Larry’s view, the ability to ‘‘critically evaluate current goings’’ in society leads to democratic actions which include breaking laws in a ‘‘justified way.’’ It is possible to surmise that critical thinking leads to civic and political participation including disobedience with the intention to make change. This is also suggested by Palmer et al (2014) that critical reflection generates awareness and perspectives to analyse the society to make change.

It is possible to argue that active citizenship includes civil disobedience. Peterson (2013) maintains that young people cannot be agents of social change without understanding and being capable of using civil disobedience for social movements. Nevertheless, Larry and Rupert also recognise the potential challenge that comes with civil disobedience as they see it should be done in a right, justifiable way. Andrew’s remark exemplifies this difficulty of addressing social injustice through civil disobedience:

> I would like my students to be activists of social change. You can break the law to actively participate in society to bring about change. We’ve got protests from Black Lives Matter movement, to individuals like Sarah Everard, … What I am trying to teach my students is [that] sometimes history taught us there is a fine line of respecting the law and protesting for a change. (Andrew, male citizenship teacher, working class, academy)

Breaking laws and challenging the government are characteristics of justice-oriented citizens who utilise political mobilizations to bring about structural change (Leung et al., 2016). Fry and O’Brien (2015) argue that citizens should be able to challenge or break the laws if it is to protect their rights. This view is also shared by several other scholars (Peterson, 2013; Jerome & Starkey, 2022). For instance, according to Peterson (2013), civil disobedience is not disrespecting the rule of law but it is citizens’ right to raise their voice and call for the government to serve the interests of citizens. Citizens’ rights to stand against oppressive governments or tyrants are also recognised in the

Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Jerome and Starkey (2022) and Tsai (2015) also recognise that strategically ignoring rules is political action which may be the only possible means available in authoritarian regimes. Accordingly, civil disobedience can be part of active citizenship, although Andrew says there is ‘‘a fine line’’ between disrespect and addressing social justice. Other teachers, including Larry and Rupert whose views are presented above, also are aware of the potential challenge to negotiate this fine line.

Moreover, the process of becoming an ‘agent of social change’ may often involve a process to become an empowered citizen to challenge social class inequality. It is reported that there is a disparity in the civic knowledge and engagement between those who are from lower socio-economic class and those with wealthier backgrounds (Andolina & Conklin, 2019; Deimel et al., 2019; Hoskins et al., 2017; Kudrnáč & Lyons, 2017; Weinberg, 2021). Teachers in this study (particularly those who work at schools in disadvantaged areas) are aware of this gap. For example, Brian says:

> I suppose, (students) feel that politics is something far apart from them. I think it’s very hard to create (engagement) in schools, particularly, in schools in more disadvantaged areas. I teach at a college in a quite sort of poor area. I think there’s a lot of people who just think politics has nothing to do with them or history has nothing to do with them. (They are) feeling outside of it. Citizens should be empowered enough to engage with the political process of all sorts of levels including voting, protesting, or activism (Brian, male history teacher, lower middle class, less prestigious state school)

Brian is aware that his students are living in a disadvantaged area and disengaged from politics. It is possible this context leads Brian to see active citizenship as a means of becoming an ‘‘empowered’’ citizen. As Brian tries to empower his students to take part in political processes at all sorts of levels, his view presented in the excerpt above seems to be related to Jarkiewicz (2020) who notes active citizens are those empowered individuals with a sense of agency and self-esteem that bring about an increase in civic involvement. For this reason, I suggest that Broom (2015) offers an explanation for what Brian means by empowerment. In Broom’s view (2015), empowerment is about individuals’ self-efficacy in terms of confidence to control their lives and make changes in politics. Henry shares a similar sense of empowerment, as he notes:

> I encourage them [students] especially in the (disadvantaged) area where my school is. They need to know how to make a difference. Voting and participating in politics is one way they can do that. They can make change in their local area. (Henry, male citizenship / literature teacher, middle class, state school)

In the excerpt above, Henry intends to develop self-efficacy to take part in politics, including voting. Henry feels that his students need to ‘‘know how to make a difference’’ and feel that they ‘‘can make change’’ in their surrounding environment. As Brian and Henry work in a disadvantaged area where students are disengaged from politics, they intend to build students’ confidence and belief that they can make a difference through engaging in politics. In order for civic education to serve this purpose, Gennrich and Dison (2018) suggest that there need to be opportunities for students to negotiate the curriculum content and have their voice heard in the process of learning. The findings from my interview data suggest that participating English teachers think self-efficacy leads to political and civic engagement. It is not only English teachers working in disadvantaged areas, but Linda who works at a public school also talks about self-efficacy. She sees feeling passionate and awareness of civic concern leads to active citizenship (cf. see the excerpt above). It is worth noting that personal efficacy is also given importance by Japanese teachers but in different terms. The next section below discusses Japanese civic teachers’ views on participation to illustrate this shared emphasis on self-efficacy for active participation, as well as different nuances within it.

5.2.2 Personal efficacy as confidence

Japanese teachers’ views are that self-efficacy is a positive self-image or ability to articulate one’s opinions. This presents a difference to English teachers who think it is a sense of confidence to make change through political and civic engagement, which includes activism. Japanese teachers’ views are more to do with an interpretation of maximal citizenship by Sim and Print (2009). Sim and Print (2009) maintain that positive self-concept brings about awareness of individuals’ own rights to make decisions on matters that affect them. For instance, Kumi says ‘‘prerequisite for participation in society is to make oneself happy.’’ Another participant, Mamoru, says ‘‘if one can have the value of self-respect, he/she can respect others.’’ In addition, Japanese teachers recognise self-efficacy as the ability to express opinions, engage in debates, and solve social problems. An example is that Takuya emphasises articulation, as he notes ‘‘legitimacy and coherence in one’s argument, ideas, and opinion are essential for discussion.’’ Yuichi relates both positive self-concept and skills of articulation:

> Self-efficacy, I mean it is about a sense of achievement, a feeling that one can make a difference. It is important to think, develop an independent opinion, and act on it. I try to provide opportunities for students to practise this in my lessons. Civic education lessons can equip thinking skills and articulation skills but I hope young people go further to participate in voting based on their informed decisions or taking initiatives to solve social problems. For instance, just making personal attempts to address issues related to the environment or contribute to sustainable development goals would be great. (Yuichi, male civics teacher, middle class, state school).

Self-efficacy among Japanese teachers in this study has mixed characteristics of justice-oriented and participatory citizenship. They see self-efficacy as articulation skills, and confidence in oneself in order to actively participate and address social issues. However, the form of participation they talk about is to contribute to or engage in the existing social structure rather than challenging it. In the excerpt above, Yuichi sees acting on one’s own opinion as important, but the means he mentions does not include political protests or use of disobedience. Instead, voting, involvement in NGOs or civil organisations, or personal responsibility is encouraged. In fact, the majority of Japanese participants are distancing themselves from political protests which will be discussed later. Among Japanese teachers, personal efficacy is related to participatory citizenship that is about active involvement in communities in order to make positive contributions (Marri et al., 2013).

In addition, the Civics curriculum in Japan offers a tentative explanation for lesser emphasis on challenging the existing structure. The social studies curriculum in Japan which includes civics is not fully supporting active participation (Mizuyama, 2021; Okubo, 2021). Mizuyama (2021) suggests a possibility that less emphasis on participation comes from the negative connotation of WWII that education was a means to indoctrinate young people to support the war. There is a Japanese word which connotes indoctrination of young people during the war. It is '*doin*' which means mobilising or pressing people into doing something regardless of their willingness. This term '*doin*' has a negative connotation of wartime mobilisation of students for military service or labour service. This may be a possible explanation for Japanese teachers' emphasis on individuals' attributes, rather than encouraging participation itself.

Young people's disengagement from politics is a common issue that teachers in England and Japan find challenging. In England, students in disadvantaged areas feel that politics has nothing to do with them as a participant, as Brian notes. In Japan, it is the lack of opportunity for young people to exercise their agency that leads to disengagement. Yuichi raises this issue during their interview:

> I think there are not so many opportunities in Japan for young people to feel this (sense of achievement), young people are not presented with a chance to try. Even if there are opportunities, it is not like their inherent lead but more or less like being facilitated by adults or society." (Yuichi, male civics teacher, middle class, state school)

Although socio-economic inequality is also an issue in Japan, the excerpt from an interview with Yuichi suggests that young people are feeling disengaged due to the lack of opportunities to feel a sense of achievement. In the excerpt above, Yuichi is suggesting that young people are discouraged to take their own initiatives in society, especially at schools. The feeling of disempowerment potentially leads to declining voting rate in Japan across the whole population, but particularly among young people. It is reported that young people's trust in political systems and participation, such as voting, is weakening as they are increasingly feeling disconnected from the state (Tonge et al., 2012). Some maintain that teachers tend to see students' agency as naughtiness, as it is often expressed as a form of disobedience, and there is overemphasis on duty of children and young people rather than rights in education discourse (Howe & Covell, 2010; Jerome & Starkey, 2022). As

Yuichi notes in the excerpt above, the implication is that lack of credits on students and overemphasis on duty leads to limited sense of self-efficacy and possibly decreases in particular but not limited the electoral participation of young people.

Young people’s declining participation in voting is of concern for civic educators as it possibly due to feeling of disempowerment as Yuichi suggests in the excerpt above. Although voting is a minimal duty of citizens rather than a more active form of participation such as engaging in some form of political activism in some scholars’ views (McLaughlin, 1992; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004), it is also possible that voting is a citizen’s means to act on their political agency. As it is expressed by some of the English teachers who participated in this study (see the subsequent section in this chapter, ‘Democracy as freedom and rights’), voting may also be viewed as citizens’ active involvement in politics, rather than fulfilment of duty. It is also worth noting that women in Japan and England had to fight to secure the right to vote. It was not until 1928 and 1946 in England and Japan respectively that women obtained their right to vote. Therefore, it is possible to argue that voting is not just minimal citizenship, but also citizens’ means to raise their voice in the political process. In this sense, young people’s disengagement from voting is a matter of concern to teachers. As Yuichi expresses his concern, young people lose their interest in participating in electoral politics, as they have fewer opportunities that they feel empowered, being listened to, and making a difference. It is illustrated so far that English and Japanese teachers both think personal efficacy is a prerequisite for citizens’ active participation in society, but in different terms. The difference seems to be explained by considering conformity and criticality. This will be further discussed in the next section.

5.2.3 Conformity and criticality

English and Japanese teachers’ views differ when it comes to criticality and conformity. English teachers see participation as being about active citizenship with intention to make a difference. This includes voting, taking part in political protests, or disobedience if it is justifiable. On the other hand, Japanese teachers distance themselves from protests. Their reluctance to take part in protests presents their conformist views, although they also see criticising government policies as important for developing one’s ability to participate in society. The following explains these two different aspects of participation, criticality and conformity.

Three of the Japanese teachers (Tomohiko, Yuichi, and Eita) offer explanations for their reluctance or distancing from protests. A possible reason for reluctance to protest is due to the assumption that it is not a respectable act in Japanese society. Eita explains:

> Political demonstrations and lobbying are uncommon in Japan. At least, I feel so. Participating in demonstrations is a courageous act. The Japanese society is like, one could lose a job opportunity if he/she joins a May Day demonstration. I myself do not really participate. I hardly take civic actions. (Eita, male History, Civics, Geography, and Japanese teacher, state school)

The excerpt from the interview presented above suggests there is a pressure to conform to the rules and norms of society. It is possible to suggest that this pressure comes from cultural and political reasons. In Japanese culture, Kobayashi et al. (2021) suggest that people link the political protests to extreme political views that disturb social harmony. In terms of the institutional context, teachers are required to maintain a politically neutral position in their classroom so their lesson content should be free from political ideologies or values. Reluctance to protests leads to minimal citizenship, which puts emphasis on socialising oneself into prevailing values for ensuring stability (Sim & Print, 2009). De Ruyter (2008, p. 353) suggests that minimal citizenship is interpreted as being able to ‘‘speak dominant language’’ and having ‘moral, political and social knowledge.’’ Nevertheless, it is questionable whether Eita’s view is fully aligned with minimal citizenship characterised as conformity to dominant values because he also talks about critical perspective to analyse government policies. One can argue that it is to do with the political and social constraints teachers face, as Sunda (2015) reports that political activism or even expressing political opinion is stigmatised in Japan. One of the other participants also related that his colleague who discussed political ideologies received complaints, as well as warning from the local education board. Hence, it seems that teachers themselves are reluctant to or unable to take part in protests due to the aforementioned cultural and political constraints, although this does not mean they are not unaware of the value of such actions. They find it difficult to participate in confrontational forms of activism due to the risk of jeopardising their reputations and potentially losing one's career as Eita mentions in the excerpt above.

In addition to political and social constraints, public morality is another reason that Japanese teachers are reluctant to take part in protests. Anzai (2014) suggests that public morality is individual citizens' moral sense which is recognised as their contribution to, attachment to, and responsibility to society. Drawing on Anzai (2014), attempts to reconcile individuals' self-interest and collective values possibly lead to reluctance to take part in political protest. For instance, one of the participants, Takuya, says:

> Public welfare and peaceful democratic society require individuals not to be too arrogant and reconcile their own self-interest with collective one. Students think being active in a class such as speaking up is a good thing, but from a teacher's perspective to supervise the whole classroom, it is not necessarily so. If considering the collective unity, one should not be too self-assertive, too arrogant. But this is difficult to say as individuals' identity and personality should also be respected. (Takuya, male civics, history, and geography teacher, working class, less privileged state school)

As Takuya sees his students in the classroom, he feels one should not be too assertive in order to have a balance between individuals' self-interest and collective interests. In the excerpt above, one can see that a sense of public morality is recognised as 'collective unity' and reconciling others' interest for public welfare. According to some scholars' interpretations, these are recognised as maximal citizenship (Akar & Albrecht, 2017; Sim & Print, 2009; Wahrman & Hartaf, 2019) although it is not about challenging or criticising the existing structure. Some see that collective unity is maximal citizenship because it leads to solidarity to work together for growth in civil society (Akar & Albrecht, 2017) and shared interest in addressing public concerns and contributing to public good (Wahrman & Hartaf, 2019). In this interpretation, reconciling with others' interest is part of maximal citizenship as respecting differences in values and perspectives is a prerequisite for effective participation in public affairs (Sim & Print, 2009). Hence, it is possible to argue that a sense of public morality is also a part of active participation in society. Nevertheless, a sense of public morality is also related to personally responsible citizenship, which potentially leads to conformity. Being considerate towards others (not being too assertive or arrogant) are attributes of personally responsible citizens who are obedient, law-abiding, and conforming to social norms (David et al., 2017; Lucas & Clark, 2016). To consider the difference between public morality for maximal or minimal citizenship, I draw on ‘‘moral texture’’ which McLaughlin (2004, p. 158) defines as respect and tolerance to have reasonable disagreements and respectful disapproval of perspectives. Without this moral texture, public morality hinders individuals’ capacity to critically acknowledge public values and competence of political reasoning. There is a potential risk of this in Japanese society which avoids political protest for collective harmony (Kobayashi et al., 2021).

Although protesting is not an option for Japanese teachers, they see critical perspectives as important. For instance, three participants (Mamoru, Shirou, and Tomohiko) emphasise developing political literacy skills in order to critically analyse the information one receives. For instance, Tomohiko notes:

> It would be great if one could bring about social change. But the first step should be receiving information critically as freedom of the press is being lost in Japan. I think we should not be passive but have a perspective to cast a doubt and analyse the information critically. (Tomohiko, male civics teacher, middle class, state school)

The excerpt above tells that participating Japanese teachers believe that political literacy skills and analysing information one receives are important. Tomohiko puts emphasis on ‘‘an ability to cast a sceptical eye, and the ability to think from multiple perspectives.’’ Teachers’ emphasis on critical thinking and political literacy possibly comes from the controversial bill proposed by the government. As Tomohiko mentions ‘‘freedom of the press’’, there is a concern that 2013 Designated Secrets Law, introduced by the then Liberal Democratic Party government, breaches the principle of the right to know, and freedom of the press (Stockwin & Ampiah, 2017). Although the government claimed that the intention of the proposed law is to foster diplomatic relationship with the US in defence against terrorism and benefit national security, Stockwin and Ampiah (2017) note the risk that the Secret law [1]can be abused because there is no system to verify the legitimacy of classified information. The findings suggest that Japanese participants see being critical about the government as an important disposition for citizens. Their views corroborate Wheeler-Bell (2014) and Galston (2002) that critical reflection, articulating one's concerns in the public sphere, and reasoning are requirements for participation in democracy. Criticality among Japanese teachers is about critical thinking such as having sceptical eyes and perspectives, which Veugelers (2007) sees as competencies of critical inquiry skills. Along with the findings from Sim et al. (2017) who maintain that teachers in Asian societies are also aware of social justice rather than being passive conformists, this study also confirms that citizenship in Asian society is not only about conformity, but also criticality. The first section presented and discussed findings about teachers' views on citizens' civic and political engagement. The next section presents another main theme developed through data analysis, 'community.'

5.3 Community

Both English and Japanese teachers in this study relate that community is about a sense of belonging and community involvement. Feeling attached to one's own community brings about feelings such as mutual trust and respect to each other. Participating teachers' views about a sense of community are summarised in Chapter 7. Birdwell et al. (2013) suggest that solidarity, loyalty to the national community, and shared attributes such as language lead to active engagement in one's own community. Some of the English and Japanese participants talk about a sense of belonging to the global community, but they are also aware of the challenges to bring it about in reality. This is related to the issues of divisions among citizens in multicultural societies, as membership to the national community has a risk of excluding those who do not share the attributes of the national community such as: language, history, or identity (David, 1993; Yuval-Davis, 1997). As for community involvement, Dagger (2002) suggests commitment for collective purpose or common good leads to active participation in civic life. This commitment for collective purpose seems stronger among Japanese teachers. For them, individuals take part in a community for a common purpose, or shared interest of a community. In addition, some English teachers also feel that the sense of community is being lost in general, but particularly among young people. Participating teachers' views on community are discussed below with the sections on: 'Sense of belonging and exclusion' and 'Community involvement.'

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[1] **The Secret law**: The bill ensures the state's right to keep the information secret with regard to the following: defence, diplomacy, Prevention of Specified Harmful Activities, and Prevention of terrorism. It also prohibits unauthorised disclosure of information related to these items. Civil servants who leak state secrets or journalists who encourage whistleblowers to leak information will both face prison sentences. The government has been criticised for the potential risk of limiting the public's right to know.

5.3.1 Sense of belonging & exclusion

Both English and Japanese teachers share a view that citizens have a sense of belonging to their community, including a local, national, and global one. Teachers in this study seem to agree with Starkey (2018), who suggests that people today are connected to a wide range of places and communities both within and beyond local areas and national borders. Participating teachers see the global community in terms of attributes of maximal citizenship such as compassion for differences and respect for diversity (Wang & Hoffman, 2020) and awareness of social injustice and inequality.

English teachers in this study recognise the interconnectedness of history across national borders. Their views correspond with discourse on global citizenship recognised by Engel and Siczek (2017) that every individual has a membership to a shared global community. One of the teachers, Brian, explains that ''I don't think you can have sense of global citizenship if you don't have a sense of global history, global awareness'' and he continues:

> You are not likely to be concerned of issues in another country, if you don't understand that country…I have always been a big advocate of teaching global history, teaching world history and looking at very big patterns of development, (sense of) being together that unites all humanity rather than just compartmentalising to national identities

> (Brian, male history teacher, lower middle class, less prestigious state school)

Brian believes that awareness of global history and understanding other countries unites ‘‘all humanity’’, his views on global citizenship corresponds with cosmopolitan citizenship suggested by Osler and Starkey (2003). Cosmopolitan citizens see themselves as members of the global community who share solidarity with citizens in other countries based on common humanity and universal values of human rights (Osler & Starkey, 2003, 2018). Brian expresses his view that global citizens are ‘‘concerned about issues in another country.’’ Brian’s view corresponds with Schippling (2020) that global citizens are those who are committed to supporting other human beings regardless of nationality.

Global citizenship is also presented in Japanese teachers’ views, although the term ‘global’ is mentioned by a participant, Isao who teaches civics at private high school. He talks about a sense of global community that individuals without common identities can live together. Isao sees that the ideal is to have a sense of local, national, and global community which he explains:

> Global identity is about a mindset as a human being to live together and help others on the planet. This is about the principle of United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), ‘not leaving anyone out.’ Citizens with global identity would understand this sense of supporting other fellow human beings in the global community. (Isao, male civics teacher, middle class, private school)

Talking about the global identity that human beings ‘‘live together and help others on the planet’’, Isao has a similar view to Brian’s sense of cosmopolitan citizenship. While Brian talks about interconnectedness of world history, Isao puts emphasis on social justice and human rights, as he refers to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). According to the United Nations, SDGs are aimed at recognising human rights for all and combat inequality. Isao’s reference to global justice is related to the reasons why some scholars’ call for global citizenship. They maintain that educators are required to prepare young people to live in the interconnected world to address such global challenges as climate change (Idrissi, 2020; Wang & Hoffman, 2020).

Nonetheless, it is often challenging to recognise the global community in practice as national identity often generates divisions. Andrew's remark on shared history illustrates the potential challenges for global citizenship:

> Minority of British citizens do not want to share their identity, religion, laws, or a certain social norm. If we open up our scope just a little bit, we uncover inventions that we had thought invented actually come from much further away. Our history is not just ours but actually is tied to someone else's culture and identity. So, history is something we should be able to share. (Andrew, male citizenship teacher, working class, academy)

Andrew knows that some people in the UK are reluctant to share their identity with others. The excerpt suggests that he is aware of the challenge of multicultural society. It is also mentioned by Schippling (2020) that exclusion based on the possession of legal status, discrimination, and racism always accompanies citizenship. Existence of multiple communities within a state involves complex issues of membership and exclusion. Andrew's concern that ‘‘a minority of British citizens do not want to share their identity’’ is also related to challenges to bring about what scholars call plural citizenship that individuals belong to not only local and national but also global citizenship (Philippou et al., 2009). Scholars are also aware that there are often divisions between citizens as recognising multiple identities individuals have and having critical understanding of the power relations to struggle over rights are not always possible (Mouffe, 1996; Philippou et al., 2009). The excerpt above suggests that Andrew is aware that some people (‘‘a minority of British citizens’’) have a superficial, shallow version of pluralism. In addition to Andrew presented above, other teachers in this study also express a similar concern. For example, a female English teacher, Katie, feels having loyalty to the global community is an ideal ‘‘perfect world.’’ A male Japanese teacher, Isao, also is aware that a global community is an ideal but in reality, some people in Japan do not have ‘‘solidarity’’ with citizens in neighbouring states including Korea and China. These concerns mentioned by Katie and Isao suggest that some see citizenship as a sense of belonging to the national community which Yuval-Davis (1997) raises a risk of causing division of ‘‘us and them’’ among citizens. Accordingly, teachers find it challenging to bring about global citizenship in practice, due to the difficult balance between plural senses of belonging which are not limited to national community and a membership to a nation based on shared attributes and sense of unity as a national citizen. As teachers’ views on the sense of community have been illustrated so far, the next section presents findings about how teachers view community involvement.

5.3.2 Community involvement

Both English and Japanese teachers see that a sense of community generates unity and solidarity among individuals to actively participate and have responsibility to their community. This is also suggested by several scholars that a sense of community, such as solidarity based on shared attributes, leads to active community involvement and mutual responsibility for common good (Balsano, 2005; Birdwell et al., 2013; Dagger, 2002). In addition, English and Japanese teachers also differ in their views on community involvement. Collective purpose seems to be more prevailing in Japanese teachers’ views. English teachers see that participation in community is about helping others in the community, but Japanese teachers feel it is working with others to make their community better. This is possibly because of how they see a sense of community. It is about solidarity and trust among each other in English teachers’ views, while Japanese teachers see it as feeling attached to one’s own community.

For English teachers, a sense of community is about social and emotional sense, such as solidarity, trust, and mutual respect. For instance, Henry emphasises trust in teachers and classmates is essential to ‘‘have a thoughtful conversation’ on controversial issues related to sexuality, racism, and discrimination.’’ Rupert mentions mutual respect and sense of belonging lead to active participation in the community, which brings about empowerment. It is reported that a sense of solidarity and empowerment motivates individuals to be active citizens in their communities (Birdwell et al., 2013). Andrew’s view exemplifies the relationship between social and emotional sense of community and collective action:

> Solidarity in their [students’] friends, their community, even strangers, like people they’ve never met. If they see a group of people struggling, then they should have moral (responsibility). They should see a moral duty to help and support (others) in any way that they can. (Andrew, male citizenship teacher, working class, academy)

A social and emotional sense of community, such as trust, solidarity, and respect, promotes civic identity and democratic values which then lead to collective actions (Andolina & Conklin, 2019). Andrew sees solidarity as important to develop ‘‘moral duty’’ to help people who are struggling. It is exemplified in Andrew’s excerpt above that English teachers reflect a concept of community based on solidarity and mutual support that enables citizens to address differences and support social actions (Zay, 2011). Their sense of community is also related to maximal, justice-oriented and participatory citizenship that is about addressing the root causes of injustice, and addressing those who are in need by bringing an improvement to a community (David et al., 2017; Fry & O’Brien, 2015).

Six other English teachers (Brian, Colin, Katie, Larry, Linda, and Rupert) also see the sense of community generates responsibility to the community one belongs to. Brian says it means feeling like ‘‘this is my community.’’ Similarly, Rupert also recognises that feeling ‘‘that you belong to a community you care about fosters a sense of collective responsibility.’’ Teachers talk about awareness of other members of the community in both senses of minimal and maximal citizenship. For example, Colin notes:

> It is about feeling (that there is) not just yourself, doing volunteering, donating to charity, and being a good neighbour. For example, if you play music at three o’clock in the morning, you are not thinking about the implication of that on other people as well. (Colin, male citizenship teacher, lower middle class, state-funded grammar school).

The forms of community involvement Colin mentions are related to minimal, personally responsible citizenship. These are: volunteering, making donations to charity, and being a good neighbour. Some scholars relate these forms of involvement as minimal or personally responsible citizenship (David et al., 2017; Lee & Fouts, 2005). Minimal citizenship is about social morality and civic involvement realised in immediate context, such as volunteering (Lee & Fouts, 2005). David et al (2017) also relate moral responsibility and volunteering to personally responsible citizenship.

Responsibility to be aware of the community becomes maximal, participatory citizenship when it is extended to a broader sense that includes not only one's immediate context but also the community as a whole. Larry and Katie demonstrate this sense of responsibility:

> Having a long-term view of the state of the world by seeing how your actions today could influence future generations. (Larry, male citizenship teacher, middle class, voluntary aided school)
>
> I have been brought up with responsibility (to the community). People might other people. I do see that. I do believe in it. I am passionate that it's my responsibility to stand up for what's right and what's wrong whatever that is. (Katie, female citizenship teacher, mixed social class, less privileged state school)

Larry's sense of responsibility extended to future generations and potentially to the global community, hence it is maximal citizenship. Katie's emphasis on responsibility for one's own community and ''people might impact on other people'' is about mutual support and responsibility relevant to Birdwell et al's (2013) definition of community. Birdwell et al (2013) maintain that key aspects of citizenship include: voluntarism, mutual support, and community engagement in pursuit of common good. These are maximal participatory citizenship because Katie sees the responsibility includes caring for those in need (David et al., 2017; Leung et al., 2016) and contributing to the well-being of the community (Sondel, 2015). The excerpt above tells that a sense of belonging plays an important role to generate mutual support for the community. This confirms Andolina and Conklin's (2020) argument that involvement in community fosters a connection to each other's and individuals' ties to the community. Moreover, it is worth noting that a sense of community may move between the spectrum of minimal and maximal citizenship. A female English teacher, Katie, who expressed a sense of responsibility linked to maximal citizenship in the excerpt above, but she also sees responsibility in terms of minimal personally responsible citizenship. She emphasises citizens has responsibility to obey the rules saying:

> I think that’s (responsibility) to be aware of society, of what’s going on. This is something not many people do. Some people are like “oh I didn’t know that was the speed limit” I think we should make ourselves aware of rules and regulations. We shouldn’t be naïve. (Katie, female citizenship teacher, mixed social class, less privileged state school).

Another participant, Linda, also has a mixed view of maximal and minimal citizenship but offers a potential explanation of how personal responsibility possibly develops into collective action as a community. Linda says personal responsibility is about ‘‘general ownership and thinking about your environment’’ which is something like ‘‘not dropping litter’’ but she continues to say ‘‘I think you have a bigger idea when you behave as a community to act together.’’ One can surmise that personal responsibility develops into a collective sense of community. The possible finding from interviews with English teachers is that a sense of responsibility can be fluid. As Katie’s and Linda’s views suggest, both minimal and maximal sense exists within an individual.

A sense of responsibility to community in Japanese teachers’ views also leads to mixed interpretations of minimal and maximal citizenship. For Japanese teachers, a sense of belonging brings about responsibility to the community. For instance, Eita feels ‘‘attachment to the community generates the sense of responsibility’’ to improve the community. Shirou is of similar view that a person will be motivated to bring about ‘‘a positive impact to the community’’ if he or she feels attached to it. This is explained by Balsano (2005) who notes that individuals’ civic engagement is sustained by their motivation to do something for the community. This sense of community represents characteristics of participatory citizenship. The emphasis is given to active involvement in community and contribution to make the community better (Fry & O’Brien, 2015; Marri et al., 2013; Sondel, 2015; Leung et al., 2014). Although it is participatory citizenship rather than personally responsible citizenship, the sense of belonging and responsibility is related to minimal citizenship (McLaughlin, 1992) which emphasises civic roles and responsibilities (Idrissi, et al., 2021). This is because teachers refer to local communities such as school, club activities, or family. Responsibility to the school community often means obeying rules and regulation of the schools (Zay, 2011). It is possible to argue that what is reflected in Japanese teachers' view is minimal citizenship which gives more emphasis to civic responsibilities than rights (Engel, 2014).

Nevertheless, there is also maximal, participatory citizenship reflected in Japanese teachers' sense of community. For instance, Eita elaborates his views that individuals' act to improve society should come from ''independent responsibility rather than obligation or duty.'' Mamoru also sees it is not duty, but 'shared sense of responsibility for the society' that comes from one's interest in a community. Kotaro further elaborates this sense of voluntary, shared sense of responsibility to community should be based on dialogues:

> It is about involvement in the community to make it better. I agree with the idea that civic virtue is about contributing to the community. Rather than having a quarrel, I think community could be improved through dialogue in which people listen to each other, express their opinions, and deliberate ... I would say individuals' engagement in public affair is a civic virtue (Kotaro, male history / civics teacher, middle class, private school)

The ''dialogue'' Kotaro explains represents a concept of community suggested by Zay (2011). It is about solidarity, discussion, and mutual support established through daily lives of individuals in a community (Zay, 2011). Kotaro's emphasis on deliberation is related to Waghid's (2013) interpretation of maximal citizenship. Waghid (2013) maintains that maximal citizenship is about deliberative engagement through which arguments are exchanged and deliberated in order to bring about new understandings for pluralistic justice. Improving a community through dialogue and deliberation is also characteristic of participatory citizenship, because scholars define participatory citizenship as active engagement to improve the wellbeing of community (David et al., 2017; Sondel, 2015).

Moreover, there is a challenging issue about weakening the sense of community mentioned by English teachers. Katie notes a lot of people do not see the responsibility to their community "if it's [an issue or problem is] not happening” to them. Linda also feels that a sense of community is becoming weak among young people:

> We have a community identity as a school but many of my children [students] don’t belong to a community outside the school. They haven’t done things like, haven’t belonged to guide, browns, board, scouts…and [they] haven’t just put themselves out for their community in some shape or form doing whatever it is. (Linda, female citizenship teacher, working class, prestigious boarding school).

Linda thinks her students do not ‘‘put themselves out for their community’’ because they do not feel a sense of belonging outside of the school. It is possible that Linda’s concern is about divisions between communities. Mohan (1995) notes that people do not go beyond the boundary of their own community based on their shared backgrounds such as class, race, or gender. Nevertheless, the loss of community is possibly a sign of ‘‘radical singularity of the I and the other’’ that members are strangers to each other without anything in common (Wang & Hoffman, 2020, p. 445). Wang and Hoffman (2020) suggest that responsibility which assumes mutual interest is not compatible with uniqueness of individuals which cannot be reduced to classifications, hence radical otherness is responsibility to maintain each other’s unique strangeness’ Linda’s students somehow find this sense of ‘responsibility’ at school while they may not be able to find this sense of community that goes beyond categorisations into a certain group in their local areas.

Nevertheless, a sense of radical singularity still requires citizens to engage with others. Citizenship is defined in terms of relationship to others or a ‘different community’ which are strangers to oneself because what it means to be a citizen is ‘‘acting in a public space’’, a space with others (Biesta, 2004, p. 315). Excerpt from an interview with Linda presented above suggests that involvement in public space to engage with others is missing among her students especially for their own local community. Given that many of her students are from affluent families, the cause for this lack of community engagement is not solely due to the social class inequality in participation reported by several scholars (Andolina & Conklin, 2019; Deimel et al., 2019; Hoskins et al., 2017; Kudrnáč & Lyons, 2017; Weinberg, 2021).

With the possibility of radical singularity that young people are refusing conventional sense of community which categorises individuals based on social backgrounds, a possible explanation is that young people are seeking different means to engage with political and civic affairs. It is possible that young people find it difficult to have a ‘‘meaningful participatory experience’’ (Bolsano, 2005, p. 193) that helps them to develop a sense of validity in their opinions. Without participatory experiences that young people see as meaningful, their motivation for civic engagement and trust in working with adults dwindles Balsano (2005). Kisby and Sloan (2009) call more attention to young people’s politics which is their own experience and participation to address issues relevant to their own lives. In their views, they also argue that the citizenship curriculum in England needs an interactive approach with the focus on experiential learning that draws on students’ own lives and encourages collaborative engagement to address issues of student interest (Kisby & Sloam, 2009).

5.4 Citizenship as democratic values

The previous two sections illustrated that English and Japanese teachers in this study think citizenship is about citizens’ critical engagement to address social injustice. Their views are related to values of participatory democracy listed in the Crick report which includes: tolerance, concern for human rights and the environment, equality, and sense of justice (Potter, 2002). As issues related to tolerance towards diverse identities and human rights such as racism are increasingly important due to the call for addressing social cohesion in the society which is becoming more diverse (Jerome & Clemitshaw, 2012; Osler, 2009), it is also reflected in participating teachers’ views. The findings suggest that English teachers’ views have some relevance to the Prevent strategy, which include the requirement (Elton-Chalcraft et al., 2017) to teach Fundamental British Values (FBV) in the UK government’s counter-terrorism agenda to strengthen Britishness. English teachers relate citizenship to democracy, individual liberty, the rule of law, and respect for people of different backgrounds and religions which are included in FBV. Since schools in England are required to teach FBV through their curriculums, it is not surprising to see that participating teachers refer to these values when asked about their conceptualization of citizenship. In the civics curriculum in Japan, some argue that there is a conservative emphasis such as conforming to social norms and traditional family system (Parmenter et al., 2008). While the civics curriculum of social studies highlights individual dignity and equal rights, it also emphasises the importance of conventions of social life. Among Japanese teachers who participated in this study, they talked about the importance of securing individuals' civil and political rights including freedom of expression and political accountability. Both English and Japanese teachers agree that the ideal would be that everyone shares maximal citizenship, as they emphasise criticality, social justice, and awareness of diversity. Nevertheless, they are also aware of matters of concern in their respective society. For instance, some of the English teachers talked about challenges to address diverse and multiple senses of British identities. Japanese teachers are concerned about a limited level of awareness of human rights issues and social justice among their students. This will be discussed in the following sections.

5.4.1 Democracy as freedom and rights

Democracy is recognised as freedom and rights among both participating English and Japanese teachers in this study. Teachers' views reflect maximal citizenship, which emphasises addressing plural views in the society (Waghid, 2013) and social criticism to address injustice (Sim & Print, 2009). Both English and Japanese teachers are aware that democracy involves plural views, as everyone has rights and freedom of expression. For instance, Andrew thinks ‘‘everybody gets an opinion in democracy…everybody got the right to be heard.’’ Another English teacher, Katie, sees democracy to be about freedom of speech such as ‘‘freedom to criticise or challenge the government’’ and to ‘‘agree or disagree with our government.’’ With regard to this point, English and Japanese teachers' views are similar, as a Japanese teacher, Ren, says:

> Virtue is about respect to human rights and contribution to building a tolerant society. I would say it is about the disposition and qualities of human beings to build democratic politics and society. (Ren, male civics teacher, middle class, part-time state school)

Tolerance and respect to human rights, which Ren mentions above, are maximal citizenship as Adebayo (2019) notes that respect of human rights is essential for maximal interpretation of citizenship. However, when it comes to social criticism, English and Japanese teachers' views become divergent. English teachers relate social criticism to activism and citizens' struggle to secure their rights, while Japanese teachers see it as about critical thinking and analysis of the society. Among English teachers, freedom of speech and freedom of expression are linked to citizens' struggle for securing the rights as Henry says:

> What if they [students] don't vote? Then they are losing their freedom. People have fought for centuries to gain rights. Look at how women vote, people who are struggling, campaigning for gay marriage. People have fought and fought for people to have these rights. I think it is massively important that young people have this right to vote, the right to free speech. (Henry, male citizenship / literature teacher, middle class, state school).

Henry recognises the importance of ''fight for'' rights and freedom through campaigning and protesting. Henry's view reflects justice-oriented citizenship that addresses root causes of injustice through social movements (Marri & Michael-Luna, 2013; Swalwell, 2013; Fry & O'Brien 2015). As for Henry's remark presented in the excerpt above, he sees voting as one of the freedoms people have fought for and secured through struggles over time. It is worth noting that Henry interprets voting in terms of maximal citizenship, viewing it as a means to make a difference and bring change in one's local community. This view is different from McLaughlin's (1992) interpretation that voting is minimal citizenship, as it is fulfilment of civic duty rather than active participation. However, it is also true that voting is the right which half of the citizens (women) in England were not granted, and have strived to secure by protests. Voting can be viewed as maximal citizenship to participate in politics given the historical context in England, such as Pankhurst's political activism including disobeying laws which some scholars see as a means to exercise citizens' rights (Jerome & Starkey, 2022; Peterson, 2013; Tsai, 2015). Some of the English teachers in this study also see disobedience such as breaking the laws as part of active citizenship (see the above section in this Chapter).

The perspective to see the freedom of speech and expression as a means to secure the rights is possibly linked to English teachers' emphasis on activism when talking about active citizenship (see the section 2.1.1 Active citizenship). The English teachers' view presented above suggests the perspective that rights and freedom are entitlements, but individuals need to strive for securing them through activism. Fry and O'Brien (2015) report that those who demonstrate strong support for justice-oriented actions see civil disobedience (such as breaking the law) as required to protect individuals' rights. Haste and Hogan (2006) also note that feeling of frustration about current issues is often a motivation for taking part in civic actions. With regard to English context, Lee and Fouts (2005) find that good citizenship means civil disobedience due to the shared common value of anti-authoritarianism. This study confirms these findings (Fry & O'Brien, 2015; Lee & Fouts, 2005) as some of the participating English teachers are in support of activism such as protests and civil disobedience for obtaining rights and freedom.

Japanese teachers' views on human rights are linked to maximal citizenship that Akar (2017) sees as civic and political participation based on mutual respect to human rights. With regard to human rights, they mainly talk about civil and political rights such as expression of political opinions individually and collectively. An excerpt from my interview with Yuichi provides examples:

> It [human rights] can be petitions, the ideal is to demand accountability from politicians and government, so it is the right to accountability. For instance, one can check a news report at 9pm in order to be aware of issues in the society and develop an opinion as an individual. Or, it can be checking what political parties do. This is ideal, but I think high school students in general hardly do these kinds of things. (Yuichi, male civics teacher, middle class, state school)

In the excerpt above, one can argue that seeking accountability to government and politicians is maximal citizenship, as it involves critical thinking and perspective to analyse the society (Idrissi, 2020; Oxley & Morris, 2013). As in Henry's view to see voting as maximal citizenship presented above, Yuichi also sees that voting (as well as the preparation process for voting) is maximal citizenship, because it involves ‘‘checking what political parties do’ and seeking the accountability of the government.’’ The emphasis is on developing an opinion ‘‘as an individual’’ by becoming knowledgeable about political affairs, hence the capacity of citizens to make an informed decision at political elections and develop their own views on socio-political matters.

However, Japanese teachers’ views are not fully related to justice-oriented citizenship which includes taking part in social movements to stand up for injustice and structural inequality, and strategic engagement with political mobilisation to make a change that scholars see as justice-oriented citizenship (David et al., 2017; Leung et al., 2014). Like most of the other Japanese participants, Yuichi does not mention protesting. Nonetheless, there are three Japanese teachers (Haruto, Kotaro, and Ren) who think that citizens should be able to realise their human rights. Ren says “having political rights means the entitlement to these [having rights to vote, political expression etc] and realisation of it.” This suggests less emphasis on protesting among Japanese participants requires nuanced understanding. Although political activism seems not to be common among the majority of Japanese people, those who are marginalised in Japanese society such as *Burakumin*, resident Koreans, and indigenous people demand for change through activism (Tsutsui, 2017; Tsutui & Shin, 2007). Japanese citizens, especially women, may practise activism in an implicit and subtle way, as Takeda (2006) suggests that women’s political pursuits are often confined to grassroots level such as interest groups. Teachers who are concerned about issues such as discrimination against *Burakumin* and resident Koreans, engage in activism but through less confrontational means such as disseminating information or leading a study group to raise awareness (Cangià, 2012, 2017; Okano, 2006). Therefore, these studies suggest that Japanese citizens do practise activism to make a difference, but through implicit means. Based on the findings from these scholars (Cangià, 2012, 2017; Okano, 2006; Tsutsui, 2017; Takeda, 2006; Tsutui & Shin, 2007), I surmise that Japanese teachers are in support of political activism in spirit but practise it in implicit forms. The possible explanation is that Japanese teachers in this study express a similar sense of active civic participation to the Singaporean context reported in Sim and Print (2009). Civic participation is ‘‘reflective inquiry and informed social criticism’’ which involves identifying a problem, gathering and analysing information to make an informed decision (Sim & Print, 2009, p.709). The findings suggest this form of civic participation is shared by Japanese teachers.

Although Japanese teachers recognise the importance of human rights, there is not a profuse attention given to economic, social, and cultural rights. As it is illustrated above, human rights are mainly recognised as civil and political rights. Below, Tomohiko, links human rights to social justice and rights of minorities as he says:

> I think an awareness about what one can do for those who are disadvantaged or address the challenges minority populations face is important. Having a sense of justice and awareness of human rights motivates citizens to have this sense of shared responsibility. (Tomohiko, male civics teacher, middle class, state school).

Tomohiko sees it is important to address structural inequality. He also thinks individuals should be aware of human rights and the obstacles to realisation of rights that minorities in the society face. This view reflects the concept of ‘‘social justice ethic’’ (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 217). Olssen et al. (2004) explain a perspective with social justice ethics that prioritise equity over choice and fairer distribution of benefits, rather than economic efficiency and consumer choice. However, perspectives that correspond with social justice ethics (Olssen et al., 2004) is rare among Japanese teachers interviewed in this study. Far less emphasis given to social rights and structural injustice may come from the influence of neoliberalism that has prevailed in recent years. The aforementioned ‘‘social justice ethic’’ is in contrast to ‘‘neoliberal utilitarianism’’ that prioritises optimal average benefits in the possible expense of disadvantaged groups’ loss (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 217). Neoliberalism is an influential force to construct the world through the ‘‘prism of economic-instrumental rationality’’ which establishes an educational goal to raise competitive entrepreneurs who are effective in making profits at marketplace (Sen, 2021, p. 615). This emphasis on profits and marketplace generates inequality (Gamarnikow & Green, 1999), and is possibly in conflict with concepts such as human rights which concern entitlement for every citizen (Zembylas et al., 2014). Especially with regard to social rights, Marshall (1950) recognises there is an unresolved conflict.

Gifford et al. (2013) report that capitalist societies such as Japan are influenced by neoliberalism so significantly that they are effective in protecting existing privileges and recreating inequalities in the society. Hence, it is feasible to suggest that far fewer references made by Japanese teachers to structural inequality, as well as social rights, may be a part of influence of prevailing neoliberalism. Among English and Japanese participants, democracy is perceived to be the rights and freedom that citizens are entitled to and often fight for. Participating teachers also talk about respect and tolerance to diversity, which will be discussed in the next section.

5.4.2 Respect & tolerance to diversity

English citizenship teachers in this study sees Britishness and British values in terms of maximal citizenship. For them, British values are characterised with scholars' interpretations of maximal citizenship, including mutual responsibility for multiple social groups (Wahrman & Hartaf, 2019) and awareness of multiple identities of individuals and cultural diversity (Idrissi et al., 2019; Oxley & Morris, 2013). Nevertheless, participating English teachers are aware of challenging issues to address diversity that some people do not have an open mind to understand other countries and cross-national interdependence. To address diverse identities and perspectives, English teachers in this study see mutual respect as important. Oliver explains living in a multicultural society means ‘‘respecting the uniqueness of character.’’ Andrew says “mutual respect within society is one of the British values, people need to first have an identity which they feel is unique to them recognized and accepted.” Mutual respect is also recognised as important to address possible conflicts of opinions as Rupert notes mutual respect is essential to have ‘‘effective disagreement.’’ Moreover, English teachers also see tolerance as a means to address diverse identities, cultures, and ethnicities. Larry and Colin both endorse tolerance, but Oliver provides detailed explanations for his view:

> Tolerance, definitely you need to be tolerant to other people. Obviously, that is linked to identity, so (it is about) tolerance to other people, cultures. Britain is a very multicultural and diverse society… I think British identity is more inclusive and obviously it is tied to

> things like rule of law, tied to things like belief in democracy. (Oliver, male citizenship teacher, working class, catholic school)

Oliver recognises the importance of tolerance to diversity of identities, people, and culture. He also sees that British society is very multicultural and diverse. Oliver's awareness of diversity and multiculturalism in Britain confirms the debate reported by Osler (2009) regarding national identity, multiculturalism, and the integration of minorities. Identities are not solely linked to nationality but multi-layered as people's identities are flexible and constantly shifting (Osler, 2009). As Oliver feels British identity is 'more inclusive' rather than limited to nationalistic sense, his view also corresponds with Maylor's (2016) suggestion that national culture and British values should be inclusive to accommodate cultures and identities of diverse groups.

However, tolerance may not be enough to address diversity in the society as one of the English teachers, Katie, suggests it is a 'minimum' requirement:

> I think, in 2020 it's tolerance which I think is the minimum (requirement). It should be compassion, but I understand some people are not able to accept anybody (who is different). So, as long as tolerance is there that's better than nothing. When we talk about tolerance and the word "accepting", it is like I don't have to agree with you but I accept it. I think that's true, but just being kind doesn't necessarily mean tolerance. So, I think we need kindness and compassion. (Katie, female citizenship teacher, mixed social class, less privileged state school)

Katie feels that some people just accept the difference and do not make further attempts to understand diverse, multiple perspectives. The excerpt above suggests that Katie believes tolerance is a ''minimum'' requirement and calls for ''compassion.'' Several scholars also share this view. Tolerance is to depoliticize racialized injustice by replacing the problem with simplified celebration of diversity and reinforcing the political inequalities rather than providing the opportunities to become aware of it (Ormond & Vietti, 2021). Bowie (2017, p. 537) maintains tolerance is paradoxical as it is a prerequisite to make democracy possible but it also contains ''moral disapproval'' that one has to tolerate something he or she disapproves of. As Katie expresses her view that what is called for is ‘‘kindness and compassion’’ rather than tolerance in the excerpt above, she seems to be aware of this ‘moral disapproval.’ Scholars also point out that FBV in the Prevent strategy and a certain interpretation of British values have a potential risk of causing a division among citizens. Inclusion of tolerance in FBV is problematic given that there are evident manifestations in the Prevent strategy that political extremism is linked to religious minorities, mainly Islam (Bowie, 2017). In addition, Osler (2009) argues that ‘British values’ mentioned by the then Prime Minister fails to acknowledge ‘broad human rights principles’ for the international community, and for a state like the UK which has a multicultural population. When national values are interpreted in ‘‘minimalist definition’’ (Starkey, 2018, p. 154) which is often linked to stereotypical characteristics of Britishness such as someone who is white with possible image of so called western culture (Elton-Chalcraft et al., 2017), there is a potential risk of exclusion or discrimination against a certain group of population. It is possible to suggest that compassion that Katie is talking about is ‘‘politics of conviviality’’ which restructures ‘‘endless cycle of selfishness’’ and ‘‘egoistic mentalities’’ in order to generate compassion for and connection with others (Hattam & Zembylas, 2010, p. 36). Katie’s view is that citizens need to be compassionate for others in order to develop active empathy to share discomfort and suffering of others. It also needs to be acknowledged that tolerance is often problematic, as citizenship always involves a certain level of membership status such as nationality which potentially leads to excluding a certain group of people. Nonetheless, Katie’s emphasis on compassion is worth being considered. This is because, according to Zembylas (2015), compassion for others is a source to generate not only knowledge, but also individual or collective attempts to make a difference. The findings discussed above suggest that participating teachers possess awareness that human rights and freedom are important for citizenship, however, some Japanese participants also raise concerns that not many young people (including students) are aware of their own or other people’s rights. The following section discusses this issue by presenting excerpts from interviews with Japanese teachers.

5.4.3 Concern over low level of awareness of human rights

In this study, three participating Japanese teachers (Eita, Kotaro, and Ren) call for more focus on human rights awareness in civic education, as they are concerned about limited awareness of human rights in Japanese society. For instance, Ren notes “it is important to be aware we have the social rights” and education plays a key role. He says:

> I think Japanese students are not aware of human rights as they do not know about their own rights. So, the first step is to know that they have the rights. Students of foreign origins also are not aware that their rights are restricted in Japan, they also need to know that. I would say we need civic education and human rights education. (Ren, male civics teacher, middle class, part-time state school)

Their call for awareness of human rights suggests that pupils as well as Japanese society in general do not have the awareness of rights compared to the sense of duty. Ren along with other Japanese teachers agree with several scholars’ argument as they feel civic education should equip students with the following: mindset to see realisation of civil and political as well as social rights (McCowan, 2009) and knowledge and capacity to realise their rights (Sim et al., 2017).

The concern over limited awareness of human rights is elaborated by Eita who sees individuals should be aware that there have been cases that human rights are violated. Eita expresses his concern:

> Including myself, people especially in Kyoto think human rights is about such issues as discrimination against the outcast population or someone who is disadvantaged in society. People do not see it is about ourselves, all of us have rights. Today, people relate human rights to Black Lives Matter protests which they see as an issue of concern to someone else rather than our own problem. I wonder how many of my students see human rights as being about their rights. Hardly any of them have an awareness. Maybe they see it as something distant, somebody else’s problem. (Eita, male History, Civics, Geography, and Japanese teacher, state school)

The context of this excerpt requires an explanation. ‘Outcast population’ means descendants of the disadvantaged groups who were placed outside the social class system as ‘*Hinin*’ (less human) during the Edo period (1600-1868). The social class system that contains this outcast category ceased to exist with the end of the Edo period, but those descendants of the outcast population often face discrimination even today. Eita feels it is concerning that people do not see human rights issues like discrimination as ‘‘something about themselves’’ but ‘‘something distant, somebody else’s problem.’’ This finding confirms Gifford et al (2013) who report that structural disadvantage is seen as personal problems that individuals are responsible for due to their character or abilities (Gifford et al., 2013). For Eita, his school’s location also provides a possible explanation for his own and his students’ views. As western parts of Japan are said to be the regions where the outcast community once resided, local governments of these areas implement *‘dowa-kyoiku’* to address discrimination against descendants of *Burakumin*. Eita and his students are familiar with the *Burakumin* issue. However, Eita is concerned that a sense of shared responsibility for protecting human rights is missing. He feels that not many of his students are keen to address the issue of discrimination, or not aware of it because they are not directly affected by the problem. This possible context is also suggested by Arrington (2016) that victimhood resentment in Japan is low as it exists only among ‘*tojisha*’, those who are affected by a certain issue. Furthermore, it can be suggested that the indifference or absence of awareness about structural inequality also comes from meritocracy that persists in Japanese society especially among young people. Meritocracy in Japan attributes the difference of ‘merit’ such as competencies or skills individuals have to their own responsibility to strive for success, hence the social status of individuals is seen as the outcome of individuals’ own efforts (Honda, 2019). Honda (2019, p. 164) argues that ‘‘survive by yourself or resign’’ is a message Japanese young people receive as they live in a meritocratic society. One can surmise that this form of meritocracy leads to limited awareness of human rights among students and the general public.

5.5 Chapter conclusion

This chapter analysed the interview data according to McLaughlin (1992) and Westheimer and Kahne (2004b) in order to illustrate the degree of critical and transformative citizenship in participating teachers' views. Civic education programmes or teachers that are committed to justice-oriented citizenship fosters capacity to critically engage with social issues and address structural inequality (Westheimer, 2019), hence it is worth exploring to what extent teachers in this study support maximal, justice-oriented citizenship or minimal, personally responsible citizenship. Both maximal and minimal citizenship are presented in teachers' views, but the former is more salient. Among English teachers, British identities should be inclusive and diverse; freedom of speech is important for criticising the government; one should make changes about something that concerns him / her. Making change involves breaking a law if needed. It is maximal, justice-oriented citizenship that English citizenship teachers envision. Furthermore, Japanese teachers also add different layers of maximal citizenship. They mention personal efficacy and positive self-images such as confidence in oneself and making oneself happy. Their views reflect participatory citizenship, rather than justice-oriented as they see a sense of shared responsibility to improve community as important. Cooperation with others, deliberation, and critical inquiry are maximal, participatory citizenship envisioned by Japanese teachers. In addition, the interview data in this study also offers an alternative dimension that voting may not be a minimal duty of citizens but one of the ways to participate in politics. Two of the English teachers think voting is the right through which citizens raise their voice. A Japanese participant also expressed his view that young people's disengagement from electoral politics is of a concern, not because it is civic duty but mainly due to the possibility that young people feel their voice is not valued in society.

While two groups of teachers, English teachers and Japanese teachers, in this study share similar views as they support maximal, justice-oriented citizenship, their views also differ. For instance, English and Japanese teachers both relate citizenship to criticality but highlight different aspects. English teachers share the view with some scholars that critical thinking and debating skills generate active participation aimed at promoting public good or addressing problems (Idrissi, 2020; Wahrman & Hartaf, 2019). Criticality is about expressing one's discontent about government policies, and critical analysis of struggles people experience which possibly lead to protests and civil disobedience to address injustice. Japanese teachers see that criticality is about reflective inquiry to gather, evaluate and analyse the information so that one can make an informed decision based on social criticism (Sim & Print, 2009). In this sense, criticality means analysing information one receives and developing one's own opinion based on the critical reflection of social issues. Criticism of government policy is also seen as essential among Japanese teachers, but the emphasis is on critical reflection. English and Japanese teachers' views diverge when it comes to participation in protesting. Taking part in protests to address individuals' and social concerns is supported among English teachers as they encourage their students to be active citizens, while Japanese teachers are reluctant about protests and political campaigns. Some of the English teachers see breaking the law as a necessary act if it is to address injustice. Japanese teachers put emphasis on responsibility to follow laws and social norms because breaking them causes nuisance to others or to society.

A tension between citizenship, rights and responsibility, recognised by McCowan (2009) is reflected in the data. The findings discussed in this chapter and subsequent ones also offer potential clues to understand the reported cross-national trend of shifting emphasis toward social and moral responsibility in civic education (Lee & Fouts, 2005; Brown et al., 2019). With regard to citizenship (which is discussed in this chapter), English teachers demonstrate a perspective that human beings can claim their entitlement (Osler and Starkey, 2005), while the Japanese teachers' views are that citizens have their responsibility to fulfil (McCowan, 2009; McLaughlin, 1992). This is reflected in their sense of community, with values such as mutual support and solidarity (Zay, 2011), emotional and political bonds (DesRoches, 2014), and shared responsibility (Lacey & Frazer, 1994). English teachers feel that social and emotional senses such as solidarity, trust, and mutual respect to community lead to collective actions to secure individuals' or collective rights/ entitlement of the community. On the other hand, Japanese teachers see that community feelings (such as attachment) lead to a sense of responsibility to the community. Reconciling self-interest and the collective interest of the community is also given importance in Japanese teachers' views.

As it is mentioned above, both English and Japanese teachers' views reflect transformative, critical citizenship. However, they are also aware that there are challenges to be overcome. Teachers in this study talk about: social class implications, youth disengagement, and possible risks of exclusion. First, the implication of social class is reflected as English teachers who work in disadvantaged areas report that their students are disengaged from politics. They try to empower their students to feel that they can make change through participating in political processes. In this context, voting is seen as a means to make change. The implication of social class is also seen in the Japanese context with the influence of local areas where schools are located. In this study, it is teachers working at less prestigious schools in rural areas who tend to prioritise conforming to social norms and collective unity. Second, some of the teachers in this study are aware of young people's disengagement in civic affairs. An English participant, Linda, feels young people do not have a sense of belonging to their local community as they hardly contribute to improving their community. Civic disengagement of young people is also a serious issue in Japan with low voting turnout from younger generations. A Japanese participant notes that lack of opportunities to feel a sense of achievement is a possible cause. Third, the finding suggests the concept of citizenship contains a risk of exclusion when it comes to a sense of community. Some of the English teachers are aware that there is a certain group of people who put a strong emphasis on national identity that excludes the minority population. One of the Japanese participants also express his concern that some Japanese people do not see regional connections with neighbouring countries.

The interview data presented in this chapter tells us that both English and Japanese teachers' views are aligned with critical, transformative citizenship. It is possible to surmise that participating teachers' views presented in this chapter correspond with their approaches to civic education. Nevertheless, they may also face contextual constraints that prevent them from pursuing their own vision for civic education, as Priestly et al (2015) explain that teachers' capacity to act on their own agency depends on environmental conditions (including the schools in which they work). The subsequent chapters will present and discuss findings on teachers’ views on the aim of civic education (Chapter 6) and their pedagogical approaches (Chapter 7). These two chapters will address teachers’ visions for civic education and potential challenges they face in their work as teachers.

6 Aim of civic education

6.1 Introduction

Following the previous chapter which discussed participating teachers' views on citizenship, the next two chapters (Chapters 6 and 7) will present and discuss the findings about teachers' views on the aim of civic education and their pedagogical approaches. This chapter presents the findings of the data analysis that address the second research question of this study, 'what is the aim of civic education according to English and Japanese teachers in this study?' In scholars' views, the aim of civic education is to prepare students to be citizens who participate in society (Tan Dam & Volman, 2004) and influence democratic processes (Hanna, 2019). Tan Dam and Volman (2004) argue that the ideal is that civic education enables young people to take a critical approach through which they determine their own position based on reasoning and expressing one's own opinions. In terms of theoretical framework, some scholars argue that it is maximal, justice-oriented citizenship that can lead to transformation for more just society through active participation in political and civic life (Jerome & Starkey, 2021; Jerome & Starkey, 2022; Osler & Starkey, 1999; Westheimer, 2019; Wood et al., 2018). The idea of a critical approach to participation and maximal, justice-oriented citizenship is linked to what Tisdall and Punch (2012) call agents of social change who bring about a more just society through negotiating with others. Agency is also related to the right to participate as Jerome and Starkey (2022, p.1) suggest that education is to develop ''capacity to do things, to act on the world'', and 'to make a difference.'' Therefore, in theory, the ideal is that civic education develops maximal, justice-oriented citizens with sense of agency who are confident that they can make change for the matters of their interest through active civic and political involvement (Conner & Cosner, 2016; Kahne & Westheimer, 2006; Watts & Flanagan, 2007).

In this chapter, findings about teachers' views on the aims of civic education are presented. The interview data suggest that English and Japanese teachers agree with scholars' view presented above. The salient view among both English and Japanese teachers is that civic education should empower young people to be active participants in society. Among participating teachers, the aim of civic education is to empower young people to participate in society, although there are different emphases. The findings also show that teachers' views also are diverse as the aim of civic education they envision is related not only to maximal, justice-oriented citizenship but also minimal, personally responsible citizenship. Although participating English and Japanese teachers' views are mixed with the emphasis on minimal, personally responsible citizenship such as conformity or what Ten Dam and Volman (2004, p. 569) identify as knowing one's own place rather than determining it, the participants mainly support critical approach to participate in society which is related to justice-oriented citizenship. Hence, this study suggests that teachers' views on the aims of civic education present a mixed emphasis of maximal, justice-oriented citizenship which encourages students to be agentic citizens and minimal, personally responsible citizens with the aim to teach responsibility as citizens. This chapter discusses this finding with interview excerpts and offers a comparative perspective.

Based on the findings from the interview data, this chapter illustrates a critical approach to citizenship which English and Japanese teachers in this study envision, and explores different forms to conceptualise maximal, justice-oriented citizenship in English and Japanese societies. Participating teachers' views linked to minimal, personally responsible citizenship which is potentially in contrast to the critical approach will also be discussed in relation to socio-political and cultural contexts. The presentation of the findings is according to the main themes developed through the data analysis: 'participation', 'community', and 'democratic values.' Participation, community, and democratic values are the themes I interpreted from the data with different meanings attached to English and Japanese teachers' views. Each of these themes forms a section with several sub-sections.

As the previous chapter (Chapter 5) was about teachers' views on citizenship, this chapter explores a possible link between teachers' perception of citizenship that informs their views on the aims of civic education. For instance, the last chapter has illustrated that English teachers in this study see active citizenship is about passion for a cause that motivates individuals to take part in actions addressing the issues of concern. While both English and Japanese teachers in this study expressed their views on citizenship which are linked mainly to maximal, justice-oriented citizenship (Chapter 5), their views on civic education aims contain emphasis on personal responsibility. This is possibly due to their professional roles as a teacher who needs to enable young people to become members of society. This role requires not only criticality, but also a certain degree of conformity to the existing social structure and rule of law. In this sense, this chapter also addresses the link between the teachers' professional agency and the socio-political conditions that they are situated in, such as the school environment.

6.2 Participation

In both English and Japanese teachers' views, participation is given emphasis. They talk about capacity to make change, critical thinking, and self-efficacy. There is a different emphasis between English and Japanese teachers. The participation English teachers envision for their students is political efficacy and the critical perspective to make a difference which is related to justice-oriented citizenship. On the other hand, the majority of Japanese teachers are in support of participatory citizenship, such as active involvement in existing structures rather than challenging it. For instance, making changes through taking part in political projects or campaigns was viewed positively for English teachers, but not among Japanese teachers who mention policy proposals, petitioning, or voting instead. This difference also is related to how they see critical thinking skills and self-efficacy. The critical thinking skills English teachers talk about are challenging and questioning the status quo, while Japanese teachers see it as political literacy skills. English teachers see self-efficacy as one's passion for a cause that leads to political or civic action, but Japanese teachers see it as competence to be self-sufficient individuals such as making one's own independent decisions. Maximal, justice-oriented citizenship is salient in their views with the emphasis on active participation in civic and political life aiming at social change. However, there is also an emphasis on duty and responsibility that young people should learn in order to become citizens who can participate in the future. These will be explained in the following sections.

6.2.1 Making change

Making change is what both English and Japanese teachers see as the intended outcome of participation. For English teachers, the aim of civic education is to empower their students to develop political efficacy to express opinions and take actions for making changes about issues or causes of interest. For Japanese teachers, participating in the existing structure is enough, such as policy proposals, petitions, and voting is citizens' action to make a difference. English teachers' views on citizenship, that active citizens are those who address issues of concern through campaigning, inform their aim to develop young people's political efficacy. The political efficacy mentioned by English teachers supports several aspects of justice-oriented citizenship, such as challenging or reforming norms and practices (David et al., 2017) and political mobilisation aimed at systemic change (Leung et al, 2014). For Instance, one of the participants (Larry) says the aim of civics education is to enable students to know "how to negotiate, get your point across strongly, etc." Katie has a similar view and further elaborates on this saying:

> Major (aim is to provide) the information so that they [students] can be active citizens. It's certainly not about me saying you should be (doing something) and it's not about me saying this is the better way to live. But it's about giving the information so they can choose if they want to, providing information for them to be active citizens so the outcome is allowing them to learn how to express their opinions. Citizenship (curriculum) allows opportunity to learn how to form an argument and reiterates morals values we live by doing so. (Katie, female citizenship teacher, mixed social class, less privileged state school)

Katie sees the aim as to enable students to be active citizens who can express their opinions. In her view, political efficacy is to form arguments and negotiate with others in order to make change. Wood et al. (2018) also share this view that competency to express opinions and form arguments leads to civic engagement, such as advocating for change, raising awareness, and lobbying. With regard to political efficacy, Larry and Katie talk about supporting young people to act on their passion for the cause and address their concerns which English teachers in this study see as active citizenship (See

Chapter 5). In this sense, they see the aim of civic education is to support young people to influence their own lives through civic and political involvement.

Findings presented in Chapter 5 also suggest that participating English teachers' views diverge with regard to whether it is justifiable to break laws for social justice. Some English teachers are of the view that civil disobedience is one form of active citizenship, but others disagree because breaking laws is disrespectful. Colin's view on civic education aim also addresses this issue that not all teachers in this study agree:

> (Citizenship lessons) should make sure they [students] know how they can make things better within society, so make them active and engaged social citizens. The aim is to develop a good understanding of what the critical spectrum is. It is about good understanding of what the law is, different methods of making social change, how to argue, how to talk, how to discuss, how to share their views and disagree with somebody in a respectful way. (Colin, male citizenship teacher, lower middle class, state-funded grammar school).

Like Larry and Katie presented above, Colin also believes that civic education should equip students with political efficacy to become ''active engaged social citizens'' who make social change through deliberation with others. While encouraging young people to become agents of ''social change'', Colin thinks ''good understanding'' of law is also important. This suggests that Colin thinks that citizens have the right to protest, but it should be within the laws. Scholars also suggest that citizens have the right to stand up against injustice with political actions including civil disobedience (Jerome & Starkey, 2022; Peterson, 2013; Tsai, 2015) but some participating English teachers are of the view that citizens' protests should not break the law. The fine line between justifiable disobedience and disrespectful acts is related to the inseparability of rights and responsibility. Howe and Covell (2010) argue that citizens should be aware of their responsibility in order to exercise their rights to participate. Democratic society requires citizens to be responsible to respect the law, rights of others, and act accordingly in their own civic and political lives (Howe & Covell, 2010).

While civil disobedience is an issue that English teachers in this study seem to have diverse perspectives about, Japanese teachers encourage their students to bring about social change in a more subtle way. Japanese teachers mentioned some features that scholars see as justice-oriented citizenship, such as making change in order to address injustice (Fry & O'Brien, 2015; Leung et al., 2014) while less emphasis was given to challenging the *status quo* (David et al., 2017). For instance, Eita recognized the aim of civic education is development of knowledge about political systems in order to be prepared to address political and social issues. Isao further provides examples of actions individuals can take to ‘‘raise their voice'':

> Civic education in Japan has started shifting the focus towards enabling students to be aware that they can raise their voice and understand social structure. I think the possible means to do this is providing opportunities to learn through experience such as mock elections, petitions, or parliamentary debates. (Isao, male civics teacher, middle class, private school)

Although challenging the *status quo* or established system is not given explicit focus, Japanese teachers also aim to develop political efficacy. The findings on teachers' views on citizenship suggest that Japanese teachers distance themselves from political protests as confrontational means are not a preferable option (Chapter 5). Hence, political efficacy is linked with individuals' competency to get involved in the decision making process, rather than challenging the existing structure. While Eita does not mention specific examples, Isao elaborates about the ability to engage in society. He believes civic education should equip young people with the awareness that they can raise their ‘‘own voice'' through existing structures, such as petitions. For Japanese teachers, political efficacy is to develop and express one's own opinion in such forms as petitions and voting. Hence, their views correspond with Lundy and McEvoy (2011), who argue that education should equip young people with awareness of their rights to participate that motivate them to form independent opinions about matters of concern.

English and Japanese teachers in this study agree with Andolina and Conklin (2020) who suggest that public speaking and rhetorical competency increase political interest and participation. However, English and Japanese teachers' views differ in terms of their emphasis on either participatory citizenship characterised as taking initiative and contributing to existing structures, or justice-oriented citizenship which emphasises challenging injustices. As discussed above, English teachers think that civic education should enhance political efficacy via participation, political advocacy, and campaigning. This is related to the findings presented in Chapter 5 that English teachers encourage young people to become active citizens who can make change through political actions, which may include justifiable disobedience to the laws. In Japanese teachers' views, political efficacy is a means to participate in existing structures, including the school community. For instance, three teachers (Kotaro, Ren, and Yuichi) think competence to express their own views as helpful for pupils to get their voices heard in their schools. Examples of this include: students' initiatives to call for an expert of their interest (Kotaro), capacity to express one's political as well as personal opinion within and outside of school (Ren). Kotaro suggests 'young people's civic and political engagement includes initiatives they ''take at school'' as he explains:

> I think civic education brings about an increased level of interest in public affairs and attitudes to get involved. In my opinion, it does not always have to be political demonstrations as they are not necessarily good things to do. I would say developing awareness and mindset to participate is just good enough. For instance, it can be taking a lead in projects to raise awareness and encourage voting at elections. Or, it is like some of my students' projects to recycle old clothes. They made posters to collect clothes for recycling and make presentations about their project to other students not only in the same year group as theirs but also other grades. They were successful in sending a sufficient number of clothes to relevant NGOs. I see this may not be political, but I believe this is also a means to participate in society. (Kotaro, male history / civics teacher, middle class, private school)

Like several other Japanese teachers (see the previous Chapter), Kotaro does not fully promote participation in protests. Instead, he encourages participation through leading a project, or acting on one's own concerns such as low voting rate at elections and recycling for the environment. This is possibly explained by the Japanese institutional context that teachers are required to maintain political neutrality (Yumoto, 2017), and the consequent psychological pressure on teachers for doing this (Tamashiro, 2019). In addition, Kotaro himself finds it challenging to bring opportunities to participate, especially at junior-high schools where students are younger (13-15 years old) compared to high school students. He feels teaching staff and the school would have to do a lot of ‘‘preparatory work’’ (*ozendate*), which involves administration work, negotiation with relevant institutions, and often bureaucratic correspondence with local or central governments. Kotaro’s concern is that it will no longer be students’ own participation if there was such a large amount of adults’ involvement. This is also an additional reason for Kotaro’s reluctance to encourage political participation such as protest, and explains the preference for activities such as student-led projects on awareness raising and recycling.

In addition, political efficacy is also linked to competence in analytical skills and political literacy which is important to independent decisions. Yuichi offers an example:

> For instance, there can be increased interest in politics and social issues, like becoming more aware of current affairs and news reports. I think what is important is the competence to act on one’s own opinion developed through independent thinking skills. (Yuichi, male civics teacher, middle class, state school)

The excerpt above suggests that the capacity to develop one’s own opinion about current social and political issues improves the potential to act on one’s own decisions made through thinking and awareness of current social and political issues. These skills are important for criticality, something which participating Japanese teachers suggest in Chapter 5. Findings suggest that critical perspectives towards government, political literacy skills to analyse information, and awareness of multiple perspectives facilitate participation such as policy proposals, petitions, and voting. In some Japanese teachers’ views, increased awareness and the ability to form political opinions also lead students’ initiatives and provides them with the capacity to raise their voice within a school community (Ren and Kotaro). Therefore, their aim is to empower young people to correspond with several scholars’ views (Conner & Cosner, 2016; Verhellen, 1993; Watts & Flanagan, 2007) to some extent.

Japanese teachers in this study aim to develop young people's awareness of participation rights, such as the right to have a say on the matters of concern but within an existing structure (such as political institutions and schools).

There is also the perspective that is distinctive to Japanese teachers, which is that they recognise participation as important in order to make change (in terms of personally responsible citizenship). Two teachers, Shirou and Yuichi, talk about individuals' daily ‘‘small actions’’, which are also forms of participation. These include actions such as being kind to others, volunteering, or making donations (David et al., 2017; Lucas & Clark, 2016). Shirou provides an example:

> What high school students can do in their capacity is, for instance, donating money for those in need when they buy something at a convenience store. Even if they cannot do it now, being aware of and aiming to do it when they become adults is just enough for now as high school students, I think. (Shirou, male civics teacher, middle class, less privileged state school)

Actions such as using one's own water bottles and donating money to charity are mentioned by Yuichi and Shirou. The mentioning of small actions within one's own personal life perhaps comes from a context that the majority of the secondary school students are yet to reach voting age. Hence, it is reasonable to surmise that some teachers' views are that their students are yet to be a citizen with rights to political participation. In this sense, some of the Japanese teachers' views contain the idea of future citizens discussed by several scholars. Young people are often recognized as future citizens, or someone who needs to be prepared to be a citizen (Osler & Starkey, 2006; Hanna, 2019). This can be seen in the excerpt above, as Shirou notes that these daily small actions are ‘‘what high school students can do’’ in their capacity. Similarly, Kotaro sees students' participation as something that ‘‘junior-high school students who are still below the voting age’’ can do. In this perspective, citizenship is conditional status depending on whether young people fulfil a certain expectation of their behaviour, duty, and responsibility (Biesta & Lawy, 2006). The interview data suggests that both English and Japanese teachers agree that civic education encourages young people to participate in society in order to make change, but their views differ. This is because English teachers' views are aligned with justice-oriented citizenship, while Japanese teachers mainly support participatory citizenship. Their views on critical thinking also correspond with this difference, which will be explained below.

6.2.2 Critical thinking

Critical thinking is the aim of civic education that both English and Japanese teachers talk about, although their emphases differ. The difference reflects their views on citizenship and the aim of civic education. English teachers see that critical thinking is for challenging and questioning the status quo, as they encourage young people to be active citizens who bring about social change by protesting, leading a project, or challenging the laws. For Japanese teachers, critical thinking is a skill with which to analyse socio-political issues, and to develop opinions and participate in society through making independent decisions.

English teachers see critical thinking as competence to make social changes. They talk about the ability to critically analyse social structures and question the status quo, and reflect on one's own subjectivity. These are characteristics of justice-oriented citizenship noted by scholars (Sondel, 2015; Swalwell, 2013). Katie sees the aim of civics lesson as to develop students' minds to question:

> I think the outcome is (students) are developing their minds. (They say) "okay when I am older what change could I make, what could the government do to change things." They are not just accepting that's the way it is, but think about what they can do to make it better. (Katie, female citizenship teacher, mixed social class, less privileged state school)

As Katie believes that civics lessons should enable students to question the status quo. This is, in Castro's (2013) view, the competence to examine problems and is prerequisite for the pursuit of a just and equitable society. Having a mind with which to question assumed norms is fundamental to become an active and informed citizen (Blevins et al., 2016) who can bring about change individually as well as collectively. Critical thinking is also related to the ability to develop one's own argument. For instance, Henry says:

> It’s about criticism of. It’s about the challenge of asking why. Why do they think? why do they have that opinion? and then backing it up. If you’ve got the evidence, if you’ve got the arguments, fine. (Henry, male citizenship / literature teacher, middle class, state school)

Henry encourages criticism to challenge, and seeks justifications by asking why. He also said in the interview that he always encourages students to ‘‘speak like a lawyer’’ and criticise, evaluate, and advocate. The interview excerpt presented above corresponds with Galston’s (2002) argument that critical reasoning enables citizens to actively participate in public affairs through deliberations and making decisions. In this sense, critical thinking is also linked to the active citizenship that participating English teachers talk about (Chapter 5) and their aim of civic education to equip students to make change in society. I also suggest that the emphasis on argument is related to English teachers’ views that active citizenship is to have a passion for a cause that leads to political action to change, as Blevins et al (2016) see evidence-based arguments as valuable in order to advocate for issues of concern.

In addition, one participant, Brian, talks about critical reflection. Critical reflection is a basis of activism, as it develops a perspective to question and transform the unjust social structure (Albin-Clark, 2018), and mobilises emotions with which to negotiate power relationships (González-Hidalgo, 2020). Brian encourages his students to have capacity for ‘‘critical interrogation of identities and narratives’’ to be aware of their biases and beliefs:

> I think we need an education system that encourages us to critically interrogate identities, narratives, and things. It’s a way of thinking, when reading something. (I would like my students to) immediately question why that’s being said, how it is being constructed, and what’s the basis of that claim. I would also like them to question the things they agree with. I think we have a tendency just to confirm our own biases. I think history often challenges our expectations. (It tells) often things aren’t just as simplistic as what we initially think they are. By studying history, you learn humility of your own beliefs, because you find out that you are not correct about a particular historical period or historical person. I think this sort of thinking is really valuable for

> young people to inquire, because it makes you recognize that the way you view the world is open to interrogation. (Brian, male history teacher, lower middle class, less prestigious state school)

With regard to the excerpt presented above, recognising that one's own subjectivity as 'open to interrogation' develops a social justice perspective envisioned by some scholars (Albin-Clark, 2018; González-Hidalgo, 2020) to question social structure and hierarchical power relation. For this emphasis on critical awareness of personal bias and attitudes to challenge prevailing assumptions, Brian demonstrates justice-oriented citizenship. As Critical reflection is related to the ''pedagogy of counter narration'' that encourages learners to challenge the dominant assumptions of political discourse in the society (Gibson, 2020, p. 444), critical reflection is linked to English teachers' visions to foster active citizenship in order to bring about social change.

Critical reflection discussed above is more common among Japanese teachers. Japanese teachers talk about critical reflection of social structures, which is a characteristic of justice-oriented citizenship (David et al., 2017). Although Japanese teachers' views are related to what scholars see as the social justice perspective to question and transform asymmetric power relations (Albin-Clark, 2018; González-Hidalgo, 2020), critical reflection places less emphasis on challenging social norms and bringing change (Lo, 2010, p. 148). This is explained with the excerpt below:

> I aim to develop students' critical thinking skills. I think it is a competence to critically analyse information including news, internet, parliamentary debates, films, and novels. I would like my students to critically engage with these information resources with the awareness of hidden political messages. (Tomohiko, male civics teacher, middle class, state school)

Similar to Tomohiko presented above, Yuichi also explains that critical thinking is the capacity to be aware of ''hidden political messages'' embedded in media or news we receive every day. Deciphering information one receives in order to identify these hidden messages enables individuals to engage in social critique and critical analysis of society (Marri et al., 2013). However, the excerpt above also suggests less emphasis is given to citizens' capacity to change society. In this sense, there is a potential risk that critical reflection becomes ‘‘academic and depoliticized exercise’’ (Lo, 2010, p. 148). This is at least partially explained by the Japanese context that political neutrality regulation led to depoliticization within education (Nakada, 2020; Yumoto, 2017). Yumoto (2017) explains that article 14 of the Education Act requires that ‘‘schools … shall refrain from political education or other political activities for or against any specific political party’’ (*Kyoiku kihonho* [Basic Act on Education], Act No. 120 of 2006, art. 14, para. 2.). The weaker link to the social justice perspective in Japanese teachers’ views on critical reflection is also explained by teachers’ psychological burdens to stay politically neutral. Teachers in Japan feel more comfortable focusing on *“seiji ni kakawaru izen no seijisanka”* (preparatory political participation) rather than political action itself (Tamashiro, 2019). Depoliticization of education is a concern, as it possibly leads to the apolitical culture in Japan that Sunda (2015) notes where expressing political views is often stigmatised. Nakata (2020) argues that teachers/ schools (as well as society in general) should be aware of depoliticization in education, and normalise the diversity in values and perspectives in the discussion on education policy, school management, and learning and teaching. The last two sections suggested that English and Japanese teachers agree that civic education should empower young people to have capacity for participation. This involves equipping them with dispositions for making change and critical thinking, although they differ in terms of the types of citizens they are aiming to nurture. The next section further illustrates their similar, but different, views on self-efficacy.

6.2.3 Self-efficacy

The differences in English and Japanese teachers’ views on participation are linked to the self-efficacy they encourage their students to develop. Self-efficacy among English teachers is similar to their definitions of active citizenship, which is having a passion or a cause that drives individuals to participate in order to address the issue of concern. For Japanese teachers, it is confidence and self-sufficiency to help students become independent individuals.

English teachers aim to nurture their students’ personal efficacy in terms of justice-oriented citizenship, and aim for them to be confident to make changes to established structures (Fry & O’Brien, 2015). The findings suggest that English teachers see that citizens' beliefs that they can make changes in society motivate them to embody active participation. This is illustrated by Linda, who talks about ''passion'' to make change.

> I would like them [students] to bring about a change or to raise awareness of something that they feel passionate about. What I am asking them is something that they are passionate about. Most of them don't have an obvious passion. But we get a lot of personal growth out of finding that they can make that difference. So, it's worthwhile pushing that process and making them think about what matters to them, what guides them to (find) an area that they feel passionate about... (Linda, female citizenship teacher, working class, prestigious boarding school)

Linda presents her view that one should have passion to make a difference. With the emphasis on making change based on passion, her view suggests she is aiming at maximal, justice-oriented citizenship and a sense of agency. Drawing on Biesta and Tedder's (2007, p. 136) emphasis on quality of engagement, ''personal growth'' mentioned by Linda means opportunities to develop a sense of personal agency through experience to make a difference. This is related to Tisdall and Punch's (2012) argument that exercising agency involves negotiation with others in order to bring about change in the decision-making process, social assumptions, or injustices. In this excerpt, Linda's emphasis on passion is related to internal efficacy, which means feeling competent to achieve effective participation in the political process (Westheimer & Kahne, 2006). In comparison to some English teachers in this study, Linda's view is more towards Jerome and Starkey's (2022) interpretation that young people are citizens who have the right to participate. For instance, another participant (Katie) aims to prepare her students to make social change when they become adults (see the section on 'Critical thinking' above). On the other hand, this finding suggests that Linda believes her students have their passion to act on today rather than in future. In the excerpt above, Linda mentions ''passion'' and ''personal growth'' as she tries to enable students to develop their own views and find what is important to them. I also suggest that this emphasis on agency to make a difference comes from English teachers' views that civic education is aimed at developing active citizens who challenge the status quo (cf. Chapter 5) through developing political efficacy and personal-efficacy.

Among Japanese teachers, self-efficacy is also linked to young people's agency (Jerome & Starkey, 2022) but directed toward participatory citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Kumi, Shirou, and Haruto view the aim of civic education as to empower young people to be confident and independent (financially, socially, and personally). Haruto explains what confident citizens are:

> I think there is a huge gap between being an active citizen who gets involved in society based on one's own will and being a passive citizen who relies on the society, like social welfare. Receiving social welfare is individuals' rights, so there is nothing wrong about exercising it when needed. But low self-esteem makes individuals passive citizens who do not take part in and contribute to the economic activity…lack of self-respect results in servile spirit with lesser sense of moral courage. In my sense, self-respect is about having one's own will, being able to express it, and competence to act on it. I think people with this sense of self-respect are active participants in society who can make social change through overcoming difficulties and failures. (Haruto, male civics teacher, prestigious state school)

According to the excerpt above, being an active citizen with self-efficacy means ‘‘possession of one's own will'', ‘‘capacity to express it'', and ‘‘competence to act on it.'' Haruto sees citizens with self-efficacy as active citizens who can make social change. The characteristics of self-efficacy Haruto talks about have relevance to a sense of agency in Jerome and Starkey's (2022) terms, such as having influence and control on one's own life through expressing concerns and participating in the surrounding environment. While Haruto thinks that self-efficacy brings about ‘‘social change'', it may not lead to social transformation in terms of justice-oriented citizenship. These three teachers (including Haruto) put emphasis on participatory citizenship, which is about active participation in established systems or community structures by taking leadership based on one's personal interest in society as well as for the benefit of society or community (David et al., 2017; Lucas & Clark, 2016; Sondel, 2015), rather than justice-oriented citizenship. I infer this from Haruto's definition of passive citizens, who ‘‘do not take part in and contribute to economic activity.’’ This suggests that active citizens in Japanese teachers' views presented above are the ones who participate and contribute to existing structures or institutions. Moreover, it is worth noting that there seems to be an emphasis on individuals' responsibilities, as Haruto sees the aim is to enable pupils to be economically responsible and independent. This sense of personal responsibility can be due to the persisting meritocracy in Japanese society which is also discussed in the previous chapter (Chapter 5). Honda (2019) suggests that Japanese society is based on the meritocratic principle that individuals' successes in society depend on their own efforts to acquire skills and competence. In this context, Japanese teachers intend to equip students with the confidence that they are active participants in the existing social structure. They also encourage students to be independent and self-reliant. This section illustrated English and Japanese teachers' views on the aims of civic education. While both of them recognise the aim is to enable young people to actively participate in society, their views differ in terms of forms of participation. Participating teachers' views on citizenship (which are linked to maximal, justice-oriented citizenship) inform their emphasis on making change, nevertheless, there are also emphases on citizens' duty and responsibility in participating teachers' views. It is possible that teachers in this study also are aware of their professional responsibility or their schools' expectations to prepare young people to be members of society.

6.3 Community

In participating teachers' views, civic education is also aimed at developing a sense of community that leads to community involvement. Teachers participating in this study discussed a sense of community at their school, classroom, or school's location. A brief summary of their definitions of community is provided in Chapter 7. The following sections illustrate the differences in English teachers and Japanese teachers' views on the aims of civic education with regard to young people's sense of community and engagement in community. English teachers believe a sense of community is about mutual support and helping each other in a community. For Japanese teachers, it is framed in terms of collective unity (such as through showing solidarity and feeling attached to one's own community). English teachers talk about community action and relate it to active citizenship. They encourage students to be actively involved in community action in order to influence policies. The two sections below explain the sense of community teachers in this study would like their students to develop.

6.3.1 Sense of community

Three English teachers, Colin, Rupert, and Andrew, relate that the aim of civic education is to develop a sense of community that leads to community action. They attempt to develop a sense of community at local, national, and global level that leads to community involvement. Colin and Rupert talk about a sense of community:

> I would like them [students] to foster a sense of community with the local community, national, and global community. I would like them to realise it's not just them. There are other people as well. There is also a bigger social system. (A sense of community) is not just among ourselves. This system includes national and global communities. These days, globalisation is having a massive impact on how students see themselves. (Colin, male citizenship teacher, lower middle class, state-funded grammar school)

> I think we don't quite get this right but we try to make sure that schools feel like a community hub. So, we bring families in. We don't do this as well as we could do. We are trying to improve. For example, if we were having an assembly, we might invite all of the parents to attend the assembly via zoom so they can be there and be a part of the assembly. (It) feels quite inclusive. (Rupert, male citizenship teacher, working at free school)

Colin and Rupert both try to develop a sense of belonging to the local community. They intend to build mutual trust, care, and interdependence, all traits that scholars see as important in order to foster a sense of community (Lacey & Frazer, 1994; Andolina & Conklin, 2019). Colin in the excerpt above talks about awareness of ‘‘other people’’ in the community. This is related to caring for others in one's community, as Colin also emphasises the implication on others and need for responsible behaviour (such as not to be too loud for neighbours). Rupert also attempts to build trust and care, as he tries to make his school a ‘‘community hub’’ where everyone (including parents) feels part of it. In addition, this study also offers findings that correspond with Lacey and Frazer (1994), who note that community in society today does not have a clear model. As an English teacher, Linda reports that community feeling is being lost in England, and Rupert also finds it challenging to build a sense of community. During the interview, he mentions he and his colleagues' face a challenge to foster collective responsibility as a school community, because students come from lots of different ‘‘pockets of community from all over the place’’ in the large city where he works. The excerpt from the interview with Colin presented above also suggests that young people's senses of community are shifting, because he feels ‘‘how students see themselves’’ has changed due to globalization.

For Japanese teachers, almost half of them (Haruto, Takuya, Eita, Shirou, Isao, and Kotaro) believed that civic education should encourage students to develop a sense of solidarity and attachment to their community, as it eventually leads to collective participation in community. Their emphasis on a sense of belonging can be explained by DesRoches (2014), who notes that collective feeling contributes to generating emotional and political unity as a community. Eita and Isao relate the emotional sense of community that motivates pupils to engage in public affairs at local, national, and global levels. Eita talks about a sense of attachment:

> I think it is about independent responsibility based on a sense of attachment to community. It is something like attitudes, mindset, or feeling to identify one's own role in the community and contribute to improving it with what one can do. (Eita, male History, Civics, Geography, and Japanese teacher, state school)

Eita explains having a sense of attachment to a community means ‘‘attitudes, mindset, or feeling’’ about the community, and that one should take part in efforts to improve it. Similar findings are reported by Andolina and Conklin (2020), where teachers try to build mutual respect and trust because the sense of being connected to one another is linked to participation in the local community. Isao's emphasis on solidarity corresponds with Birdwell et al.

(2013), in that a sense of solidarity and empowerment lead to active engagement in communities. Isao notes:

> I see social responsibility and international responsibility are important, but I would say it is about solidarity rather than responsibility. I hope education can play a role to bring about a sense of solidarity to share a problem with other human beings to make change through the mindset and actions. For instance, this can be active involvement in schools and local communities. (Isao, male civics teacher, middle class, private school)

In line with Birdwell et al. (2013), Isao also believes that active citizenship is based on a sense of solidarity and empowerment. He explains that solidarity empowers individuals as it brings about a sense of shared responsibility to address problems and make changes. With the emphasis on shared responsibility and ‘‘active involvement in schools and local community’’, Isao’s view agrees with Zay’s (2011) argument that education should develop social ties across different groups of people. Developing a sense of community is the aim of civic education in both English and Japanese teachers’ views. English teachers talk about mutual trust and support among individuals in a community, while Japanese teachers see a sense of community as collective unity based on a sense of belonging and shared responsibility. As in their emphasis on participation, both groups of participants agree that a sense of community needs to be fostered through civic education while there are different emphases. English teachers think a sense of belonging to a community (including schools, the local area, and the world) empowers citizens to act as a community in order to raise a collective voice. For Japanese teachers, it is about relational and emotional feelings, such as attachment or solidarity which lead to citizens’ contributions to their community. The next section illustrates the community engagement that English and Japanese teachers envision for young people.

6.3.2 Community action

With regard to engagement in community, English teachers’ views are related participatory citizenship which is characterised as active engagement in community to help others (Sondel, 2015; Leung et al., 2014) and taking leadership (Fry & O’Brien, 2015; Leung et al., 2014) in efforts to collectively solve a problem. This section explains English teachers’ views on community action to collectively address issues of concern. They believe that civic education contributes to young people’s active engagement in their community by taking leadership to collectively address the issues or concerns. This is explained below with two excerpts. In the first excerpt, Rupert talks about a students’ community action project, which he views as empowerment:

> I think I mentioned the community action project. It brings a real-world outcome where students actually have meaningful impact in the community. Some of the outcomes are individual empowerment, so leadership, having a voice, speech making, debating, discussion. I believe these should be a core part of curriculum content because participating in effective dialogue is a valuable means to address issues of concern. (Rupert, male citizenship teacher, working at a free school).

As Rupert explains the community action project his students are engaged in, he believes that it empowers them with the leadership skills and political efficacy to advocate for their ideas. This suggests that English teachers’ emphasis on political efficacy skills is linked to community actions which raise and address collective concerns. Another participant, Andrew, also talks about collective action as a community. In his view, it is a part of active citizenship, as he says:

> One of the biggest parts would be active citizenship, it’s teaching them [students] about not just how to be part of a community life but it is also about active citizenship, because that teaches us not only how to take part in an active way in society (but also) the importance of it. So, from as little action as litter picking can improve community cohesion. But something as big as being in a jury is also your part to play within a law and legal system. So that’s the kind of action I want them to develop. (Andrew, male citizenship teacher, working class, academy)

For Andrew, a sense of community is not only about being a part of ‘‘community life’’ but also active citizenship which he sees as a means to ‘‘take part in an active way in society.’’ Community action possibly forms active citizenship, because Birdwell et al (2013) argue that active participation in a community equips citizens with the capacity to address issues or concerns through teamwork, empathy, and negotiating with others. Although some see community involvement as included in active citizenship (Yang & Hoskins, 2020), others put emphasis on political struggle with which to secure rights (Kane, 2007). It is worth noting that the ‘‘little actions’’ such as picking litter Andrew mentions may not be political engagement in a community. This is because such engagement is often viewed as personal responsibility about everyday concerns, rather than collective efforts to influence the political decision-making process (Annette, 2009).

It is possible to differentiate community engagement and political engagement. For example, Annette (2009) is concerned that the citizenship curriculum in England interprets community engagement in terms of personal responsibility, such as being a good neighbour and helping others, rather than being a politically active citizen. Andrew’s view is that one can start with small actions and develop his or her community involvement into ‘‘something as big as being a jury.’’ Based on the excerpt, a possible interpretation is that Andrew meant community action in terms of Annette’s (2009) political forms of community engagement, but this involves a gradual shift from small actions within personal responsibility which then develop into something big intended to influence politics or participation in the political decision-making process. This gradual move toward political action to make a difference corresponds with the idea that young people are future citizens who need to learn civic and political behaviour. Some scholars disagree with the idea of future citizens, arguing that young people are already citizens with rights to participate today (Lawy & Biesta, 2006; Osler & Starkey, 2006). From the excerpt above, it remains uncertain whether Andrew thinks his students are future citizens or citizens of today. It seems to be the case that Andrew takes a cautious approach to start with a feasible step, given that his pedagogical approach emphasises building political knowledge and understanding is prerequisite to participation (see Chapter 7).

This section presented and discussed the findings on how participating teachers aim to nurture students’ senses of community as citizens in society, as well as their own community (such as in schools). Both English and Japanese teachers talk about a sense of community, while there are also differences in terms of the way they characterise it. Community involvement that English teachers encourage is mutual support and helping each other. Community is also linked to collective action with which to make change. On the other hand, Japanese teachers emphasise an emotional sense of community , such as solidarity which leads to participation in community. Engagement in community is often linked to responsibility in Japanese teachers' views. Teachers' views are informed by their orientation toward maximal, justice-oriented citizenship (illustrated in Chapter 5), but English teachers' views tend to be linked to justice-oriented citizenship, while Japanese teachers are more aligned to participatory citizenship. There are also references to responsibility to or personal responsibility within community, which possibly comes from teachers' expected roles to equip young people with necessary skills in order to be accepted into communities. The last two sections illustrate that English and Japanese teachers agree that civic education needs to foster skills for participation and a sense of community, although their views also diverge. English teachers tend to encourage citizens' own or collective actions to challenge the status quo, while Japanese teachers support contributions to existing structures or a collective purpose of a community. This difference is also linked to their aim to develop democratic values, which will be discussed below.

6.4 Democratic values: Rights & responsibility

In participating teachers' views, civic education is also aimed at developing democratic values. English teachers' views align with Aquarone's (2021) emphasis on equality and human rights. This is essentially that every individual has participatory rights to make their voice heard, shared responsibility, and compassion for others (Aquarone, 2021). For English teachers, democratic values are recognized in terms of rights, freedom, and responsibilities of citizens. They talk about the right to participate in politics and stand up against injustice, as well as emphasis on personal responsibility. For Japanese teachers, their emphasis is on responsibility rather than rights, as some Japanese teachers see participation as a responsibility to contribute. In their view, participation is often framed as the responsibility to community and society as a whole.

The UK government introduced the Prevent strategy (Counter Terrorism and Security Act 2015) with the aim to stop young people being radicalised and drawn into terrorism. Prevent duty was imposed on teachers to promote fundamental British values and enable pupils to challenge extremist views (Busher & Jerome, 2020). Scholars report that teachers' views on prevent duty vary including concerns about possible stigmatisation of Muslim students, doubts about effectiveness of Prevent strategy, and seeing it as an opportunity to work on anti-racism and citizenship (Busher et al., 2020; Revell &Bryan, 2016). Hence, it is reasonable to expect that the duty to teach fundamental British values somewhat has influence on participating English teachers' views on civic education and pedagogical approaches. Not all the English teachers in this study mentioned the term fundamental British values, but some of them expressed their views that British values include (or form) a part of democratic values which the UK government defines as democracy, individual liberty, the rule of law, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs. While some scholars raise concerns that the requirement to teach British values potentially generates nationalism which excludes minority groups and political apathy toward the Muslim population (McDonnell, 2020; Farrell, 2016), findings indicate that the participating teachers' views presented in this chapter and the previous chapter (Chapter 5) correspond with ''minimal universalism'' based on common values of human rights (Sant et al., 2015, p. 238). This section presents findings about how English and Japanese teachers' overall aim of civic education is to foster democratic values.

6.4.1 Democratic values: rights and responsibility

Four English participants (Colin, Katie, Larry, and Oliver) mention rights and responsibility. Katie views democracy as being aware of one's own position in society and ability to vote:

> I would like all students to be aware of democracy and their position in democracy and their ability to be able to vote. So today, we were talking about find[ing] democracy in our lives and how you can join political parties from age 14. They [students] were like "can you?" "oh my god I didn't know. (Katie, female citizenship teacher, mixed social class, less privileged state school)

In the excerpt above, Katie places emphasis on electoral participation and being aware of one's own ‘‘position in society’’ which potentially implies a conformist approach to democratic participation (Tan Dam & Volman, 2004), hence her view possibly favours minimal, personally responsible citizenship. Hildebrand (2016, p. 33) argues that the UK government's support for the participatory rights of young people is aimed at educating children so that they eventually participate in the ‘‘rational order of human society.’’ Nevertheless, it is possible to see that Katie's view presented above reflects maximal, participatory citizenship. Katie hopes her students will participate in democratic society through actions such as voting and joining political parties. In the excerpt above, it is suggested that Katie's encouragement to ‘‘find democracy’’ in our lives, such as the possibility of joining a political party, is related to participatory citizenship which goes beyond personal responsibility to taking part in existing structures. Although participatory citizenship is not directly linked to structural change, personal efficacy and confidence that individuals can make change are prerequisites for active civic participation (Kahne & Westheimer, 2006). In this sense, her aim is to equip students with dispositions of maximal citizenship in order to participate in society with ‘‘effective personal agency’’ (McLaughlin, 1992, p.237).

Democracy can be recognized as a right and a responsibility. Larry frames this as ‘‘modern Britain’’, as he says “I'd like my students to leave school confident in their understanding of how modern Britain functions.” The excerpts from interviews with Colin and Oliver further illustrate the relationship between rights and responsibility:

> To make them [students] become aware that the world is more than just them, and how they play roles within society, and how they can be good citizens who can enjoy their rights and freedoms that are given to them. (Colin, male citizenship teacher, lower middle class, grammar school)

> I think it should make (students) moral citizens, moral people in Britain, be aware of issues around them such as politics, their legal rights, things that go back to Magna Carta. So, it [civic education] should make people more aware of what their rights and responsibilities are within a society, and within a wider world really.

> So, it is about making people more aware of the importance of standing for human rights, and responsibilities within society, and more well-informed citizens. (Oliver, male citizenship teacher, working class, catholic school)

Rights are recognised in relation to responsibility in some English teachers' views. This is possibly because Hilderbrand (2016) argues that the idea of British values requires individuals to respect the dignity of others, and act responsibly for the public good. Respecting the dignity of others and being responsible are viewed as moral responsibilities by some of the English teachers in this study. For example, in the excerpt above, both Colin and Oliver talk about moral responsibility. For Colin, it is citizens' responsibilities for themselves, but also concerns playing their own roles in society. Oliver expresses his view that civic education should develop ''moral citizens'' who are aware of their responsibility for social issues and others' rights. Colin and Oliver's views resemble an approach to teach British values through moral, social, and cultural development reported in McGhee and Zhang (2017). With a case study, McGhee and Zhang (2017) offer a way to interpret British values as respecting others, contributing to the school community and beyond, and becoming citizens of modern Britain. There is also a similar finding that teachers often relate British values to social, moral, and cultural development given that the government first suggested that teaching Fundamental British Values as part of the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of pupils (Janmaat, 2018). Hence, some of the participating English teachers' reference to moral Britain or moral people in Britain imply that policy discourse has some influence on teachers' own interpretations of rights and responsibility.

The two excerpts presented above illustrate that English teachers' aim is to develop awareness of rights and responsibility in their students. Their interpretation of this focuses on moral, social, and cultural values, with emphasis on responsibility to respect others and legal duties. Hence, their views are related to personally responsible citizenship. Furthermore, Oliver's mentioning of the Magna Carta suggests that he is talking about the importance of the rule of law. Winter and Mills (2020) note that the Magna Carta is presented as a historical symbol of rule of law which is explicitly linked to aspects of the British empire. In 2014, the then Prime Minister

David Cameron also emphasised its importance saying that the Magna Carta had brought about Britain today (Winter & Mills, 2020). This suggests that the ‘‘moral citizen’’ he is proposing is a law-abiding citizen, which is also a characteristic of personally responsible citizenship. However, Oliver’s view is rather complicated, as he is not solely talking about personally responsible citizenship. There is also an emphasis on human rights which demonstrates justice-oriented citizenship. For instance, Oliver relates democracy to ‘‘standing for human rights’’ which corresponds with a justice-oriented citizens’ emphasis on addressing injustices. In this sense, Oliver’s view confirms a broader interpretation of British values based on the provisions of international agreements and treaties about human rights (Starkey, 2018). Starkey (2018) sees that respecting, protecting, and fulfilling human rights provisions are a requirement for democracy, which is also one of the British values. As Oliver intends to develop awareness of rights and responsibility which involve justice-oriented citizenship, his views on the aim of civic education also agree with Jerome and Starkey (2022) who note that education should mobilise students’ senses of injustice. Hence, Oliver presents two distinctive types of citizenship: personally responsible and justice-oriented citizenship. The co-existence of emphases on personal responsibility and social justice may be explained by the reciprocal nature of human rights. Whether one can exercise rights often depends on whether others also keep their responsibility to not violate someone else’s rights (Howe & Covell, 2010; Jerome & Starkey, 2022).

6.4.2 Responsibility: responsibility to contribute & reconciling with others

While English teachers in this study think that civic education’s aim is to foster democratic values (including awareness of the right to participate and responsibility), Japanese teachers seem to put more emphasis on responsibility. For instance, among Japanese teachers, participation in the community one belongs to (such as schools, the workplace, or wider society) is linked to the responsibility to follow the rules. Some Japanese teachers see school as a community in which individuals should take part based on the rules within it, and be responsible for improving their environment. In this sense, participation is the responsibility to play a part in a community or society that one belongs to. For instance, Takuya explains responsible participation:

> Participation is, I think school is like a small society with a set of rules. Students and teachers are like citizens in this school society. We should take part in accordance to the school rules. I think individuals are aware of this when they participate. (Takuya, male civics, history, and geography teacher, working class, less privileged state school)

At high schools, disobeying school rules brings severe consequences, such as being expelled from school. This means that Junior high schools cannot expel pupils who disobey the rules, while high schools can because it is no longer compulsory education. Takuya thinks school is like a ‘‘small society’’ with a set of rules (e.g. school rules) that individuals should follow. In his view, participation is based on following rules within a society or community. Zay (2011) offers a similar view that school is a community or a small society in which teachers and pupils are members who participate in, establish, and follow the rules and regulations within it. This is also shared with several other Japanese teachers (Shirou, Haruto, Kumi, and Eita), who frame participation as duty or responsibility rather than a right. It is possible that the emphasis on responsibility hinders young people’s empowerment and participation. For instance, Broom (2015) maintains that educating about the responsibility to obey rules poses a risk as it diminishes students’ senses of empowerment. This is because when teachers see students’ naughty behaviours (such as breaking school rules or ignoring them) they are potentially forms of active citizenship that students can demonstrate (Jerome & Starkey, 2022). Interview data with Japanese teachers suggests that this is possibly the case due to the emphasis on responsibility. For instance, some teachers’ (such as Takuya’s) views presented above imply a view of participation as a responsibility to contribute. Responsibility is often mixed with a more voluntary sense, rather than an obligatory one. An example is that another Japanese teacher, Shirou, sees participation as meaning ‘‘fulfilling a role’’ in order to contribute to school events or classroom activities.

Furthermore, the sense of responsibility to the school community can be extended to include broader society as three participants (Haruto, Kumi, and Eita) see that participation in society involves citizens' duties to contribute. Haruto, Kumi, and Eita all believe that civic education should develop pupils' senses of responsibility to make contributions to society. For example, Kumi notes:

> I think the aim of civic education is to develop a sense of responsibility to participate in and make contributions to society. This includes voting, but I also say it can be a contribution one can make through their profession, like working as an expert with knowledge or expertise. (Kumi, female civics teacher, middle class, state school)

Kumi believes that citizens can participate and fulfil their responsibility to contribute by becoming self-sufficient individuals with expertise. This is related to the civic responsibility of individuals to be self-reliant and independent in order to contribute to or serve the community (McCowan, 2009, p. 8). I also suggest emphasis on self-sufficiency and skills to contribute comes from the fact that education in Japan is focused on 'zest for life' (*Ikiru chikara*) which Kitano (2004) defines as the ability to think and learn independently, and the physical strength to live vigorously. Zest for life was introduced by the Central Council on Education in 1996, which called for schools to develop "the abilities and aptitudes required to identify issues, learn for themselves, think independently, make their own judgments, act independently and work toward better solutions." This remains as central focus today as the 'National Curriculum Standard'*(Gakushu shidou youryou*[2]*)* for 2020 through to 2022 states that education should develop students' "ability to identify a problem, learn and think independently, and act on the decisions they made in order to pursue their own happiness." These capabilities identified as 'zest for life' have the potential to generate young people's agentic participation in the pursuit of individual interest, in attempts to address social issues, and acting on independent decisions.

However, it is also worth noting that Tosaka (2021) argues that the government imposes their 'ideal' for families and parenting in their leaflet on the 'National Curriculum Standard' *(Gakushu shidou youryou)* reinforces some sense of responsibility. For instance, the leaflet calls for parents' support to provide a family environment that has rules on how many hours children can spend playing video games, and teach the importance of helping others in a community and contributing to society. The discourse of ‘zest for life’ presented above highlights both citizens’ self-sufficiency through independent thinking and making decisions to create solutions (Kitano, 2004; Tosaka, 2021). This emphasis possibly explains Japanese teachers’ views which see participation as the responsibility to contribute to society as a self-sufficient individual. This emphasis on responsibility may also widen the gap between socio-economic inequality, as Tosaka (2021) raises concern that these responsibilities are left to parents regardless of the widening gap of socio-economic inequality in Japanese society and calls for more awareness of inequality in education policies. Tosaka’s (2021) concern may also be related to the neoliberal meritocratic social structure which hinders young people’s empowerment in Japanese society (Chapter 5), and will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

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[2] *Gakushu shidou ryoyou* 学習指導要領: an official guideline for school teaching designated by the Ministry of Education in Japan

The emphasis on parents’ responsibility in the Japanese government’s leaflet on the ‘National Curriculum Standard’(*Gakushu shidou youryou*) is related to Japanese education policy discourse that prefers interpersonal relations and personal responsibility as a means to address issues of social justice, such as discrimination, rather than collective actions to challenge social structures (Chen, 2020). Japanese teachers in this study also place emphasis on personal relations / personal responsibility, such as reconciliation and collaboration with others. Reconciling self-interest and others’ interest is often mentioned by my Japanese participants. Shirou, Takuya, and Yuichi talk about the ability to see the balance between personal interest and collective interest. Shirou tells a story which provides an example to help understand this balance. His final year students stop concentrating on studying and just enjoy their lives once they get a place at universities / colleges, or a job offer. In this context, Shirou says students should not be ‘‘selfish’’ but mindful of other students. He explains that one should have awareness of their moral responsibility to continue to be hard-working for those who are still studying for university exams or looking for jobs. This is related to Li and Tan (2017), who argue that civic education in East Asia is about morality, rather than politics. It should also be noted that there is a possible contrast to Li and Tan (2017) in this study, as some of the participating Japanese teachers see civic education as a means to promote pupils’ political participation (see the discussion above). In addition, reconciliation is not only about morality, but also political and civic participation such as deliberation and collective action to improve society. The ‘‘Balancing act’’ that Yuichi explains below illustrates both interpersonal / moral need to reconcile with others, as well as the capacity for political involvement (such as deliberation with others). Yuichi explains this ‘‘balancing act’’ is:

> Being able to exchange opinions and have discussions with others. So, becoming able to reflect on one’s own actions in relation to others can be the aim of civic education. I also add the flexibility to adjust one’s own life based on deliberation with others. (Yuichi, male civics teacher, middle class, state school)

In Yuichi’s view, balance means being flexible and able to make compromises through the exchange of opinions and deliberation with others. This balancing act can ensure that there is tolerance and respect to others with different opinions, which Sant et al. (2020) suggest as important for a safe environment for deliberation. However, it is still questionable whether the emphasis on harmony and commitment to collective interest (which some see as Asian civic values) (Cho & Kim, 2013) promote debates and exchange of diverse and often conflicting views. Preference for balance or reconciliation potentially leads to a risk that there will be limited opportunity to foster the attitudes to embrace disagreement, which is seen as an ‘‘enactment of democracy’’ (Sant et al., 2020, p. 231).

Moreover, it is to be noted that my findings confirm the preference for interpersonal relationships in Asian society (Chen, 2020), as two of the Japanese participants (Eita and Haruto) note that diversity can be addressed through collaboration. For example, Haruto thinks that intergenerational collaboration leads to ‘‘social imagination’’:

> I aim to foster social imagination, the power to create new ideas through collaboration. I would like first-year students to acquire competence and social imagination in order to collaborate with other generations who have different values and influence society. (Haruto, male civics teacher, middle class, prestigious state school)

Haruto hopes that civics education lessons equip students with creativity. He believes that the creativity to have one's own vision is important in order to bring about collaboration with people of different generations and diverse values. Another teacher, Eita, also presents a similar view. Both Eita and Haruto see collaboration as based on the awareness of others, importance of membership, and the diversity of values. Their views reflect the argument made by Andolina and Conklin (2020) that the central aspect of citizenship is solving problems through listening to those who have different perspectives, building trust and empathy, and fostering a sense of community. Attentive listening, empathy, and a sense of connection bring about trust, and address possible political conflicts (Andolina & Conklin, 2020). Although Haruto and Eita do not refers to global citizenship, their emphasis on collaboration can be related to Callahan and Matsubara's (2021) interpretation of cosmopolitanism, in that new knowledge is constructed through collaborative efforts and respecting contributions from those who have diverse and different backgrounds. Collaboration and the efforts to live together is also an important aspect, not only in a local and national community, but also in a global community. Coexistence of diverse values and opinions in a global community requires the responsibility to respect others, and the empathy to understand differences (Wang & Hoffman, 2020).

This section illustrated English and Japanese teachers' views on civic education's role to build democratic values among young people. The interview data in this study shows participating teachers' views on rights and responsibilities. For English teachers, democracy is recognised in terms of social justice, as they align democratic values with the right to participate in politics and standing up against injustice, although they also talk about personal responsibility. Japanese teachers' views are similar in a way, as they also talk about the right to participate in politics. However, responsibility is given more emphasis because participation is often related to the responsibility to contribute to the community one belongs to, or a wider society. It is worth noting that some of the English teachers in this study relate responsibility to morality as British citizens. The findings also indicate possible influences from political contexts on teachers' visions. For instance, education policy or curriculum documents such as the Prevent strategy and the 'National Curriculum Standard' (*Gakushu shidou youryou*) influence English and Japanese teachers' views respectively.

6.5 Chapter Conclusion

The common aim among both English and Japanese teachers is encouraging students to actively participate in society, although Japanese teachers have lesser political emphasis (potentially due to the regulation that requires schools and teachers to avoid political matters) (Nakata, 2020; Yumoto, 2017). This difference between English and Japanese teachers is shown in the forms of participation they talk about, how they recognise critical thinking, and their views on self-efficacy. As for the forms of participation, English teachers aim to develop a capacity to make change through campaigning or leading projects. They see the aim as to improve the ability to articulate opinions and get arguments across. The participation envisioned by Japanese teachers concerns taking part in, or having one's voice heard, in the policy making process. Rather than challenging the government, this consists of policy proposals, petitioning, or even voting. Similarly, critical thinking is about challenging, questioning, and not accepting the status quo in English teachers' views, while Japanese teachers view it as discerning and analysing the political implications hidden in everyday discourse, such as the news and the media. Self-efficacy is also recognised differently, as English citizenship teachers see it is about personal passion or concern for a particular cause that motivates the individual to act to address it. For Japanese teachers, self-efficacy is the confidence and independence as a citizen to be able to function self-sufficiently in society.

English and Japanese teachers also agree that the aim of civic education is to develop a sense of community among young people. For English teachers, a sense of community is about a sense of belonging to the local, global, and school community. They also see it is related to empowerment, in that individuals have their voices within and collectively as a community. This is about active involvement in the community in an attempt to improve on and solve problems. Sense of belonging to a community is also noted by Japanese teachers, but they relate it to an emotional sense such as feelings of solidarity and attachment. Responsibility is more explicitly emphasised in Japanese teachers' views, as they highlight their belief that individuals have a role to contribute to the community they belong to (such as schools). Collective aspects of community, such as collaboration with others and reconciliation with others' interests in a community, are also emphasised. This is possibly due to the influence of Asian values which prioritise harmony (Cho & Kim, 2013; Li & Tan, 2017).

Moreover, although both English and Japanese teachers attempt to develop students' agencies to participate in society, the majority of the participants in this study also see students as future citizens or citizens in waiting (Osler & Starkey, 2006; Hanna, 2019) who are still in the process of learning, and will participate in the future rather than the present. When citizenship is seen as achievement, the emphasis is on responsibility and duties to be learnt through education (Biesta & Lawy, 2006). To some extent, this is confirmed in the participating teachers' views when they talk about personally responsible citizenship through conformity, abiding laws, and responsibility. Among English teachers, their views on British values emphasise values such as rights and freedom, but also obeying the law, maintaining order, and moral responsibility. For Japanese teachers, a sense of responsibility is embedded in their emphasis on participation because it is often seen as a duty to play a role in society. In this sense, participation relates to social or community norms, and each individual has the responsibility to contribute. With regard to the relationship between rights and responsibility, Howe and Covell (2010) explain that rights and responsibility are inseparable from each other, because individuals need to be responsible for other's rights and respect laws if they want to enjoy their own rights. This inseparability of rights and responsibility informs the participating teachers' emphasis on both rights and responsibility. The participating teachers' views on the aims of civic education correspond with their support for the maximal, justice-oriented citizenship discussed in the previous chapter (Chapter 5). Both English and Japanese teachers envision civic education that supports critical, transformative citizenship, possibly because their ideal is that citizens feel empowered to feel they are able to make changes and are competent enough to critically analyse society.

It is feasible that participating teachers who are aligned with maximal, justice-oriented citizenship aim to empower their students in order to have the capacity to make change through critical thinking and collective actions as a community. Nevertheless, participating teachers may also find it challenging to act on their professional agency informed by their views on citizenship and their aims of civic education. It is also plausible to expect that teachers who committed to critical, transformative civic education may adjust their pedagogical approaches due to various contextual factors. The next chapter (Chapter 7) explores the potential challenges teachers may face in their pedagogical approaches to civic education.

7 Pedagogical approaches to civic education

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the findings which address the research question, ‘What are English and Japanese teachers’ pedagogical approaches?’ This research question is aimed at contributing to further understandings of the relationship between teachers’ views and their pedagogical approaches. With regard to the previous findings, scholars report a different degree of criticality according to teachers’ beliefs and perspectives (De Schaepmeester et al., 2021; Knowles, 2018a, 2018b; Knowles & Castro, 2019). Teachers with a conservative perspective are more likely to be oriented to a transmission perspective (Evans, 2008), as they are less likely to promote social critiques and participatory civic behaviours in their lessons. Those who support critical civic education are keen to bring about social and political change in their teaching (Knowles & Castro, 2019). Schaepmeester et al (2021) also notes that teacher-centred approaches are linked to conformist perspectives, while inquiry-based learning approaches reflect critical perspectives. My third research question explores the possible link between teachers’ perspectives and their pedagogical approaches. This chapter builds on the previous two chapters which illustrated how participating teachers characterise citizenship, and how it informs their views on the aims of civic education. The findings presented in this chapter illustrate the pedagogical approaches that teachers in this study draw on. Hence, this chapter offers further insight into a possible connection between teachers’ views on citizenship, their visions for civic education, and their pedagogical practice.

The previous chapters (Chapter 5 and 6) suggest that English and Japanese teachers’ views reflect maximal, justice-oriented or participatory citizenship, although minimal, personally responsible citizenship is also present. Hence, it is probable that participating teachers’ pedagogical approaches reflect ‘‘critical and transformative citizenship education’’ which is aligned with maximal, justice-oriented citizenship (Woods et al, 2018, p. 260). Following Chapter 5 and 6, this chapter also draws on the spectrum of citizenship which consists of minimal, personally responsible citizenship and maximal, justice-oriented citizenship. In addition, it also integrates the three orientations of pedagogy: Transmission, transaction, and transformation (Evans, 2008; Miller, 2019) in order to explore the links between teachers' views on citizenship, their visions for civic education, and their pedagogical approaches. In this chapter, the spectrum of citizenship helps explore a possible case: that teachers support a transformative curriculum for active citizenship as an ideal, while their pedagogical approaches are aligned with transmission orientation linked to minimal, personally responsible citizenship. With my findings, this chapter attempts to illustrate to what extent participating teachers' pedagogical approaches are compatible or incompatible with their views that are related to maximal, justice-oriented citizenship. The gap potentially offers insights with which to understand the challenges that teachers face in acting on their professional agency. The potential obstacles include: the classroom climate, institutional and social contexts, or education policies (Woods et al., 2018).

7.2 Civic education for participation

Participation skills, a sense of community, and political knowledge and understanding are competencies that teachers would like their students to develop. Both English and Japanese teachers' pedagogical approaches include deliberation practice, and encouraging students' involvement in their local community. The participating teachers' pedagogical approaches correspond with what Wood et al. (2018) recognise as transformative and critical citizenship education. As previous chapters suggest that maximal, justice-oriented citizenship prevails in participating teachers' views on citizenship and civic education, there is a potential link between their views on citizenship and the pedagogical approaches of civic education. The findings also show that it is often challenging to bring about transformative learning, due to teachers' own understandings of citizenship, their capacity to facilitate controversial issues, and school contexts.

English and Japanese teachers see deliberation practice in the classroom and inquiry-based learning as helpful means to develop participatory skills. As for deliberation, English teachers' approaches are to foster argumentation skills, and Japanese teachers emphasise articulation competencies. Although both groups of teachers believe that inquiry-based learning leads to increased levels of participation, English teachers see that student-led projects develop the capacity to make a difference and address students' interests. For Japanese teachers, it is more to do with a reflection of oneself and collaboration with others. The findings also suggest differences in terms of political efficacy. English teachers encourage students to foster empathy for those who are in need and passion for civic and political action, while Japanese teachers intend to build students' confidence and positive image of themselves, which they see as a prerequisite for active participation. Findings will be discussed in the following subsections which correspond with themes including: 'deliberation practice', 'student-led research', and 'political efficacy.' The following sections discuss English and Japanese teachers' pedagogical approaches to develop the capacity for active participation, community involvement, and development of political knowledge in their students.

7.2.1 Deliberation: Argumentation & articulation

English teachers see deliberation practice as a means to foster argumentation skills, such as developing and expressing an argument. They also encourage challenging other arguments too. On the other hand, Japanese teachers put emphasis on articulation which concerns thinking skills and awareness of different values. This means that they have different purposes in their usage of deliberative practice and classroom discussion in their lessons. English teachers' approaches are focused on developing the ability to put an argument across and speak up about issues of concern, while Japanese teachers intend to develop competency to articulate opinions coherently and recognise multiple perspectives, especially on controversial issues.

Scholars are in support of the view that deliberative discussion is a pedagogical approach to equip young people with political participation skills (Ross, 2008; Sant et al., 2020). English teachers in this study are also in agreement with this view, as they intend to foster participation skills such as competency for advocacy and negotiation through deliberation and discussions. Ross (2008) argues that deliberative discussion is a pedagogical practice that empowers young people to reflect on social issues and engage in politics. Sant et al (2020) maintain that deliberation practice in the classroom leads to shared opposition to challenge those with power, and bringing about political projects as it provides opportunities for students to learn how to challenge arguments with tolerance and respect. Among participating English teachers in this study, three of them (Katie, Rupert, and Henry) mentioned their attempt to develop students' competency of argumentation skills through discussions in the classroom, practise public speaking, and debating. Henry reports how he makes use of group work to encourage his students to argue with and challenge each other:

> For instance, we do a lot of group work. I would like to have students with different levels of ability to work together because that drives the argument. If you put someone who doesn't have an opinion with someone who has a really strong opinion, then they will have a conversation. Or, I would put those who would say "yes, I agree" to anything with somebody who knows what they are talking about so that they can challenge each other. (Henry, male citizenship / literature teacher, middle class, state school)

Teachers may find it challenging to get their students involved in discussions on contentious topics because students often refrain from expressing their views. Hess and Avery (2008) offer a possible reason is that students are wary about peers' judgements, or they find it dull. Henry also finds this issue, as some of his students just say ‘‘yes, I agree’’ to anything, or are not able to follow the arguments. In attempts to get students to challenge each other, Henry puts those who are less argumentative with the ones who have a ‘‘strong opinion.’’ Through this approach, he is trying to bring about an environment where students with strong opinions can help others.

Other participants see opportunities to express opinion at school as leading to political literacy, which eventually results in political participation. Starting with discussion on students' concerns at school eventually develops political thinking, and Rowe (2005) recommends a bottom-up approach starting from reality relevant to young people's lives and moving toward political processes that involve government institutions. This approach helps young people to use their personal experiences to process social and political issues, and relate their own lives to other groups in society and political processes (Rowe, 2005). In this study, two of the English teachers, Katie and Oliver, seem to draw on bottom-up approaches. Katie's school have a mock election. She explains that the mini election lets her students talk about elections, and that makes it ‘‘more natural’’ in the lead-up to their electoral participation as they get older. Oliver also believes that school activities such as mock elections, debating competitions, and student councils enhance students’ articulation skills. He believes these are helpful, as he explains:

> We do debate clubs, debating competitions, and student councils to raise student voice. Students are able to share their ideas and speak up about issues which affect them. (These activities) are related directly to citizenship and give them [students] a chance to express themselves. (Oliver, male citizenship teacher, working class, catholic school)

For Oliver, the debating club and student councils are opportunities for students to ‘‘express themselves’’ and ‘‘speak up about issues affecting them.’’ Both Katie and Oliver attempt to bring about political engagement, as they encourage their students to express opinions and talk about political issues in the familiar and relevant surroundings to students. These teachers’ have an approach which is also supported by Hess and Avery (2008), who contend that curriculum components need elements of political engagement (such as political discussion) in order to foster equal participation of citizens in the decision making process. Developing competency to speak up about issues of concern leads to political efficacy: a capacity to take part in the political process to bring about social change (Knowles & McCafferty-Wright, 2015). This finding corresponds with English teachers’ views on the aims of civic education presented in the previous chapter (Chapter 6), that active citizenship is about the capacity of argumentation as they try to develop the ability to get opinions across. Hence, it is reasonable to surmise that their pedagogical approaches are informed by maximal, justice-oriented citizenship.

Although Japanese teachers’ approaches are similar to English teachers in a way (that deliberation and discussion on controversial issues in the classroom are encouraged), the focus among Japanese teachers is to develop students’ competence of articulation rather than argumentation. Japanese teachers aim to develop political understanding ,which Jerome et al. (2021) see as an ability to recognise multiple perspectives on a single issue.

For instance, a participant, Kotaro, presents a contentious topic of human dignity (the right to life) as a topic for classroom discussion. The topic is about a controversial court case in Germany on the constitutional reform to legalise the shooting of any aeroplane that is hijacked. The German court has decided this is unconstitutional on the grounds that a state should respect those passengers' rights to life. The case is controversial because it is also possible to argue that potential threats to national security should be avoided, and citizens on the ground also have their rights to life. Kotaro asks his students their own opinions and encourages them to debate each other:

> The majority of students think the German government would have to make a choice which results in a lesser number of victims, but I would like them to go further and think about the right to life and individual dignity. I encourage them to think carefully, so I ask them 'why can't the government shoot it down? what would happen if it did?' (Kotaro, male history / civics teacher, middle class, private school)

Kotaro's approach is related to the ''enactment of democracy'' (Sant et al., 2020, p. 231) that helps students develop attitudes and embrace conflicting opinions. This is achieved through deliberative practices, such as communicating to confront different arguments, being respectful and tolerant of others, and forming a collective perspective on a particular matter (Sant et al., 2020). Critical thinking, which Japanese participants see as important for citizenship (Chapter 5), can also be related to their use of political discussion because deliberative practice enhances the capacity to interpret, analyse, and evaluate (Sellars et al., 2018). Japanese teachers' approaches to deliberative practice and discussion potentially enables young people to develop the political understanding to acknowledge differences and understand them. Hence, it is possible to argue that Kotaro tries to help students to acquire political understanding based on critical thinking and confronting differences with respect, as he encourages his students to debate an issue that leads to plural (and often conflicting) perspectives.

My interview data suggests that political understanding is a prevailing emphasis in Japanese teachers' approaches, however, teachers also face the challenges of bringing politically controversial topics into the classroom (especially given the context that the government requires political neutrality in the classroom) (Yumoto, 2017). Expressing political opinions in private life and participating in political protests are often less favoured (Kobayashi et al., 2021; Sunda, 2015). In this context, a participant, Tomohiko, finds it difficult to get students talk about nuclear energy because it is too political in his local context. Reliance on nuclear energy has become a contentious matter since the East Japan Earthquake in 2011 which caused a disastrous tsunami that damaged the nuclear power plants. Especially in his local area, the topic is controversial not only in politics, but also in the private lives of individuals as some of the pupils' parents or relatives work for an energy company which is closely aligned with the government. Tomohiko reflects that he should have been aware of the delicate nature of this issue, as some of his students were reluctant or uncomfortable to speak up. As the previous chapter of this thesis (Chapter 5) also suggests, there is possibly a dilemma between Japanese teachers' professional agencies to introduce contentious topics into the classroom and institutional pressures to stay politically neutral. This section presented the findings that both English and Japanese teachers draw on deliberative practice as a pedagogical approach. English teachers intend to foster students' political efficacy, such as through argumentation skills for negotiations to address issues of concern, while Japanese teachers encourage students to engage in discussions to address diverse perspectives in society. This difference is also linked to their approach of encouraging student-led projects, which will be discussed below.

7.2.2 Student-led research: Active citizenship project &student-led project

Both English and Japanese teachers draw on inquiry-based learning in their attempts to motivate students to contribute to and engage with their own community. They also see inquiry-based learning such as student-led research that develops communication and problem-solving skills. Participants link inquiry-based learning to citizens' engagement/ willingness to improve their own communities, which Knowles and Castro (2019) see as participatory citizenship. There is also different emphasis between English and Japanese teachers. English teachers think students' projects or research develops their capacity to make a difference, and addresses the issues they are concerned with, while Japanese teachers believe that inquiry-based learning equips students with the competency for collaboration and self-reflection.

English teachers encourage students to get involved in student-led activities, such as active citizenship projects. This is explained with interview excerpts with two participants, Colin and Oliver:

> We have active citizenship projects, where students create their own project. They are about something they want to make a difference in. They undertake research. They learn to act, they raise awareness. We have group projects, so they [students] have findings to present in class. (Colin, male citizenship teacher, lower middle class, state-funded grammar school)

> (We) do a research project where they [students] will take on issues important to them and do research in the area. They present their project and receive feedback from the teachers and the rest of the group. So, we give them awareness of subjects [citizenship], awareness of rights and responsibilities, issues that are to do with citizenship such as democracy, the rule of law, and obviously legal rights. (Oliver, male citizenship teacher, working class, catholic school).

The competence to engage in the local community suggests a form of participatory citizenship, rather than justice-oriented citizenship. Nevertheless, English teachers intend to bring about transformative pedagogy, as they attempt to empower young people to act on their will in order to make change in the community. The emphasis on addressing the needs of students or issues that matter to them are characteristics of a critical civic education approach which aims to develop understandings of power structure that perpetuate injustice and critical attitudes to society (Knowles, 2018b). For instance, Colin says the project should be about something that students ‘‘want to make a difference in’’ and something that ‘‘meets their interest.’’ Similar to Colin, Oliver also demonstrates a transformative perspective, as he notes that the research projects are about ‘‘issues important to’’ students. English teachers believe it is important that the project is about what students are interested in so that it is meaningful for them. The process to make a difference in matters relevant to students potentially develops a form of self-efficacy, such as confidence. This is because some suggest that young people develop motivation for engagement in their community through learning experiences that are meaningful to them and relevant to their own lives (Balsano, 2005; Kisby & Sloam, 2009). Given that some of the participating English teachers reported that a sense of community is being lost when they talk about young people's citizenship and the aims of civic education (Chapters 5 and 6), encouraging students to engage in their community is an important task for civic educators in England. An increase in community involvement has the potential to eventually develop a transformative perspective through building confidence in the capacity to make decisions on matters that affect daily life (Ruiz-Mallén et al., 2022). It is also suggested by Balsano (2005) that feeling that one's own opinion matters and has validity motivates young people to actively engage in their community.

Active citizenship projects that participating English teachers talk about reflect a mixed perspective of participatory and justice-oriented citizenship with a transformative approach. This is because the intended outcomes are political and social change, while teachers start with issues relevant to students' lives which are often less about government policy but more to do with their lives in their community. Teachers' approaches on active citizenship projects correspond with a bottom-up approach to start with young people's own realities and moves toward political processes (Rowe, 2005) mentioned above. Knowles (2018b, p. 79) also offers a similar view, that awareness of community needs within one's own ‘‘lived experience’’ develops critical attitudes. Accordingly, English teachers intend to develop students' awareness of issues that affect themselves and their community. As suggested by Rowe (2005), interest in community and issues related to it eventually brings about an increased awareness of unjust power structures that motivate collective or individual actions to dismantle structural barriers and inequalities.

As for Japanese civic teachers' approaches, they involve a reflective and collaborative approach. Those who practice inquiry-based learning, Mamoru, Isao, Haruto, and Ren, see it as a means to develop problem- solving skills. These participating teachers' transformative approaches come from their intention to develop ‘‘critical beliefs’’ that encourage mindsets to inquire and the critical virtue of questioning traditional knowledge and values (De Schaepmeester et al., 2021, p. 6). Although the focus on critical beliefs is different from English teachers’ approaches to inquiry-based learning, Japanese teachers also take a bottom-up approach (Rowe, 2005) and start with lived experiences of students in their community (Knowles, 2018b). Four Japanese participating teachers (Mamoru, Isao, Haruto, and Ren) encourage their students to work on their own research projects or field work in order to identify issues people in the community face. Students make presentations and share the findings with teachers, as well as their peers. Students’ research projects often develop into policy proposals to the local government.

The common purpose of inquiry-based learning among participating Japanese teachers is to provide opportunities for students to identify issues of concern in their local or school community, and work on a project to address the problem(s). For instance, Isao explains that his approach is “to understand local issues and propose a policy or a petition to the city council.” He encourages students to ‘‘identify a problem in the local community, develop a policy proposal, and approach to local council.’’ Another participant, Mamoru, shares a similar view, as he often has group work in which students “work on brainstorming to identify concerns they have in their school and think about possible solutions.” These are similar to English teachers’ approaches in a way, as the projects are about students’ own communities and aimed at bringing about possible solutions such as policy proposals. In addition, student-led research projects are not only about inquiry into students’ own communities, but also about self-reflection through dialogue with peers and adults including teachers and non-profit organisation (NPO) staff. Ren talks about his lessons:

> Our school collaborates with NPOs and addresses the theme of a multicultural society. This year, we focused on the pandemic and tried to bring about a space in which high school students shared their concern with peers, teachers, and NPO staff. We aimed to have dialogues between young people and adults which helped us to understand the hardship students face. Students also created a short movie based on our dialogue and presented it online. It is a platform

> for them to express their concerns. I would see this approach as developing their ability to relate their own individual concerns to wider social issues and problem-solving skills. (Ren, male civics teacher, middle class, part-time state school)

Ren’s school collaborates with an NPO to deliver a full year course in which students identify their struggles during the pandemic, and express their hardships through the dialogue with teachers and NPO staff. As Ren explains in the excerpt above, this reflexive approach offers a place for students to reflect on their own thinking through the process of comparing their means to address challenges in the time of the pandemic. Ren’s approach identifies an ‘‘open and critical discourse’’ for students (Taylor & Campbell-Williams, 1993 cited by Rahmawati et al., 2020, p. 463). Rahmawati et al. (2020) suggest that open and critical discourse provides opportunities for students to reflect and compare their solutions by having their voice listened to, and knowing what others think about the issue(s) of concern. Ren (as well as the other three teachers who practise inquiry-based learning) think that the projects should be opportunities for students to identify and address their own concerns and issues in their local community. The findings presented above suggest that Japanese teachers encourage civic engagement in a local community and aim for relevance to students’ own experiences. This is similar to English teachers, but there is also additional emphasis on self-reflection as illustrated above with an excerpt from the interview with Ren. This section illustrated that English teachers intend to develop students’ capacities to make a difference through leading projects, while Japanese teachers think student-led projects develop interest in community and the competence to work with others. Relational aspects are more strongly emphasized among Japanese teachers, but it is also of interest to English teachers. The next section further explores participating teachers’ efforts to create a safe classroom environment.

7.2.3 Classroom environment for social justice

Citizens’ participation levels are supported by their skills and dispositions , which can include political and personal efficacy. In this study, English teachers talk about political efficacy, which can be defined as the competency to engage in society through use of critical perspectives and analysis of social issues, the ability to develop opinions, and the capacity to make oneself heard in society (Lundy & McEvoy, 2011; Watts & Flanagan, 2007). On the other hand, Japanese teachers talk about personal efficacy, which is about confidence in oneself and positive self-image that motivates individuals to engage in society (Sim & Print, 2009; Zaff et al., 2010). The findings of this study suggest that English teachers believe that passion for a cause motivates citizens' political participation, but Japanese teachers' views are that confidence in oneself leads to active participation in political processes within existing structures (Chapter 5). Personal efficacy is also mentioned by English teachers, as they see the aim of civic education as to develop young people's passion to make change, while Japanese teachers' aims are to enable young people to be self-sufficient individuals who can contribute to society (Chapter 6). These differences also inform English and Japanese teachers' pedagogical approaches. English teachers intend to foster political efficacy to effect change, which they see as empathy, passion, and courage to address issues of concern. For Japanese teachers, their focus is to develop personal efficacy and equip students to understand themselves and have the confidence to act on independent thinking.

English teachers' emphasis on the passion to act for a political cause and embody active citizenship illustrated in Chapters 5 and 6 seems to inform their pedagogical approach presented below. English teachers' pedagogical approaches are aimed at developing critical perspectives on social issues, hence their approaches correspond with what Wood and Sheehan (2020) recognise as transformative pedagogy for social justice. For instance, Larry and Andrew encourage their students to take actions to address injustice. For instance, Larry says:

> I also think we should be developing students' empathy and their focus on social justice in a politically unbiased way. Otherwise, they won't have the passion and courage to act. However, these are quite hard to measure in an objective way. (Larry, male citizenship teacher, middle class, voluntary aided school)

In the excerpt above, Larry encourages his students to develop empathy and focus on social justice as he believes that young people need ''passion and courage to act.'' This is also suggested by Zembylas (2015, p. 172) that empathy should lead not only to knowledge, but also ‘‘action for change.’’ Empathy is linked to awareness of social justice that develops a sense of empowerment to act for respecting personal rights and the rights of others. Howe and Covell (2010, p. 100) maintain that citizens ‘‘armed with knowledge and empathy for others’’ see difficulties others are suffering as systemic rights violations, rather than problems caused by personal weakness or failure. Another participant, Andrew, also draws on a justice-oriented, transformative pedagogical approach. He attempts to bring ‘‘lots of examples of social actions’’ which he explains below:

> I think one of my biggest things in this academic year has been bringing lots of examples of social actions into the classroom that are relevant and inspiring to the students… the Black Lives Matter protests. I brought that into the classroom at the right time to discuss it when they [students] built up the knowledge, and are ready to have debates. Students are in their conversation outside the classroom. It’s important to bring it [examples of social actions] into the classroom. As a member of staff, I do have to remain impartial. Whereas there is something I can support, there are things I can’t. As a teacher I can help them if they want to participate in, this is how you do it, this is how you do it safely and things like that (Andrew, male citizenship teacher, working class, academy)

Knowles (2018b) suggests that those who support justice-oriented citizenship favour the teaching of practical and strategic learning about activism, social projects, and articulation. Andrew’s introducing examples of social actions into the classroom is related to what Zembylas (2015) sees as a pedagogy of discomfort to challenge dominant briefs and practices in order to bring about individual and social transformation. As Andrew is aware that examples of social actions need to be brought in the right time when students have built up relevant knowledge, his view also identifies with Wood et al (2018) who note that the transformative act of citizenship requires both inspiration for social action, as well as knowledge. Howe and Covell (2011) also corroborate this by maintaining that citizens with knowledge and empathy can understand the suffering of others as structural injustice rather than personal responsibility.

The excerpt above also shows Andrew's awareness about the risk of political indoctrination. Andrew discusses social actions with students in the classroom in the hope to inspire his students to make social change. Nevertheless, interview data tells us that he is aware of the need to stay impartial, as he talks about the ''fine line'' between civil disobedience to address injustice and disrespecting laws (Chapter 5). In the excerpt above, he also says ''there are things'' he cannot support. Hence, a possible explanation is that Andrew's approach to build students' knowledge first is his strategy to be objective. This is also supported by Wood et al (2018), who suggest that starting with building students' political knowledge mitigates potential accusations of politically indoctrinating students.

Furthermore, interviews with English teachers in this study also suggests that teachers might have heterogeneous views on civil disobedience, as not all of participating English teachers support the idea of breaking laws for addressing the injustice. Those with the view that breaking the law can be justifiable report a challenge of keeping impartiality when introducing issues related to social justice or talking about social actions. For example, Larry says it should be in ''a politically unbiased way.'' Andrew is also aware that he has to remain impartial when assisting those who are interested in participating in the protests. The potential risk of indoctrination through civic education has been reported by several scholars (Kerr, 2000; Wood et al., 2018). Kerr (2000) notes the challenging balance of emphasis between public concern such as controversial issues, and private affairs in family and community life. The former often leads to the risk of presenting a biased view of teachers and indoctrination of students, while the latter fails to prepare students to engage with social issues (Kerr, 2000). Wood et al. (2018) suggest that a possible means to alleviate the risk of indoctrination when promoting social actions is to ensure that students have the opportunity to choose projects based on their interest. This emphasis on students' own interests and their own choice of topic for a project is mentioned by Colin and Oliver in this chapter.

Unlike English teachers who believe in empathy and passion through encouraging students to take social action (such as learning about Black Lives Matter), Japanese teachers talk about personal efficacy, and the understanding of one’s own values and perspectives on society. This is possibly because the challenging task of mitigating the political indoctrination discussed above (Kerr, 2000; Wood et al., 2018) is potentially more concerning for Japanese teachers. This is due to a legal requirement on teachers to stay politically neutral (Yumoto, 2017), in an apolitical culture where expressing political views is discouraged (Sunda, 2015), and a social context where political protests are seen as a disturbance to social cohesion (Kobayashi et al., 2021). In addition, the majority of participating Japanese teachers expressed their reluctance to take part in political protests (Chapter 5). Among the participants in this study, three Japanese civic teachers, Yuichi, Kumi, and Eita, encourage their students to develop an understanding of themselves and of their own values. Their views correspond with Vickery’s (2017) argument that individuals’ senses of connection and identities should also be recognised as ‘citizenship.’ For instance, Eita and Kumi maintain that the ability to express and exchange opinions based on the understanding of personal values leads to increased confidence in oneself. Eita sees the ultimate goal of civic education to be ‘‘confident citizens’’ with skills of articulation and participation. Kumi further explains how classroom discussion builds confidence:

> I think it’s about building one’s sense of confidence. The confidence can be fostered through the feeling that one is accepted by others. This can enable individuals to actively participate in society or their own community. So, I think building one’s confidence is very important. This is why I try to bring about a classroom environment in which all opinions are respected so that students feel more comfortable to express their own opinion based on their reasoning and discuss with others. I think this experience will lead to active participation in society. (Kumi, female civics teacher, middle class, state school)

The excerpt above suggests that Kumi believes that a classroom environment should make students feel they are accepted, respected, and safe. In her view, feeling that one’s opinion matters and has validity helps to develop confidence in individuals. It is also suggested by Hancock (2017) that a safe and encouraging environment for students to express themselves equips them with communication and problem-solving skills. Kumi’s emphasis on a safe environment for discussions is also informed by her views on citizenship which is shared by other participating teachers. The findings of this study suggest several Japanese teachers, including Kumi, see the ideal to be citizens with self-efficacy who can respect oneself as well as others (Chapter 5). Sim and Print (2009) offer a possible explanation that positive self-image enhances awareness of the right to participate in order to influence matters of concern. Developing a positive self-image which develops into respect to others potentially brings about justice-oriented citizenship, because Howe and Covell (2010) suggest that empathy builds a sense of justice to address structural injustice suffered by others. I suggest this is possible as the participants, Mamoru and Kumi, both see that self-respect and positive self-image lead to concern for others, which encompasses civil society and the global community. Based on Japanese teachers' views on personal efficacy, it can be suggested that positive self-image leads to citizens' active participation in addressing issues of concern.

7.3 Civic education for sense of community

Both English and Japanese teachers encourage their students to develop interest in their community, but the kinds of community feeling they intend to build is different. English teachers think that community feeling is trust among students so that they can actively take part in debates, while Japanese teachers characterise the sense of community as mutual respect for discussion and deliberation. For English teachers, community feeling in a school and classroom is important. The following sections illustrate how English teachers see the importance of having meaningful conversation with students, and creating a safe space for exchanging arguments. In Japan, a sense of community is often recognised in relation to others, such as respect for others' views. This emphasis on a relational sense of community often leads to avoidance of conflicts; hence teachers often find it challenging to get students to exchange arguments on controversial topics. Form of collective unity, such as commitment to the shared purpose of a community, is also mentioned by Japanese teachers.

7.3.1 Active participation in community

Both English and Japanese teachers' approaches are to bring about increased interest in the local community among students that leads to active involvement in the community. The English teachers' approach to encourage community participation is either related to justice-oriented citizenship or participatory citizenship. Justice-oriented citizenship is linked to transformative approaches which encourage participation in community action to raise or solve a community concern. On the other hand, participatory citizenship is linked to teachers' attempts to build students' interests in the community. These approaches are mentioned by the two of the English citizenship teachers, Andrew and Linda. Andrew uses examples of social actions to encourage his students to take collective means, such as community actions to bring a change. He further emphasises the importance of building knowledge first:

> You cannot just go and do something without having knowledge on it [community action] first. I do like to look at the knowledge, I do like to look at the theory. Only when I am comfortable that my students have that [knowledge], would I be encouraging them to participate actively on their own independently or as the community. (Andrew, male citizenship teacher, working class, academy)

Andrew emphasises the importance of knowledge, saying that he would not be ‘‘comfortable’’ to encourage his students to participate in community action until they build knowledge. As it is discussed above, this is a strategy to mitigate the risk of political indoctrination (Kerr, 2000; Wood et al., 2018). Another participant, Linda, takes a different approach which is related to participatory citizenship. In order to develop students' interests in community, she brings in local professionals to her class so that there will be opportunities for students to interact with members of their community:

> I am very lucky to have lots of local professionals like police officers who will come in and chat to them [students]. Our police officer is literally next door, so he would have a chat, talk about his job, talk about what he's been doing, and things like that will stimulate their [students'] interest in the community. I am very blessed with my police officer (who is happy) to interact with students. We have parents who do jobs that are

> particularly interesting. I ask them to talk about what they do, and again we can be quite lucky because some parents are quite high in power. We are lucky to be able to bring people who work in aid agencies, they can talk about their work, why it is needed, just bring the reality into the classroom. (Linda, female citizenship teacher, working class, prestigious boarding school)

Linda in the excerpt above says interaction with local professionals, as well as students' parents, ‘‘stimulates their interest in community’’ and ‘‘brings the reality into the classroom.’’ As interactions with members of a community build civic skills and knowledge which lead to community engagement (Balsano, 2005), Linda intends to build a sense of community by creating an opportunity for students to interact with members of the local community. Other participating English teachers also see that a sense of community, such as solidarity and sense of belonging, motivates citizens' active involvement in their community (Chapter 5). However, Balsano (2005) recognises that young people's interaction with community is not always feasible for some communities, especially the disadvantaged ones in urban, inner-city communities. As Linda recognises it is beneficial to draw on local community to engage with students to develop their interest in community, the excerpt above highlights civic education scholars' concerns about gaps in opportunities for civic education between wealthy and disadvantaged students (Hoskins et al., 2017; Kudrnáč & Lyons, 2017; Weinberg, 2021). The two excerpts presented above suggest that English teachers' pedagogical approaches are intended to encourage collective social action and develop interest in community. For Andrew, it is about development of civic knowledge, which includes analytical ability to recognize the social and political issues that lead to collective action as a community. As Linda encourages her students to talk to the adults in their local community, she intends to develop students' interests in the community which then brings about active involvement in the community. Although Andrew and Linda take different approaches, their views correspond with scholars' findings that a sense of community through showing solidarity, having shared interests, or interest in collective values and practices leads to active involvement in community (Balsano, 2005; Birdwell et al., 2013; Dagger, 2002).

Japanese teachers' views are similar to Linda's view presented above, in that they believe that interest in community leads to active involvement. For example, Haruto encourages their students to develop interest in the local and school community through students' research projects. He explains one of the students' projects on childcare leave:

> The project involves students' own fieldwork in which they talk to people in the local community and see if the childcare leave is functioning, whether or not it is helping gender equality. I encourage them to think about the topic they learnt on the course in the context of their own local community. In the future, I also hope that they will actively contribute to their own community. (Haruto, male civics teacher, prestigious state school)

The excerpt above reflects Andolina and Conklin's (2019) idea that curriculum encourages students to work on issues in their community and develop problem solving competency, awareness of what is happening in the community, and relational skills. Haruto encourages his students to think about the issues they have learnt (childcare leave) in the context of their local community (the area surrounding their school). His students carried out research on whether people in their community actually can take the leave, and whether there are issues related to gender inequality. Haruto intends to enhance students' abilities to ''actively contribute'' to the community in the future, hence his view is also linked to participative, community development which Mayo et al. (2009) explain as a collaborative learning project aimed at developing critical understanding of the needs of the community and having competence to carry out social action .

However, Haruto, like other teachers, finds it challenging to develop students' interests in their community. The ideal is to prioritise students' independent decisions and interests, but Haruto feels there is not enough time. He explains:

> The ideal is that students identify the topic of their research project based on their own fieldwork in their local community, but we cannot have time to do this. So, what we do is, the head of a ward comes to our school and presents several local issues. Then, we pick some of them for students' research projects. This is not a perfect approach,

> but we have to filter through possible topics due to time constraints. Students still can choose from these selected topics though (Haruto, male civics teacher, prestigious state school)

The constraints due to the limited time allocated for student research projects that Haruto reports possibly limits teachers' abilities to act as ''transformative intellectuals'' who recognize students as critical agents and encourage them to address structural inequalities (Muff & Bekerman, 2017, p. 23). Due to the limited time, as well as curriculum requirements, teachers have to adjust and compromise their ideals to be transformative intellectuals. This challenge is more explicitly felt by participating teachers (Yuichi and Tomohiko) who work at state schools. They are aware of the values of inquiry-based learning, but cannot really practise it for various reasons including constraints on time and curriculum requirements. Curriculum requirements are stricter for state schools than for private schools. Muff and Bekerman (2017) also recognise this challenge, as they see those educational aims of more traditional schools potentially conflict with transformative civic education and educators' views.

In my data, the location of school (urban or rural) and reputational prestige of the school influenced teachers' agencies in being transformative intellectuals. Those participants who practised inquiry-based learning (Haruto, Isao, Mamoru) work in schools in urban areas, all of which scholars see as 'progressive schools' (Hasumi, 2012; Mizuyama, 2010; Okubo, 2021). These progressive schools offer opportunities for students to engage in political discussions and lead their own projects. Two of the participating Japanese teachers who practise inquiry-based learning work at private schools, while Haruto works at state school but with a reputational prestige of sending many students to high ranking universities every year. Tomohiko and Yuichi, those who work at state schools in sub-urban or rural areas with moderate levels of prestige, agreed that students' research projects are out of scope for their civics curriculum. Instead, they view it as part of the new subject 'Inquiry-based learning' (*Tankyu gakushu*[3]) introduced in 2022. Their reasoning for this is due to the limited amount of time and the pressure to follow the curriculum, but also the potential risk of politically indoctrinating young people. Some scholars on civic education in Japan (Mizuyama, 2021; Okubo, 2021) are hesitant about civic education's role to encourage young people to participate in politics due to the risk of indoctrinating young people. In terms of socioeconomic status, Takuya, one of the participants who works in rural disadvantaged schools, finds it difficult to incorporate student-led research projects in his lessons. This is because he has to start with building his students' knowledge first. His view will be explained in a later section, which discusses teachers' uses of conventional forms of teaching (such as lecturing).

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[3] ***Tankyu gakushuu***: It is introduced in the revision of National Curriculum Standard in 2018. With the 2018 revision, 'Integrated study' (*Sogoteki na gakushuu no jikan*) has been replaced with 'Inquiry-based learning' (*Tankyu gakushuu*) in 2022. This change is intended to encourage students to learn proactively through independent inquiry and dialogic learning.

It is suggested above that both English and Japanese teachers organise their civic lessons in order to increase interest in, and active involvement in, one's own community. English teachers approach this by bringing about interest in community that leads to community involvement, as well as collective social action. On the other hand, Japanese teachers utilise inquiry-based learning to develop students' skills to identify the needs of the community and bring about solutions through independent thinking and research. English and Japanese teachers' usage of participatory learning experience, such as interaction with local professionals or students' own research, corresponds to Balsano's (2005) argument that meaningful participatory experiences increase motivation for young people's civic engagement and interests in collaborating with adults. Birdwell et al. (2013) also suggest that the competence to address personal or collective needs of community leads to an increase in civic participation in later years. In addition to interest and a disposition to engage in the local community, participating teachers also intend to develop a sense of community as a school or a class. This will be discussed in the next section.

7.3.2 Developing community feeling

Both English and Japanese teachers in this study intend to build a sense of community as a school or class, and a relationship between teachers and students. Individuals' feelings of being connected to a community is one aspect of citizenship in terms of a cultural and communal sense (Vickery, 2017). Developing a community feeling as a school or class is addressed by

English and Japanese teachers in their pedagogical approaches, as both of them see a community feeling as a prerequisite for classroom discussion and deliberation. English and Japanese teachers' approaches are informed by their views on community, which generates different forms of community feeling. Among English teachers in this study, solidarity, a sense of belonging, and concern about community are prerequisites for individuals' active involvement in community. For instance, Linda and Andrew try to develop students' interests in community and build their knowledge to enable students to take community action (see the section above, 'active participation in community'). Other English teachers are also of the view that a sense of belonging to the community and shared responsibility motivates citizens to actively participate in their community (Chapter 5). It is feasible to say that English teachers' views on citizenship presented in the Chapter 5 informs their pedagogical approaches to build a community feeling in school. Scholarly findings also suggest that active involvement in community is generated through citizens' senses of community (Balsano, 2005; Birdwell et al., 2013; Dagger, 2002). Japanese teachers also agree with this idea about a sense of community. Nevertheless, their sense of responsibility generates emphasis on collective unity as a school community. The community feeling among Japanese teachers in this study is informed by their view that school is a small community that teachers and students participate in according to the rules, as well as reconciliation of self and others' interests (see Chapter 6 for more details). A possible reason for this is that social cohesion and harmony is preferred in Japanese society (Kobayashi et al., 2021).

Among English teachers, Henry and Linda talk about feelings of community and relationships between students and teachers. Linda believes her school allows teachers and students to have conversations that help them to get to know each other. It should be noted that Linda is working at a prestigious boarding school, in which she feels like teachers and students ''are around each other.'' She feels conversation is important, especially at her school. Relationships between teachers and students weigh a lot because they experience different aspects of their life at school, including in the classroom, on campus, and in students' boarding rooms. Community feeling is recognised as important not only in a boarding school setting, but also in state schools. Henry (who works at a state school located in a disadvantaged area) also feels that conversation between students and teachers and peers is important. He believes that having trust helps to have meaningful conversations:

> It’s about creating behaviour management and creating trust in the environment so they know that when we have a debate, it’s a safe space that they are not going to shout and say something, they are not going to get criticised if they don’t have an opinion. What we want to do by the end of it is to allow everybody to have an opinion. If they [students] may not know about human rights, I want them to be able to have an opinion on it by the end of the lesson, like should we have them [rights] or should we not have them, for instance. (Henry, male citizenship / literature teacher, middle class, state school)

Henry tries to develop a communal sense of citizenship, such as trust, in order to create a ‘‘safe space’’ where students can have debates and develop their opinions. Henry’s approach is similar to Balsano (2005), who maintains that trust brings about citizens’ reciprocal intentions to connect with each other. What Henry sees as a ‘‘safe place’’ based on trust can be recognised as an ‘‘appropriate classroom climate and school culture’’, where students can express opinions confidently and feel comfortable about differences (Rapanta et al., 2020, p. 489).

Linda and Henry’s approach presented above is linked to participatory citizenship with a transactional pedagogical perspective. This is because of their emphasis on developing a communal sense of citizenship, which Vickery (2017) sees as participatory citizenship. By building mutual understanding and trust through dialogues in school life and classroom interaction, Linda and Henry intend to develop a sense of community at school. Their approach has the potential to develop a communal sense of citizenship because feeling like a part of the school community and in a safe space to express oneself enables citizens to be active participants in their communities (Birdwell et al., 2013). My interview data with English teachers suggests that trust between teachers and students plays an important role in motivating them to interact with each other and work together. This is also recognized by several scholars. Trust can bring communities together to address common purposes (Balsano, 2005). Rapanta et al (2020) also note that trust in the classroom is a prerequisite for developing students' sense of autonomy in their discussions on controversial topics.

For Japanese teachers, a community feeling is recognized in relation to others. When talking about citizenship, Japanese teachers viewed a sense of community in terms of others' interests and opinions (Chapter 5). This view also influences their approaches to classroom discussions. For instance, Tomohiko encourages students to take part in discussions as he would like his students to not only ‘‘understand their own perspectives and values’’, but also ‘‘be aware that there are others who have different values and opinions to themselves.’’ For this reason, Tomohiko sees dialogue as important for raising awareness of diverse values which are possibly different or even in conflict with one's own. This is shared with other teachers in this study, Eita and Kumi, who also encourage their students to articulate and exchange their opinions. For instance, Eita says ‘‘learning is a repeated process of individual thinking, collective work such as discussions, and then coming back to independent thinking.’’ He believes this process brings about personal development.

Japanese teachers agree with Hess and Avery (2008), in that schools should provide a space for discussions and deliberations to address diversity. Nevertheless, the relational sense of community often brings about challenges to facilitate discussions. In the Japanese context, there is emphasis on harmonious relationships and the need to reconcile one's own interest and collective interest (Kobayashi et al., 2021) that potentially hinders active engagement in discussions and deliberative practice on controversial topics. Eita feels there is a challenge when facilitating discussions. Eita sees himself still ‘‘in the process of finding a way to do it through trial and error.’’ Tomohiko elaborates the perplexing issue of relativism, that ‘‘understanding one's own values and perspectives leads to the avoidance of arguments on the ground that everyone's different opinions should be respected.’’ Kumi, who is more experienced than Eita and Tomohiko, also recognises this challenge:

> In my class, I facilitate students' consensus-building through deliberation. There are opportunities for students' presentations and I strongly encourage them to have clear reasoning to support their opinions. This is because students tend to avoid arguments saying

> everyone’s opinion matters and should be respected or just agreeing politely. It is like we’re all different, and that’s just fine. I would rather my students reflect and adjust their own opinions through discussions with others. (Kumi, female civics teacher, middle class, state school)

The emphasis on respecting each other possibly comes from a famous poem about respect towards differences and diversity, because Kumi in the excerpt above and one other participant quoted the exact phrase ‘‘we’re all different, and that’s just fine.’’ The full text of the poem is in Appendix F. It is one of the best-known works of Misuzu Kaneko who wrote about the interconnected nature of the world (Kittaka, 2016). Most Japanese people have read it during their school education. The poem is about understanding the diverse ways of being, tolerance, and embracing differences (Yazaki, 2021). This idea is often used to avoid conflicts caused by different opinions and values; hence it can pose an obstacle to Japanese teachers’ attempts to encourage their students to deliberate or open a dialogue on controversial topics. It can be challenging for teachers to introduce contentious issues or debates, as previous studies note that controversial topics require taking a position and expressing personal views in order to have discussions (Hess & Avery, 2008). This is particularly an issue in the Japanese context where harmony and tolerance are preferred to confrontation (Kobayashi et al., 2021). In order to address this challenge, Kumi instructs students to make their ‘reasoning’ (*konkyo* 根拠) clear in their presentations and when expressing opinions. She thinks this helps the deliberation process that leads to one possible understanding through adjusting one’s own as well as the collective views. She also encourages students to find an alternative perspective through deliberation. In this sense, Kumi draws on a pedagogical means to avoid consensus in order to generate ‘‘alternative subjectivities’’ through participants’ changing their positions individually or collectively (Sant et al., 2020, p. 240).

The relational aspect of community feeling also brings about the need to find one’s own place within a school (*Ibasho*). One of the participating teachers, Shirou, talks about the importance of ‘sense of belonging’ (*Ibasho*) in school. He explains ‘*ibasho*’ develops a sense of community that motivates individual to contribute. Shirou notes that ‘‘teachers should assist students to identify their own place at school (*Ibasho*) through everyday interactions’’, hence it is prerequisite to ‘‘build trust’ from students.’’ *Ibasho* that Shirou mentions is close to Lacey and Frazer’s (1994) definition of community as a place shared by ‘secure and committed networks of people.’ This sense of community is based on concepts such as interdependence, collective values, and trust (Lacey & Frazer, 1994). Accordingly, based on Shirou’s view, finding a place where students feel comfortable and safe surrounded by people they trust (‘*ibasho*’) is brought by trust built through interactions between teachers and students, as well as peers.

Moreover, Japanese teachers motivate students to have a collective sense of unity as a community. Shirou expresses his view that school activities play a vital role to foster ‘‘a sense of unity’’ (*shudan no chikara*):

> When we have school events [e.g., a sports festival] which require a sense of unity as a class, I talk to students about the importance of togetherness in achieving public welfare. I encourage them to work together as a class, ‘like even if you are not good at playing sports do your best to participate and learn from the experience etc.’ There are always a few pupils who are reluctant to get involved. So, I also approach them by reminding them that they have some roles to contribute, they at least need to play their own role, and they need to address social or others’ needs etc. I think I will keep addressing these things to my students. (Shirou, male civics teacher, middle class, less privileged state school)

Shirou feels that school events enable students to learn about ‘‘public welfare’’ (*Kokyo no fukushi*) and foster a ‘‘sense of unity’’ (*shudan no chikara*) through working together for a collective purpose. He reminds his students that each of them has a role to play and contribute toward the collective purpose. This involves the balancing act of reconciling individual identity with shared identity that DesRoches (2014) finds potentially problematic because commitment to shared identity prefers unity, while devaluing individual characteristics, needs, or interests at the same time. This is possibly why some of Shirou’s students find it difficult to engage in school activities. Shirou tries to have dialogue with them to address this challenge. In his view, a sense of shared purpose as a community can be achieved through encouraging students to be actively involved in school events.

However, the notion of community based on commonality hinders awareness of differences, because equality of individuals can only be achieved among those who understand ‘‘common language and common logic’’ (Wang & Hoffman, 2020, p. 444). In diverse societies, DesRoches (2014) maintains that community building involves a conflicting relationship between the self and the community, as individuals’ identities are not always compatible with the prevailing ideals of a community. One can argue that this is becoming the case given that the notion of a monocultural Japanese society is no longer true with its increasingly diverse and multicultural populations (Fujiwara, 2011) with minorities, as well as indigenous populations (Davies et al., 2010). Participating teachers’ pedagogical approaches mentioned above are mainly aligned with transformative or transactional approaches, possibly because participants in this study support maximal, justice-oriented citizenship (see Chapters 5 and 6). They also draw on more conventional forms of teaching to impart knowledge due to the strategic and contextual needs. This will be explained in the next section.

7.4 Transmission orientation for developing students’ political knowledge

In addition to deliberation practice, classroom discussions, and student-led projects mentioned above, participating teachers use a transmission approach to build knowledge and develop understanding of political systems and institutions. For English teachers, building knowledge and theoretical understandings of citizenship is often seen as a means to mitigate the risk of political indoctrination. For instance, Larry and Andrew in this chapter encourage students’ interests in social actions, but are aware that it has to be in an objective way. For this reason, Andrew agrees with Wood et al (2018) that building knowledge first alleviates the potential risk of political indoctrination. Given that English teachers in this study are not unanimous with regard to civil disobedience (Chapter 5), it is possible to see participating teachers’ attempts to maintain objective positions. Accordingly, for English teachers, developing civic and political knowledge is preparatory learning for subsequent activities, such as active citizenship projects and discussions. Among Japanese teachers in this study, they view the transmission of information and knowledge as part of civic education. This is possibly due to their views that citizens should be responsible and contribute and participate according to the rules (Chapter 6), but an additional reason also comes from low level of students' political knowledge related to their schools' location (which is disadvantaged) (see details in 'Active participation in community'). In addition, lecturing also became a main means of teaching during the pandemic, which required social distance.

For English teachers, the transmission approach to impart information is a strategy to address politically sensible topics and maintain objective perspectives. For instance, Colin says ‘‘some topics, such as extremism, are more sensible than others’’ so teachers should deliver the content first. They also give lectures so that students can apply their knowledge. Another participant, Andrew, also thinks that knowledge and participation in practice ‘‘complement each other.’’ Henry also says students should be able to apply the knowledge they learn to ‘‘something real.’’ Larry explains this with details and examples of his pedagogical approach:

> Most lessons start with either retrieval practice or engaging the students with a story which relates to the content of the lesson. Knowledge is vital to make change happen, although it is not the only thing. I organise my lessons around key citizenship concepts. (Larry, male citizenship teacher, middle class, voluntary aided school)

Larry emphasises that ‘‘knowledge is vital’’ to bring about change in the excerpt above. The findings suggest that English teachers believe that making social change requires knowledge and understanding about politically contentious issues of citizenship, as well as political institutions. Participating teachers' views correspond with previous studies (Brodie-McKenzie, 2020; Hess & Avery, 2008). Hess and Avery (2008) note that understanding and commitment to values such as tolerance, equality, and diversity are prerequisites for participating in a democratic society. Hence, civic education should empower young people as citizens and provide a space where they can feel empowered , but this cannot be possible without building civic knowledge first (Brodie-McKenzie, 2020).

Japanese teachers agree with English teachers that knowledge should be developed first before moving on to discussions or student-led projects.

They also spend their teaching hours developing a knowledge base. For instance, Isao, Kumi, and Ren give lectures for basic levels of understanding on a topic, or developing systematic knowledge on constitutions and political systems. With the findings on teachers' views on civic education presented in the previous chapter (Chapter 6), I suggest that building understanding of political institutions and legal systems also possibly comes from teachers' views to see participation as a responsibility to contribute based on the rules in society. Moreover, in some cases, teachers have no choice but to spend more hours lecturing due to the levels of students' knowledge. For instance, Takuya reflects:

> I do quite a lot of lecturing as students need to build their knowledge first. Many of my students are not too knowledgeable about political and civic matters, like they are not aware why they have the right to an education, so I need to develop their knowledge first before encouraging them to participate in society. I introduce socio-political issues by lecturing and get them engaged in group discussions to think about possible solutions to problems in our society. (Takuya, male civics, history, and geography teacher, working class, less privileged state school)

Takuya feels his students need to be aware of their rights and develop knowledge about political systems before thinking about participation in society. The excerpt from the interview with Takuya confirms previous findings that wealthier students are more likely to have access to opportunities for civic education to acquire competence, knowledge, and attitudes to participate in society (Andolina & Conklin, 2019; Marri et al., 2013; Middaugh, 2008; Tonge et al., 2012). Although Takuya has to focus on developing students' knowledge first, he also tries to encourage the exchange of ideas among students. Nevertheless, more hours have to be spent on imparting knowledge as Takuya notes in the excerpt above. Takuya works at a state school with less prestige than private schools, hence the findings suggest the possibility reported in Marri et al (2014) that inequitable access to civic education reinforces the disparity between wealthier and less privileged students in their education and social opportunities.

In addition, due to the pandemic, Japanese teachers' pedagogical approaches were also affected. A participant, Eita, said that teachers at his school had no choice but to do more lectures than usual. The pandemic brought about unusual circumstances of lockdowns around the world, and a new learning environment as schools moved to online teaching and learning (Abas, 2021). Japan is one of the few countries which avoided lockdowns and in-person teaching continued throughout the pandemic. Nonetheless, some teachers faced restrictions, as Eita notes ''ideally, I would have more group work in my class, but it is not an option due to the pandemic and restrictions.'' He reflects on his experience, and questions whether he is doing it right:

> Some teachers do group work or discussions ignoring the restrictions, but I dare not do so. So, lectures are the main way of teaching for now. I sometimes do pair work, like asking my students to talk with a person next to them. But I wonder if this is the right way to do it. (Eita, male History, Civics, Geography, and Japanese teacher, state school)

The excerpt above from the interview with Eita reflects the challenges teachers have faced throughout the pandemic. Eita questions the current situation in that he has to limit his teaching to lectures due to the restrictions. This is not an ideal for him, as he wonders if it is the ''right way'' to deliver civic lessons. This is related to teachers' concerns during the pandemic noted by Goenner (2021), that teachers' stress is high as they struggle to achieve learning goals amid concerns over health and safety.

In theory, the transmission perspective is linked to such models as Westheimer and Kahne's personally responsible citizens, with characteristics of less participatory learning and limited encouragement for social critique (Knowles & Castro, 2019). Nevertheless, the findings presented above suggest that pedagogical approaches relating to the transmission perspective can be used strategically. English teachers take a transmission approach to build a knowledge base so that they can avoid political indoctrination. Some Japanese teachers working in disadvantaged areas also suggest it is a means to equip students with political and legal knowledge to participate in society. In the Japanese context where in-person teaching continued at secondary schools throughout the pandemic, lecturing became the main teaching method as Eita's experience illustrates. These findings suggest that the transmission approach can be combined with participatory and justice-oriented citizenship, rather than personally responsible citizenship. English teachers' strategic use of a transmission approach to build political knowledge for making social change represents justice-oriented citizenship. This is because these teachers see developing civic knowledge as for changing or reforming the norms and practices in established systems through questioning the status quo and analysing causes of structural problems (David et al., 2017; Fry & O'Brien, 2015). Moreover, Japanese teachers' use of a transmission approach is related to participatory citizenship that encourages participation in society based on individuals' interests and concerns for cultural, economic, political, and social issues (David., et al 2017). As some argue that transmission pedagogies are exclusively aimed at imparting knowledge and are not effective to develop critical thinking skills (Sellars et al., 2018), these findings above suggest that the combination of participatory and justice-oriented citizenship and the transmission perspective is a reasonable approach to combine pedagogical approaches strategically, depending on different purposes.

7.5 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has made attempts to relate teachers' views on citizenship and civic education pedagogy. The findings suggest that English teachers use active citizenship projects, classroom discussions, and debating. With regard to the findings presented in the previous chapter, their pedagogical approaches are informed by their views on citizenship, which focus on active citizenship and active participation in the community. Active citizenship projects are intended to develop students' passions to address social issues, while discussions and debating are to develop political efficacy and argumentation skills. English teachers also try to develop a sense of community by encouraging students to develop interests in their own community. They see everyday interactions with students at school as a means to foster a sense of community as a school. Japanese teachers' pedagogical approaches are similar to English teachers in a way that they aim at developing participation skills and interest in a community. Although Japanese teachers feel the challenges of getting students to engage in contentious themes due to socio-political and cultural reasons, they believe that discussion and deliberation on controversial issues enhances competence to participate in society. Japanese teachers' views on citizenship emphasise critical reflection of oneself as well as government policies, and inform their pedagogical approaches of discussion and deliberation.

It is possible to suggest that both English and Japanese teachers draw on pedagogical approaches that involve student-led research, such as active citizenship projects and inquiry-based learning. Both of them also attempt to foster a sense of community. However, their approaches to develop participatory skills and sense of community are different, as Japanese teachers put more emphasis on relational aspects while English teachers aim for the development of mutual trust that encourages deliberation and collective actions to address community concerns. The findings illustrate this, as English teachers' approaches are to enhance political efficacy, through avenues such as argumentation skills to get one's point across. In contrast, Japanese teachers use discussions and deliberation practice to encourage students to be aware of different perspectives. The approach to develop a sense of community also reflects different emphasis. English teachers build a sense of community as a school through daily interactions with students and cooperation from local professionals in order to motivate students to get involved in their community. For Japanese teachers, a sense of community is formed through relational practice with others, including by working together as a classroom or as a school toward a collective purpose, such as the success of school events and the process to find one's own place (*ibasho*[4]) at school.

This chapter also informs us about the possible challenges teachers face in their attempts to exercise their own agency based on their visions of citizenship and civic education. For instance, some of the English teachers in this study found it challenging to introduce topics related to social movements in a 'politically unbiased' way as there are potential risks of indoctrinating students. Limited time allocated for student-led projects within school curriculum may also cause challenges, as a Japanese participant says that the ideal is to have time for students to explore and find an issue in the community, but this is not always possible. These findings inform us about political and institutional constraints that seem to hinder teachers' capacities to act on their professional agency. Moreover, schools' locations and the prestige attached to them also influenced teachers' pedagogical approaches. The findings illustrated in this chapter also confirm previous research on social class inequality in access to civic education and citizenship knowledge. The access to civics education and opportunities to experience inquiry-based learning tend to be narrowly distributed to those with higher socio-economic status (Andolina & Conklin, 2019; Marri et al., 2013; Middaugh, 2008; Tonge et al., 2012). In this study, the participating Japanese teachers working at less privileged schools would have to start with developing students' civic and political knowledge, while those who work at prestigious schools can encourage their students to carry out independent research. The findings also suggest that discussion and deliberation of controversial topics empower young people to be active in civic and political lives, but it is not an easy task (Ross, 2007; Hess & Avery, 2008). Both English and Japanese teachers report challenging issues, such as making sure students are feeling comfortable to talk about controversial themes.

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[4] *Ibasho* (居場所): According to Japanese dictionary, *ibasho* means a place where one finds him/herself comfortable, feel he/she belongs to.

Teachers' pedagogical approaches involve transmission, transaction, and transformative approaches (Evans, 2008). Both English and Japanese teachers rely on transmission approaches strategically in order to prepare students for active citizenship projects or political discussions, and for developing basic political knowledge. However, transactional and transformative orientations prevail in their pedagogical approaches. This is feasible given that previous chapters (Chapters 5 and 6) have illustrated participating teachers' views on citizenship and civic education reflect maximal, participatory or justice-oriented citizenship (with a moderate degree of minimal, personally responsible citizenship). Drawing on Knowles (2018b), this chapter suggests that participating English and Japanese teachers' views of maximal, participatory or justice-oriented citizenship lead to a transactional and transformative teaching approach. Knowles (2018b) calls for further research on the relationship between teachers' views on citizenship and their instructional practice, as it helps the development of teacher education programmes as well as professional development. This chapter makes a possible contribution to this call by illustrating how participating teachers' views on citizenship and civic education are related to their pedagogical approaches. The data analysis chapters (Chapters 5-7) so far illustrate a possible link that teachers' perceptions of citizenship inform their views on the aims of civic education and their pedagogical approaches. The next chapter offers a potential explanation for how teachers in this study developed their views on citizenship and civic education through their interpretation of the social world. For this purpose, Chapter 8, the last part of the findings section, looks at teachers' life experiences in the past and present.

8 Influence from life experiences: teachers' own citizenship

8.1 Introduction

In an attempt to understand the participating teachers' views further, this chapter addresses the third research question, "How do English and Japanese teachers relate their life experiences to the development of their views on citizenship and civic education?", I draw on a perspective to see ‘‘citizenship as practice’’ (Lawy & Biesta, 2006. p.37). Recognising citizenship as practice, Lawy and Biesta (2006) suggest citizenship is the life and learning process of individuals. While theoretical frameworks of previous data analysis chapters (Evans, 2008; Joel Westheimer, 2004; McLaughlin, 1992) offer a spectrum to explore different types of citizenship and civic education, the perspective to see citizenship as practice (Lawy & Biesta, 2006) helps understanding teachers' experience as a citizen. Some scholars suggest individuals' life experiences help them to develop a sense of agency, confidence or an empowered feeling that they can bring about change (Conner & Cosner, 2016; Wyn & Dwyer, 1999). Kahne and Westheimer (2006) recognize these are dispositions for active civic and political involvement. In this sense, teachers' experiences through which they build their capacity for civic and political participation shapes a sense of being a citizen, and how they participate in society. Accordingly, it is probable that teachers' experiences of citizenship throughout their lives informs types of citizenship which they envision as civic educators. Their visions then influence how they organise their lessons and pedagogical approaches.

I suggest that teachers' life experience influences their sense of justice that Aquarone (2021) suggests as motivation to take part in political and civic engagement to secure personal rights (and the rights of others). Horton and Kraftl (2009) argue that emotions such as anger and frustration generated through the experience of injustices and exclusion in one's own life lead to modest activism. Anger about injustice around the world (and individuals' own frustration in their lives) also leads to political action (Jerome & Starkey, 2022) and ‘‘modest activist dispositions’’ (Horton and Kraftl, 2009, p. 19). In addition, educational experience has also potential to influence a sense of justice, as Arnot (2016) argues that students' experience of democratic school such as encountering differences, opportunities to cooperate with each other, and participating in school decision making develops their disposition to promote a more just society. Moreover, an individual's understanding of justice is also influenced by the extent of encounter with diversity. Awareness of diversity enables individuals to see historical injustice, as well as inequalities faced by minority populations today (Castro, 2013). Scholars agree that a strong sense of awareness generates civic and political involvement, and can influence government policies and practices (Joel Westheimer, 2004; McLaughlin, 1992). In terms of the theoretical frameworks explained in the previous chapter (Chapter 3), maximal, justice-oriented citizenship is generated through life experiences that develop a sense of justice. A possible explanation is that opportunities to express anger or frustration experienced through one's own life via the form of implicit or explicit political action, educational experience, and encountering diverse perspectives and cultures are the potential factors that lead to maximal, justice-oriented citizenship.

The previous chapters identified that teachers are oriented toward maximal, justice oriented, or participatory citizenship, but often mixed with minimal, personally responsible citizenship. While participating English and Japanese teachers' views on citizenship are oriented toward maximal, justice-oriented citizenship with their emphasis on passion for a cause to make change and critical analysis of government policies (Chapter 5), they also support personally responsible citizenship in their aim to teach citizens responsibility in society, such as obeying laws and following the school rules (Chapter 6). There are also differences between English and Japanese teachers' views, possibly related to socio-political and cultural contexts. It is also worth noting that two groups of teachers in this study (English teachers and Japanese teachers) also have diverse views among themselves.

Chapter 5 suggests that some English teachers see civil disobedience as justifiable if it is for addressing injustice, while others believe that social actions should be within the laws. Japanese teachers' views possibly diverge when it comes to participatory learning such as student-led projects, as some of them do not see it as part of the civics curriculum due to stricter curriculum requirements at state schools (and possibly due to the avoidance of political indoctrination) (Chapter 7). This chapter focuses on teachers' life experiences as young citizens in their past and as civic educators today in an attempt to understand how their experiences inform their views on citizenship and civic education (which is aligned to not only maximal, justice-oriented but also minimal, personally responsible citizenship). The findings potentially offer insight into civic educators' reflections on how they develop their understandings of rights and responsibilities.

The findings suggest that teachers' experiences in their past as young citizens and their professional experiences as civic educators inform their views related to maximal, justice-oriented or participatory citizenship. I suggest that teachers in this study developed critical perspectives through questioning their parents' political views, government, and society. They also equip themselves with awareness of social justice through encountering diverse opinions and values; and social injustices related to ethnicity, gender, and social class. As for participatory citizenship, some teachers in this study reflect that their parents' active involvement in community and politics encouraged them to be active participants in their community and existing political structure. Teachers who participated in this study also reflect on their experiences which possibly informed their views related to minimal, personally responsible citizenship. These are about personal responsibility, nationalism, and conservative values. The relevant themes from the data analysis include the following: neoliberal values of personal responsibility, British values framed in national citizenship, and conservative gender values. These findings are discussed in the rest of this chapter with relevant excerpts from interviews.

8.2 Teachers' experiences leading to maximal, justice-oriented citizenship

Both the English and Japanese teachers who participated in this study criticised government policies, society, or their parents' political views when they were young. The findings suggest that participating teachers developed ‘‘vigilant attitudes towards democracy and its institutions’’ that García-Albacete and Lorente (2021, p. 182) define as disposition for critical citizens.

In their view, critical citizens are individuals who are keen to follow political events, such as protests, and be informed about politics as they are discontent with political institutions. Accordingly, findings suggest that participating teachers' past experiences eventually shapes their orientation towards maximal, justice-oriented citizenship because they developed attitudes of critical citizens to challenge the political and social structure and their government. Both English and Japanese teachers talk about how they rebelled against their parents, society, or government, although Japanese teachers term it as 'questioning.'

Three of the English teachers reflected that they have challenged their parents' political views earlier in their lives. For instance, Brian says that he had very different political views from his parents. He reflects that this was partly because he wanted to challenge his parents as a "rebellious" teenager. Andrew also relates that he criticised his family's political values. Because his political view is in conflict with his parents', Andrew ''was ready to rebel'' against his ''family's political ideology'' when he was younger:

> ... [My mom] voted Conservative. She would always tell me the reasons why. The more I listened, the more I became ready to rebel. I feel like I needed to be the opposite of that. I needed to be that person who votes for someone who does help people in need. That's what pushed me to the Labour party. Because the Labour party does help people in times of need. So, I would suppose my mum's influence pushes me towards rebelling against our family's political ideology to the complete opposite which I find quite interesting. (Andrew, male citizenship teacher, working class, academy)

When Andrew was younger, he criticised his parents' political values. The excerpt suggests Andrew's experience developed the spirit of a critical citizen that Garcia and Lorente (2021) see as those who are ready to criticise political institutions and have a keen interest in politics. The excerpt above also suggests that Andrew's political leaning toward the Labour party involves his discontent toward his mother, who sees herself as ''rightest and caring'' person but would ''sneer at'' people in need of food banks. During the interview, Andrew remembers that he decided to support Labour which he sees ‘‘the complete opposite’’ to his family’s political viewpoint.

Criticism can also be directed to family values related to one’s own social class. Larry reflects on his rejection to his middle-class family values:

> Education was valued but I wasn’t the greatest student. I much preferred playing and watching football and socialising with my friends. Mum tried to get me to read a lot but I always resisted. I did have a private tutor for a while in primary school for maths but I hated it and refused to go. (Larry, male citizenship teacher, middle class, voluntary aided school)

Larry has a middle-class family background, and he reflects that ‘‘education was valued’’ in his family. This corresponds with reported findings that middle-class parents transmit their cultural capital as well as acceptable behaviour through their privileged access to social membership and economic resources (Partington, 2019; Raveaud & Zanten, 2006). Larry’s parents had access to and utilised what Raveaud and Zanten (2006) term as strategy to reinforce middle class privilege through economic means such as private tuition and lessons outside school. Larry as a child challenged his family’s values on education as he ‘‘always resisted’’ his mother’s suggestion to read a lot and ‘‘refused to go’’ to a private tutor for maths.

English teachers presented above have challenged the political leanings of their family or middle-class family values. These experiences can be participating English teachers’ practice of justice-oriented citizenship while they were young, because young people’s means to practise citizenship action often takes a form of disobedience (Jerome & Starkey, 2022). Andrew’s and Larry’s experiences of criticising or resisting their family’s political ideology or values possibly influences their orientation toward justice-oriented citizenship, which is characterised as critical perspectives to address the root causes of social injustice (Leung et al., 2014). In Chapter 5 (which is about participating teachers’ views on citizenship), Andrew and Larry expressed their views that political actions, including confrontational means such as civil disobedience, are justifiable if needed to address social injustice. In this sense they agree with several scholars that citizens’ means to secure their rights and bring about social change includes protest, advocacy, and civil disobedience (Gibson, 2020; Watts & Flanagan, 2007). Hence, the excerpts presented above suggest a possible link to the findings presented in the previous chapter (Chapter 5) that English teachers' views on citizenship and civic education are related to maximal, justice-oriented citizenship.

For Japanese teachers, they also developed critical attitudes toward their parents' views and the government, but it is about 'questioning' rather than 'resisting' or 'challenging.' This may be related to findings presented in the previous chapter (Chapter 5) that the majority of the participating Japanese teachers distance themselves from confrontational approaches (such as protesting) due to the preference to social harmony (Kobayashi et al., 2021) and moral responsibility to maintain collective unity (Anzai, 2014). Four of the Japanese teachers in this study remember that they started questioning their parents' values and government's policies when they encountered alternative perspectives at high school or university. Three of them, Eita, Haruto, and Mamoru, questioned their parents' or grandparents' conservative values, while Kumi says she started criticising the government when she was a high school student. Although the previous chapters suggest that a direct confrontation is not preferable in Japanese society, questioning family values often involves some sort of friction and conflict. Mamoru, for example, remembers he developed conflicting political values with his parents' when he was a high school student. As he started having ''doubts'' to conservative view of his father who is a supporter of the conservative political party, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), Mamoru experienced a sense of ''resistance'' to his father's political views:

> I was rather conservative because of my father's influence, but I realised there is something wrong in it when I met a social studies teacher at high school. In my time, (state schools) in the area where I grew up were rather liberal and the teachers' union was still powerful. So, we did not sing the national anthem at such events as graduation ceremonies. In the corridors, there were also posters by teachers' unions which said something like 'we do not support the national flag and anthem which symbolises the war.' I was not really aware of it,

> but rather unconsciously I started questioning my father's conservative values. (Mamoru, male civics teacher, private school)

Mamoru talks about the teachers' union in Japan called *Nikkyoso* which has fought for teachers' rights, especially their right to work. Some define Japanese education policy as confrontation between teachers and government (Benjamin, 1973; Takagi, 2018; Kodama et al., 2016). During the 1950s and 1960s, the confrontation reached a climax with organised protests by *Nikkyoso* across Japan. *Nikkyoso* established its rallying point in Tokyo, where they staged mass holidays (organised strikes) but similar strikes were organised in other cities causing police actions and court cases (Benjamin, 1973). In the excerpt above, Mamoru's teachers (including a social studies teacher he respected the most) support *Nikkyoso's* campaign against singing national anthem at events such as graduation ceremonies because it is too heavy on the nationalism (which fuelled the war). Mamoru remembers that seeing his social studies teacher take part in the protest was a trigger to question his father's conservative values, and subsequently he developed his interest in politics. This can be partly explained by the findings from Biddix (2014, p.76), who suggests that participation in political demonstrations brings about an increased sense of ''social agency, civic awareness, and outspoken leadership.'' It should be noted that Mamoru did not directly experience protest by taking part in it, but encountering political protests possibly developed critical views toward his family's conservative values.

Nevertheless, questioning family values can be challenging, and one may not be able to move away from it completely. Left-right ideology and attachment to political parties transmitted from parents form a framework through which individuals, especially in their early years, draw on to make political decisions and make sense of the political world (Sapiro, 2004). For Eita and Mamoru, political values transmitted from their parents remain influential. Both of them find it challenging to confront family values, as they feel unsettled or being of two minds ('*yuragi*'). Mamoru feels ''his self-confidence wavers.'' He cannot position himself as completely liberal as he does agree with conservative ideas to some extent. Eita also relates a similar feeling to Mamoru:

> I have experienced fluctuation of my identity as a civic teacher during my study at university. Before starting university, I thought schools should pass on tradition and Japanese identity to the next generations. I developed this view, maybe because of the influence from my grandparents and my father who are rather conservative. However, I started questioning it. I wondered if it is the true aim of social study education when I met Prof. Matsuda at university. I started wondering if social study is a learning process to acquire important skills as a citizen, as a citizen with (political and civil) rights. (Eita, male History, Civics, Geography, and Japanese teacher, state school)

In Eita's case, it was during his study at university when he had an ‘‘unsettling period of time as a civic educator’’ and he experienced a change in his values. Eita reflects that he eventually overcame the fluctuation of his identity by developing an awareness, which is similar to tolerance. He recognises conservative values as ‘‘just one of the many ways of thinking.’’ Possibly because Eita is young and still at his early career stage, Eita finds it slightly easier than Mamoru to get over conflicting values within himself which can be an unsettling experience.

In addition, it is also worth mentioning that teachers are recognized as influential as almost half of Japanese participants (Eita, Yuichi, Mamoru, Kumi, Isao, and Ren) remember their interactions with or lessons from school or university teachers as influential. These participants met teachers who were ‘socialising agents’ (Ng, 2014, p. 124). For instance, Mamoru and Eita mentioned above they were influenced by social studies teachers at high school or university professors in their formation of political values, and developed critical thinking skills. For them, the teachers they met played an important role in their change of political values and viewpoints. For Eita (who attended teachers' college) he found a module taught by Prof. Matsuda particularly made him question his grandparents' conservative values. During the interview, he further elaborates that he developed his vision that social studies should raise awareness about structural inequality and how citizens can make a more just society. This suggests that Eita developed empathy, which some scholars identify as knowledge and awareness of social justice that motivates individuals to act for change in order to secure rights (Howe &

Covell, 2010; Zembylas, 2015). For Mamoru presented above, his witnessing of a teachers' protest raised questions about his parents' political values, and motivated him to study politics at university. His politics degree at university further provided opportunities for discussions on political issues ,which other participants found influential on the development of their views. School or university teachers also are influential in participating Japanese teachers' dispositions of maximal, justice-oriented citizenship. For instance, Kumi, a Japanese female teacher, feels that it was her social studies teacher at junior high and high school who helped her to develop critical thinking skills:

> I think my social studies teacher at junior-high and high school was influential on my views about citizenship. I've been to a private school, so our school used the original textbook and materials. My teacher used newspaper articles from *Asahi* (newspaper) which tend to be critical about the government. In a way, it helped me to develop skills to think and look at political and social issues critically. (Kumi, female civics teacher, middle class, state school)

In the excerpts above, Kumi reflects that her social studies teacher connected the civic education classroom to political and social issues happening in society with the use of newspaper articles. Her experience suggests civic education which provides opportunities to critically look at current social and political issues can develop capacity for maximal, justice-oriented citizenship, such as critically analysing social systems in order to address the root causes of problems and the mindset to challenge the societal norms (Gibson, 2020; Wood et al., 2018).

The findings presented above suggest that encountering diverse ways of thinking potentially changes one's political views. Among Japanese participants, learning experiences at high school and university, especially meeting civic educators, played an important part in changing their minds. Mamoru saw that his social studies teacher protested against government; Eita and Kumi met a school teacher and university professor who were keen to develop their awareness of social justice and critical perspectives on socio-political issues Through encountering alternative perspectives to see the world, these Japanese teachers become critical about their parents' political values and government policies, but on less confrontational terms than

English teachers. This is because questioning is a preferred form of confronting in the Japanese context, which prefers collective harmony and moral responsibility in order to maintain social cohesion (Anzai, 2014; Kobayashi et al., 2021). Although it is less confrontational, the findings suggest that the Japanese teachers presented above developed awareness of social injustice and critical perspectives on socio-political issues, which then possibly informed their views on citizenship and civic education. Japanese teachers' experiences led to their emphasis on critical thinking skills, which is closer to the ‘‘intellectually disciplined process’’ of conceptualising, analysing, and evaluating the information through reflection and reasoning (Sellars et al., 2018, p. 1). This form of critical thinking still can lead to justice-oriented citizenship practised in the decisions citizens make, or their perspectives, as Sellars et al (2018) also notes that critical thinking can guide one's own beliefs and actions. Interview data presented in this section tells us that some of the participants developed their views aligned to maximal, justice-oriented citizenship through challenging family values, or encountering alternative perspectives. Families, school teachers, and university professors are possibly influential for participants to form their views. The next section further explores social interactions which teachers in this study found important to inform their views on citizenship and civic education.

8.3 Teachers' political learning from social interactions

Both English and Japanese teachers believe that discussion on political and social issues informed their views, although the context in which they talk about politics is different. In this study, English teachers mention that they had political discussions with family members, while Japanese teachers remember that they talked about politics with their peers at school or university. Some of the participating English teachers feel their parents' civic and political involvement was also influential. How English and Japanese teachers relate their political discussion offers possible explanations for the different views on citizenship and civic education between them. Previous chapters suggest participating English teachers see active citizenship as being about exchanging arguments and getting one's point across. This is possibly related to their encountering of different (and often conflicting) views within the family, and raised their awareness about social justice through conversations with their teachers at school. On the other hand, Japanese participants feel that the opportunities to have political discussion with their peers developed their critical thinking skills and interest in current affairs in society. This is also related to their emphasis on awareness of social and political issues, the ability to critically analyse the society, and cognitive skills to develop arguments.

8.3.1 Political views and community involvement and family background

Discussion on political matters within the family possibly influenced English teachers' views on citizenship, as Graham et al. (2020) suggest that family communication in childhood has profound influence on civic and political activities in adulthood. Five English teachers feel that discussions and debates with family members provided them with opportunities to negotiate different perspectives. Two teachers, Linda and Henry, recognise that debate and discussion on their different views from their family was influential. Linda notes that she had a ‘‘bit of debate’’ with her father, who is so ‘‘set in his views and opinions.’’ Henry elaborates on his experience of having different and diverse political views within his family:

> My grandparents are very traditional. For instance, they see it is a norm that man marries a woman, not a man marries a man. The big thing about citizenship is to challenge. Anybody who questions whether or not a man marries a man or woman marries a woman, it's about challenge. We do have different views and it's healthy that people in your family have different views. If you all feel the same, the world would be boring because we never have argument about anything. So, I think it is really important that we have our views listened to and may not agree with each other and might not change my mind...Again it's about being able to challenge**.** (Henry, male citizenship / literature teacher, middle class, state school)

Both Linda and Henry grew up in a family environment where they had different opinions from family members and debate and discussion were common, hence they value arguments and political discussions. Henry notes that ‘‘it’s healthy’’ to have different views and what is important about citizenship is ‘‘being able to challenge.’’ It can be suggested that family communication (which involves negotiating conflicting views or diverse opinions) possibly leads to English teachers’ emphasis on the capacity to develop an argument and deliberate with others. This is possibly because an open environment at home (in which to exchange opinions and beliefs) has the potential to develop the capacity to gather political information and the confidence to get involved in public affairs (Graham et al., 2020).

In addition, for two participants (Katie and Linda), community involvement and politics are familiar topics in their family. For Linda, she remembers that she spent her childhood in a close-knit mining community. Katie relates how her own, as well as her family’s community involvement, is inspirational to her:

> My dad would be doing something, or my granddad or my mom. In terms of participation in society, social action is my life. I don’t know anything else, doing things for other people. It’s just who I am. it’s a massive part of citizenship education and for me the most important. Social action is sort of ingrained in my childhood, that’s in my mind. I feel like I must be helping someone. (Katie, female citizenship teacher, mixed social class, less privileged state school).

Katie’s parents and grandparents have been active in their community ‘‘doing something’’ for others. She recognises this is influential, as she notes ‘‘doing things for other people’’ is always on her mind, as she feels she ‘‘must be helping someone.’’ This sense of community can potentially lead to participatory citizenship, which is about active involvement in community in the hope to contribute to improving the well-being of the community (Marri et al., 2013; Sondel, 2015). The findings suggest that teachers’ own or family’s involvement in their community, along with other factors, forms a part of their life experience which informs their views oriented towards participatory citizenship.

In addition to the discussion on politics in the family, the influence of parents’ political involvement was also influential for another participant, Linda, who remembers that she went to a political gathering with her father which she found impressive:

> (Dad) exposed me accidentally to quite radical speakers when I was really young because he went along to listen…So I did hear the speaker who was very right wing when I was probably about 6 or 7. I did not understand the ideas at all, but I saw a charismatic public speaker. I have really clear memories of where and how it felt to hear somebody who uses the audience, somebody who use their charisma, and I have some very clear memories of that…I have a really clear memory of that day, watching all these adults there, the voice going up and down, (audience's) reactions. (Linda, female citizenship teacher, working class, prestigious boarding school)

Linda's father once took her to a political event where there was a ''charismatic speaker'' who could ''use the audience'' and their voice. Linda found this event quite impressive, as she has a ''very clear memory of that day.'' Linda's father's involvement in this political rally influenced her political participation in her adulthood, as she once has been actively involved in lobbying earlier in her career. This finding provides support for Bacovsky and Fitzgerald (2021), who found that parents' political engagement, such as their party attachment and political activities in the local community, is transmitted to their children. It is suggested that parents inform their children's political leaning, as family plays a role in maintaining a social ideology through the generations (Hener et al., 2016).

With the excerpts presented above, it is possible to suggest that their parents' active involvement in community and politics led Katie and Linda to emphasise the importance of mutual support within a community and active political participation, which can be related to maximal, participatory, and justice-oriented citizenship. As for participatory citizenship, both Linda and Katie relate citizenship to a sense of community. Katie talks about mutual responsibility in community, and Linda is aware of a weakening sense of community among her students (Chapter 5). For Linda, her work at a boarding school also increased her pedagogical focus on developing trust in the school community (Chapter 7). These are possibly related to their parents' involvements in their community. I suggest that this study confirms findings from Bacovsky and Fitzgerald (2021), that parents' active political involvement is transmitted to their children. This is because the findings presented in Chapter 5 suggest that Linda (who remembers her father's participation in a political rally)- see the excerpt above) expresses her view related to justice-oriented citizenship. Regarding political participation in society, she believes that citizens need to have a passion for the cause to bring about more just society through campaigning. In addition to influences from family, participating teachers also mentioned their educational and professional experiences. The next section also looks at participants' educational and work experiences.

8.3.2 Political discussions at schools and work

Both English and Japanese teachers believe that political discussion with colleagues influenced their views. For English teachers, it is the interpersonal communication with work colleagues and schoolteachers they encounter throughout their educational and professional career that influence their views on citizenship. Oliver, remembers that he had a ''good intellectual discussion'' with his friends at university, which helps him to ''be passionate and enthusiastic'' about citizenship and citizenship lessons. Colin notes that his previous boss and work colleagues made him ''aware of everything'', including the purpose of citizenship and why it is important. There are also those English participants (Brian, Larry, and Oliver) who relate teachers they met at schools or university are inspiring to develop political views and values. Oliver remembers that his teacher encouraged him to be ambitious and make society better. Brian and Larry have similar views in a way, in that they both believe their political values are influenced by a history teacher and a philosophy professor respectively:

> (My history teacher) certainly influenced my decision to want, my career to be a history [teacher]. I think he probably did influence my values as well because he was someone who I respected. As a teenage lad, you keep looking for role models. He was very well-established. He was sort of very cultured, very interested in the world more broadly, not just in some nationalist story of Britain, so I think that must have influenced me. (Brian, male history teacher, lower middle class, less prestigious state school)

> My old philosophy professor at uni. He was an unbelievable person and teacher. He has since become a friend. I have such fond memories of his lectures and, as I said above, he taught me a lot about resistance, justice, and human rights. (Larry, male citizenship teacher, middle class, voluntary aided school)

These accounts provided by Oliver, Brian, and Larry suggest that interactions with the inspirational teachers helped them developed maximal, justice-oriented citizenship. This chapter presents excerpts from interviews with Brian and Larry as examples. Brian reflects his history teacher is a ‘‘role model’’ who influenced him to see that history is ‘‘not just a nationalist story of Britain.’’ This broader sense of history reflects maximal citizenship, which can be characterised with intercultural competency and diverse identities of individuals (Idrissi, 2020; Oxley & Morris, 2013). The teachers in this study became aware of a broader view to look at British history (Brian) or were encouraged to make the world better by challenging injustice (Larry and Oliver), they developed their views that correspond with justice-oriented citizenship. Hence, they support civic and political engagement that scholars characterise as justice-oriented citizenship, addressing injustice in established systems and status quo through social movements, political mobilizations, or civil disobedience (Fry & O’Brien, 2015; Leung et al., 2016; Swalwell, 2013). It is worth noting that both English and Japanese teachers feel they are influenced by civic educators they met at school or university. Some of the English participants in this study are inspired by the history teachers they met. For Japanese participants, they also became aware of alternative political perspectives via teachers they respect. Hence, this study corroborates some scholars’ arguments that teachers influence the political socialisation process of young people through delivering the curriculum at schools (Ng, 2014). Fiat Durdukoca (2019) also sees that teachers are primary ‘agents’ in realising educational aims. Teachers, especially those who teach social studies, have a primary responsibility for building students’ knowledge, intellectual skills, and civic values for taking part in a participatory democracy (Fry & O’Brien, 2015). Having political discussions with peers is also an experience shared by both English and Japanese teachers in this study. However, this took place in more formal settings, such as civics lessons or university courses rather than interpersonal communication in Japanese teachers' experiences. This will be explained below.

For Japanese teachers, political discussion happens in more formal educational environments, such as discussions in the classroom or seminars offered as a part of coursework at university. Learning experiences through political discussion are mentioned by four Japanese participants (Haruto, Mamoru, Kumi, and Eita). They are those who developed critical attitudes to their family or the socio-political structure which was explained above (see the section 'Rebelling against and criticising parents, society, or government'). For Haruto, Mamoru, and Kumi, they had opportunities to practice debating, speech making, and writing an essay on socio-political issues. As Santo et al (2020) suggest that deliberation practice and political discussion in classrooms develop a shared opposition to challenge the power relationships in society, it is possible to suggest that they developed their critical awareness of society and politics through these learning experiences. For instance, Haruto feels that his views on citizenship and civic education are informed by the experience of having a ''fierce exchange of arguments'' on current socio-political issues with his seniors at university.

In addition, it is dialogue with peers or teachers at school through which Japanese teachers formulate their views on citizenship and civic education. This finding supports a previous study, where the school environment and peer relationships are the socialisation context through which one acquires political knowledge (Abendschön & Tausendpfund, 2017). For instance, a male participant, Ren, recognises that the school environment and his relationship with peers and teachers at university informed his views. As a politics student, Ren remembers he had quite a few opportunities to have dialogues and discussions on topics such as politics, social philosophy, rights and prestige. He feels these were opportunities to acquire knowledge to aid political participation. Morgan et al. (2021) provide a possible explanation for Ren's experience. They note that socio-political discussions are ''core components of activism'' (Morgan et al., 2021, p.57). Although it is not about activism, Ren recognises that political discussions when he was at school influenced his views on citizenship and civic education:

> In my opinion, what is important for civic education is dialogue, learning from reading classics followed by discussions, and learning from teachers' experiences. I think these are important. Reflecting back, I think having meaningful dialogues formed the foundation of my views not only on citizenship, but other things in general. (Ren, male civics teacher, middle class, part-time state school)

In the excerpt above, Ren reflects that the dialogues and discussions he had with professors and peers at university formulated the ‘‘foundation’’ for his views. He thinks his own experience informs his belief that discussions on socio-political events can help young people acquire political knowledge for active participation in society. The findings of this study also support the link between his own experiences and his pedagogical approach. This is because Chapter 7 reports that Ren sees dialogue and discussions as effective means to develop disposition in order to participate in society. This finding suggests Ren's experiences led to his views on citizenship and civic education related to maximal, justice-oriented citizenship. It is worth noting that Ren and several other Japanese teachers recognise active participation in reflective terms, which correspond with Rahmawati and colleague's (2020) idea of open and critical discourse through which students discuss each other's problems and consider possible solutions together.

Moreover, club activities at university (which are similar to societies in an English context) also provided participating Japanese teachers with opportunities for dialogue and discussion on social and political issues. For example, Kumi reflects on her participation in the journalism club:

> I was a member of a journalism club at university. It is not really about politics but rather more to do with sports. However, I sometimes did interviews to write about social issues too. When interviewing people and writing articles, I needed to be up to date with social and political issues, so I checked various information sources. Through this experience, I think I developed a keen interest in what is happening in society. I suppose who I am today comes from what I experienced throughout junior-high, high school, and university. (Kumi, female civics teacher, middle class, state school)

Kumi became keen to know about ‘‘what is happening in society’’ through her involvement in journalism club. Her experiences possibly developed her political efficacy, because Graham et al. (2020) suggest that those who frequently make efforts to acquire political information from a diverse range of information sources are likely to develop political efficacy and knowledge. Kumi also reflects that her experiences throughout junior-high school to university were influential for who she is today, therefore, formal education including extra-curricular activities played an important role in forming her views on citizenship. Other Japanese participants also recognise the influence from teachers, professors, and political discussions in school or university. While political discussion and influence from teachers are also mentioned by English participants in this study, the findings also suggest a difference that politics is a more familiar topic among English teachers than Japanese teachers. English teachers talk about politics in informal conversations with work colleagues or family members, while Japanese teachers experience political discussion in more structured settings, such as classroom discussions or seminars at university. This is possibly explained by Sunda (2015), who notes that Japanese society has an apolitical culture where expressing one’s own political opinions is not recognized as respectable behaviour. This can also be related to other findings in this study about participating Japanese teachers’ reluctance to support protests (Chapter 5). The interview data tells us that those participating teachers developed their attitudes or disposition to question, criticize, and challenge the status quo through their family backgrounds, educational experiences, and social interactions. In addition to the skills to critically analyse society, participants also developed their awareness of social justice through their life experiences. The next section illustrates how teachers in this study became aware of structural inequality related to ethnicity, gender, and social class.

8.4 Teachers’ awareness of social injustices

Participating teachers in this study reflect that they have become aware of inequalities in society through their interactions with peers, study abroad programmes, and their careers. The findings suggest that participating teachers’ awareness of structural inequality developed their activism spirit. This is explained by Wheeler-Bell (2014, p. 464), who suggests that ‘‘spirit of activism’’ developed through awareness of structural injustices brings about citizens’ involvement in social movements to transform society. Based on the findings of this study, I surmise that participating teachers’ spirits of activism developed through their life experiences, and explains their views related to maximal, justice-oriented citizenship. Spirit of activism is presented more explicitly in English teachers’ experiences than the Japanese teachers’ in this study. English teachers talk about their experiences that made them aware of structural inequalities caused by ethnicity, gender, and social class. Among Japanese teachers, just one of them, Isao, presents spirit of activism somewhat similarly to English teachers. Some Japanese teachers are aware of structural problems faced by ethnic minorities, however, the ability to understand multiple perspectives, tolerance, and intercultural competence is given more emphasis than structural inequality. Although there is a difference between English teachers and Japanese teachers in their means to recognise the spirit of activism, their life experiences form what Cowell and Biesta (2016) call civic learning of subjectification. This mode of learning focuses on the process to develop ‘‘political agency’’ rather than conforming to existing civic identities and ‘‘given socio-political orders’’ (Cowell & Biesta, 2016, p. 433).

8.4.1Structural inequality in multi-cultural society

Awareness of structural inequality (such as the issues that minority populations face) is developed through experiences and encounters with diverse cultures and values (Castro, 2013). In this study, both groups of teachers seem to have limited opportunities to be in a multicultural environment. Almost all of the Japanese teachers were not able to remember a multicultural classroom in their childhood, although some of them studied abroad or taught students with diverse backgrounds which will be discussed later in this section. Similarly, not many English teachers in this study were able to talk about inequality caused by ethnicity, as they hardly experienced it themselves and the schools they attended did not have diverse backgrounds of peers, students, or teachers. For instance, Linda relates, ‘‘[My ethnic identity] is White British and my exposure to other cultures before I came here [her work place] was very limited.’’ In this study, there is just one participant, Colin, who talked about his college experience, through which he became more aware of the racial discrimination his peers face.

> I went to a multicultural college. I started mixing with other ethnicities a bit more. I just realized how their lives differ. For example, I had a quite a few Asian Pakistani friends who say they weren't allowed to have social freedom that I have. They were subject to racial discrimination. Building through that, I was (thinking) like, 'okay, I don't get any of that.' I suppose I become able to realize the difference between them. It was when I was growing up, late teenage. It became more important, something I became aware of. (Colin, male citizenship teacher, lower middle class, state-funded grammar school)

Colin recognises the limited access to ''social freedom'' and the racial discrimination that some of his friends at college had to face. Colin's interaction with his peers at college was an opportunity for him to became aware of structural barriers and unequal opportunities to participate in civic and political affairs. Colin's experience at college can be classed as a process to be a ''political subject'' of their own right and political agenda (Cowell & Biesta, 2016, p. 433). Colin has developed his interest in citizenship, as he became aware of how the majority perceive the minority and ''different ethnic groups.'' As a civic educator, he also believes teaching about ''different cultural ideas are very important part of citizenship [curriculum in England].'' Other participants also share a similar view with Colin, as five of the participating teachers in this study (Colin, Henry, Katie, Linda, and Oliver) realise teaching about discrimination and diversity is important in civic education.

Regarding diversity, it is also worth mentioning that majority of participants recognise the challenge to bring about what Gardner (2007, p.38) identifies as an ''inclusive community'' in which children of diverse racial backgrounds learn together and respect their differences. For example, Chapter 5 presented the finding that some of English teachers in this study (Brian and Andrew) are aware that not everyone has an idea of global citizenship or a sense of interconnectedness to people in different countries. Although most of English teachers grew up in an environment where there is not much of diversity, three English participants (Larry, Oliver, Andrew) had opportunities to encounter diverse cultures. Two of them also (Henry and Linda) work at schools where students come from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Among them, Larry's experience suggests that living and working abroad develops intercultural competency and awareness of racial inequality:

> I am friends with black British people, with Swedes and South Americans, I met a lot of my foreign friends through studying overseas. I had friends from different cultures as I was growing up and still have to this day. So I think that helps me to show solidarity with marginalised people. (Larry, male citizenship teacher, middle class, voluntary aided school)

In the excerpt above, Larry relates that his experience of studying abroad has made him aware of injustice and nurtured a sense of solidarity. This can be related to Castro's (2013) suggestion that those who are aware of diversity are likely to see that not everyone is able to participate in civic life equally due to the historical injustices and marginalisation that persist today. The awareness of marginalisation and injustice informs individuals' views on citizenship and how they envision young people's participation in civic life (Castro, 2013), hence teachers' encounters with different values and experiences of working in multicultural environments can be a possible influence on their views on citizenship. Although both the English and Japanese participants in this study did not have direct experiences of structural inequality related to ethnicity due to limited encounters with diverse culture, some participants become aware of the problems and learned the importance of having solidarity with those who are marginalised. Gender and social class seem to be the issues most of the participants can relate to their own experience. This will be illustrated in the following two sections.

8.4.2 'Fighting' gender inequality and gender bias

Both English and Japanese participants talk about gender inequality in their respective societies, although English teachers express a spirit of activism more explicitly than Japanese teachers. English teachers relate their experiences at work through which they become aware of gender inequality in their own workplaces and the unconscious biases within themselves. This study suggests that English teachers' life experiences presented below inform their views oriented towards justice-oriented citizenship. On the other hand, Japanese teachers are aware of gender inequality, such as the glass-ceiling, but there is still a persisting influence of conservative gender roles in their views. This will be discussed in the last section of this chapter, which is about participating teachers' views which are aligned with both minimal, personally responsible citizenship and justice-oriented citizenship.

For the English teachers in this study, they believe their professional experience develops their awareness of gender inequality. For instance, Linda, a female participant, feels her career is about fighting for gender equality. Several others also become aware of gender biases within themselves, which can be unconscious, as Brian notes that he did not see the underrepresentation of women in history lessons until his female colleague pointed it out. Although it is an outlying theme in this study, some of the English participants (Andrew, Linda, and Larry) also aware that schools should recognise plural identities of gender. Among those who talk about gender inequality, Linda and Brian elaborated their views on gender equality in the workplace. Their view is based on the sense of justice which Aquarone (2021) interprets as equitable distribution of opportunities and outcomes. Three English teachers (Oliver, Linda, and Brian) agree that the situation is improving, as exemplified in Oliver's remark that ‘‘there has been a lot of work to create parity’’ that there are female prime ministers. Nevertheless, Linda feels it is ‘‘very slow to have women’’ in management positions. She remembers:

> When I first became a head of department, there was myself, head of learning for special needs, and that's it. We were only female heads of departments, everybody else was male. Lots of my early years was about fighting inequality where girls were ill-treated. We were very slow to have women in positions of authority in schools. It remained very male dominated. It is hugely better now but, in the meetings, I go into, we have not got quite 50 /50. (Linda, female citizenship teacher, working class, prestigious boarding school)

As Linda relates her early career was about ‘‘fighting [against] inequality’’, she has been an active citizen in Gundara's (2014) sense. Being an active citizen means facing a challenge and struggling against inequalities, power structures, and addressing the divides of social attributes- such as gender (Gundara, 2014). In addition, Linda also shares her struggle. As Linda finds schools are ‘‘very slow’’ to have female leaders, the excerpt above suggests a female teacher’s struggle in an ‘‘undemocratic’’ environment that fails to promote equality (Arnot, 2016, p. 146). Arnot (2016) suggests transformative pedagogy can bring about equality to schools through ‘‘deconstruction work’’ by challenging unequal distributions of power given to a certain group. Linda’s experience presented in the excerpt above contains the idea of transformative pedagogy, as she struggled for gender equality at work- challenging the environment dominated by males, her work experience as a female civic educator led to the development of her views (Chapter 5).

Male teachers also developed an awareness of gender inequality in terms of representation in the lesson content. One of the male English teachers, Brian, recognises that male teachers (including himself) often have gender biases without noticing it. He explains:

> I teach at a department with three people and one of which, is the only female teacher in the department. She is the one who raises that, ‘oh hang on, in this aspect of history we haven’t taught about (women)?’ and the fact that hasn’t occurred to me and my other male colleague. That’s obviously our own sort of biases. I can’t deny that there are these unconscious biases that affect what we do. I think teachers are thinking about those things a lot more now. (Brian, male history teacher, lower middle class, less prestigious state school)

Brian talks about the conversation with his female colleague who points out unequal gender representation in their lesson content. He feels that the conversation helped him to realise the ‘‘unconscious bias’’ that history teachers (including himself) are often not aware of. Brian acknowledges it is challenging, but sees that history teaching should deconstruct this bias. Brian’s awareness about unconscious bias can be related to a call for education that moves away from ‘‘dominant versions of humanity’’ toward universal knowledge (Gundara, 2014, p. 126). Gundara (2014) argues that divides among people related to diverse social backgrounds, including gender, are caused by a centric knowledge system governed by dominant groups or political institutions which fail to acknowledge inequalities faced by multiple groups in society. The awareness of gender bias has the potential to address the problem of gender inequality that Arnot (2016, p.135) discusses, drawing on Fraser's (1997) politics of recognition. Arnot (2016) cites Fraser (1997) to maintain that the process to redistribute opportunities for gender equality is hindered because gender discrimination is interpreted into gender differences. These above excerpts from interviews with Linda and Brian illustrate that teachers have professional experiences that possibly lead to their views which are oriented toward maximal, justice-oriented citizenship. Based on the interview data, both Linda and Brian became aware of gender inequality through their careers. Linda has fought for gender equality as she has been one of fewer female head teachers, while Brian met his female colleague who made him aware of his own gender bias that possibly led to underrepresentation of women in his history lessons. Although their views cannot be fully presented to due to limited space, it is not only about gender equality but identities, more generally. Several other teachers also reported that they developed more understanding and awareness about gender identities through teaching citizenship and their school environment. Accordingly, their professional experiences possibly led English teachers to have views related to maximal, justice-oriented citizenship. Professional experience also developed an awareness of structural inequality related to social class, especially among English teachers which will be explained below.

8.4.3 Social class: structural inequality and empowerment

All the English citizenship teachers in this study, regardless of being middle or working class, are aware of structural inequalities caused by the social class. Those who are from middle class families (Larry and Henry) acknowledged their privileges, while those who with working class backgrounds (Andrew, Katie, Linda, and Oliver) were more inclined to criticise the social structure. For instance, Andrew who is one of the teachers from a working-class family background, feels that studying Sociology opened his eyes to ''the whole class structure, how the middle-class structure works, the cliché that the rich get richer, the poor get poorer.'' Scholars' views are not in full agreement with regard to the relationship between social class and political participation to address social injustice through activism.

Some argue that citizens of wealthier backgrounds tend to take part in protests (Abendschön & Tausendpfund, 2017; Sherkat & Blocker, 1994) while others maintain those who have disadvantaged backgrounds are more likely to participate in political activism due to their awareness of social injustice (Lauglo & Øia, 2008; Reay, 2018; Spellings et al., 2012). Findings in this study are inconclusive on this matter. Among the English teachers, those who have working class backgrounds demonstrated the spirit of activism to challenge the existing structure that privileges a few elite populations. It is the opposite in my Japanese participants, as the only one who support activism is from a middle-class family.

Among English teachers in this study, participants with working class backgrounds are more aware of social structures that perpetuate class divisions and inequal distribution of resources. Those who are from middle class families but work at schools in deprived areas also had a similar view. This is possibly because of their awareness of persisting social class inequalities in society, and that some of the teachers who have working class backgrounds (Oliver and Katie) see citizenship as a means to empower students. Katie (whose father is from working class family) says she is ‘‘passionate about helping people who are less privileged to get to wherever they want to be’’ by breaking through the social class which is a ‘‘very strong glass ceiling.’’ This view is also shared by those who identifies as middle class but work at a school in disadvantaged area. For example, Henry says:

> (Citizenship is) about allowing them [students] to feel like they are just as good as anybody else. We are five minutes from the best school in town. I always tell them their postcode and where they live don't determine your future. If they want to be doctors, nurses, lawyers, whatever, they are going to be doctors, nurses. Just because you don't go to the school five minutes down the road doesn't mean you cannot get these jobs, (it doesn't mean) you cannot go to university. (Henry, male citizenship / literature teacher, middle class, state school)

Both Katie and Henry are keen or ‘‘passionate’’ to empower students to realise they can be anything they want to be. Katie and Henry are ‘‘transformative agents’’ in Black's (2015) words. Essentially, they are educators who bring about a positive change for students' educational and citizenship achievements (Black, 2015, p. 377). This sense of being a transformative agent also leads to the perspective of seeing civic education as a means for promoting social mobility, as Oliver thinks:

> We see the disadvantaged white boys and disadvantaged white British at the bottom of academic league tables unfortunately. I think (civic education) will lead to more political literacy across all levels of society and more informed citizens. So, I think we need to raise the profile of citizenship (curriculum) and education for all people, people from all walks of life to improve social mobility and access to opportunities. (Oliver, male citizenship teacher, working class, catholic school)

Oliver's view in the excerpt above highlights the gap between working class and middle- class children and their access to education, and to university as he mentions ''academic league tables.'' The excerpt above suggests that Oliver is aware of ''the class elitism'' embedded in the logic of meritocracy to provide opportunities for a privileged few (Reay, 2018, p.178). Reay (2018) argues that the English educational system is controlled by meritocracy which favours those who can move up the social ladder to universities with their privileges, such as being educated at private school. The excerpt above suggests that Oliver supports social mobility to address the problem of inequality, as he hopes that civic education can increase social mobility by equipping young people with the political literacy skills to be ''informed citizens.''

As it is suggested above, participants with working class background (Katie and Oliver) share their passion to empower students to overcome the obstacles to social mobility. This finding somewhat contradicts some of the previous findings on political socialisation. Sherkat and Blocker (1994) find that the upper class tend to engage in political activism both within and outside institutional politics, as they have more opportunities to develop a sense of political efficacy and belief in political agency throughout their life. Nevertheless, there are others who suggest experiences of inequality drives individuals to political action and awareness of social justice (Lauglo & Øia, 2008; Reay, 2018; Spellings et al., 2012). Spellings et al (2012) report that young people and adults with experience of economic inequalities are more likely to take part in political actions than those who have access to financial resources. This is also supported by Lauglo and Øia’s (2008, p. 219) findings that those who have ‘‘friction with the regime of school’’ or are marginalised from the economy are the ones who ‘‘do something about’’ politics. Reay (2018, p. 1) reflects that her working class experience and ‘‘strong, oppositional, working-class value system and political consciousness’’ led to social mobility for her. Hence, the findings suggest it is this sense of strong oppositional political consciousness (Reay, 2018) that drives Katie and Oliver to enable students to get to the place they wish to be, and bring about social mobility.

Although it has to be noted that their study is about young people in the 1960-70s, the findings from Sherkat and Blocker(1994) that the upper class are more likely to engage in political activism somewhat applies to the Japanese participants in this study. Their study on young people’s activism finds that young people with educated, wealthy parents are likely to actively participate in student movements, and those who with higher education degrees tend to take part in protests (Sherkat & Blocker, 1994). A participant, Isao, who sees activism as a means to transform society has a middle-class background. Isao recognises that his middle-class family connection brought about a network with ‘‘intellectuals’’ through which he became aware of the importance of activism:

> I think I am hugely influenced by my father who is a scientist as well as an activist. Through his work and activism with his colleagues, I learnt his moral principle that the society should change for the better and citizens play an important role in it. My father’s influence then led me to participating in student protests during the 1980s. I took part in political protests against such issues as discrimination and demonstrations for peace. I think the values of political activism helps my civic education teaching. (Isao, male civics teacher, middle class, private school)

Isao’s experience of growing up in middle-class family offers a possible explanation for his view that civic education should empower young people to ‘‘raise their voice’’, hence it is suggested that his view on civic education is related to justice-oriented citizenship in Chapter 6. This finding confirms

Abendschön and Tausendpfund (2017), who report that those with a higher socioeconomic status are more likely to be active in politics and community involvement. This study may not have sufficient data to argue that Japanese society also has a problem of ‘‘long-standing socio-political inequalities’’ in political participation that Weinberg (2020, p. 35) mentioned for the English context. However, this finding presented with the excerpt above corresponds with previous studies. It is suggested that children whose parents are wealthier and educated are likely to have opportunities for political learning from their parents (Deimel et al., 2019) and access to school-based civic learning opportunities, such as classroom debates and discussions (Middaugh, 2008). Isao’s middle-class family background offered him an access to civic education opportunities to acquire skills for participating in society when he was younger. In addition to direct or indirect experience of structural inequality related to ethnicity, gender, and social class, the findings also suggest that it is possible to become aware of social injustice through self-reflection. This is mentioned only among Japanese participants, but the following section also illustrates this.

8.4.4 Encountering different others: opportunity for dialogue and self-reflection

Several Japanese teachers have encountered different values and cultures through their university degrees or work. For some, this is an opportunity through which they reflect on their own values, although it is often challenging to address differences in opinion and values in order to understand each other. Others become aware of structural inequality through the stories of minority populations, such as those of Korean descent living in Japan. The awareness of injustice and perspectives from minority population also offers them a chance to reflect on their own society. Based on the findings presented below, this study suggests Japanese teachers’ experiences to develop understanding, different values and multiple perspectives, develops their maximal citizenship, such as intercultural competence, and perspectives to be aware of multiple values and opinions.

Japanese teachers talk about their professional careers that help them to recognise multiple perspectives through meeting students with different values or cultures from them. Ethnic homogeneity is no longer true, and ethnic diversity exists in Japan with minority populations and small groups such as the *Burakumin* (Siddle, 2010). This is also recognised in my data, as the two of the participants, Takuya and Haruto, talk about their experiences with migrant children and students with *Buraku* backgrounds respectively:

> I tried to have a conversation with the student (who punctured others' face on the school photo) and tell him/ her 'it is not nice to do this thing because your friend feels hurt. You should tell what is wrong with him / her directly rather than doing this behind their back.' However, due to cultural differences, the student found it hard to understand the emotional part, like it's hard for him / her to see the point of being considerate of others. The student says it was a bad behaviour to puncture the photo, but did not feel bad about making others feel hurt. I find it challenging to discuss the importance of being considerate to others which is something particular in Japanese culture and hard to comprehend for those who have different ethnic or cultural backgrounds (Takuya, male civics, history, and geography teacher, working class, less privileged state school)

> (with regard to his encounter with a *Buraku* child in his class), There is a gap between what we think we know and reality. We misunderstand them and well, they also do not really trust us. I felt like there was a huge gap between us at first, though we somehow understand each other through dialogues. Well, it was quite impactful, extraordinary experience. But it's my job and I cannot leave it just because we are so different, so I keep making efforts to approach them. I now appreciate this experience through my career. Otherwise, I just recognise the difference and do my business. I doubt I try my best to approach them to understand if it is not my job. (Haruto, male civics teacher, prestigious state school)

Both Takuya and Haruto see dialogue as a means to address the possible challenges emerging from cultural difference or different values. The *Burakumin / Braku* Haruto talks about are an outcast population who were stigmatised and discriminated against during the 1600s to the late 1800s (see Introduction in Chapter 1). Although the outcast system has been abolished, descendants of *Buraku* people are often segregated and face discrimination in their daily lives. In the area where Haruto’s school is located, there is a community where the descendants of *Burakumin* live. The two excerpts illustrate Takuya and Haruto’s attempts to understand their migrant students and *Buraku* students who have cultures and values different from them. Their experience suggests that they developed the competency to understand multiple perspectives and opinions through having dialogue with their students. Scholars see dialogue as helpful means to help individuals to recognise and deal with multiple perspectives (Rapanta et al., 2020) and understand ‘other’ (Yomna, 2019). While both Takuya and Haruto are aware that it is ‘‘hard to comprehend’’ different cultures (Takuya) and there is a ‘‘huge gap’’ between Haruto and the student with Buraku backgrounds, they also try to have conversations or dialogue with the students. These two teachers’ experiences of practicing dialogue in their teaching career possibly fostered the active listening skill and sense of ‘‘caring sensitivity’’ which Rapanta et al (2020, p.478) recognise as civic attitudes of tolerance.

Moreover, nine Japanese participants find interacting with classmates from other countries influential for forming their views on citizenship. They note that the experience made them aware of structural inequality. For instance, Isao listened to his friend with a Korean background when he was at university. He feels his friend’s story made him aware of ‘‘contradictions in the Japanese society’’ such as discriminations *zainichi*-Korean (Korean descents living in Japan) face in their job hunting or their lack of entitlement to voting rights. Others (Eita, Haruto, Kumi, Kotaro, Mamoru, Shirou, Takuya, and Tomohiko) also remember their interactions with international students at university. They found that encountering different perspectives offered them an opportunity to reflect on themselves, as well as Japanese society. One of them, Tomohiko, explains:

> When I was at university, I met an international student from China who was a communist party member. It is like meeting someone who is living in a totally different world and with different political beliefs from me. This gave me an opportunity to reflect on Japan and myself,

> I also realised an alternative perspective. So yes, it influenced me. He belongs to the communist party, so he distinguishes his personal feelings and the accepted view. He would not openly criticize the party, though he does not see this restriction negatively. He says (Chinese citizens have) 'limited freedom but it helps China to prosper as a nation.' I remember he asked me questions like 'Isn't democracy in Japan ambiguous? Is Japan really a democratic country?' He said like 'look at us (China), the Covid outbreak was soon supressed because of the strong communist government.' The dialogue with him made me think and wonder what is democracy in Japan, etc. (Tomohiko, male civics teacher, middle class, state school)

The excerpt above suggests that meeting with someone with different political values offers opportunities for reflection. Through talking with international students who have different political views and culture, Tomohiko became aware that he himself is also influenced by politics, society, and culture within the Japanese context. This experience of encountering different perspectives and reflection on one's own view can potentially lead to maximal citizenship, which is characterised as competence in cultural diversity and critical perspective (Oxley & Morris, 2013). It is suggested by Castro (2013) that interactions with others with different cultures brings about self-reflection that develops awareness of diverse perspectives. The two sections above discussed teachers' life experiences that developed their disposition to critically analyse society and awareness of social injustice. Teachers in this study also talked about their personal values, which also influence their views and approaches to the civic education. The last section presents the findings on teachers' personal values.

8.5 Teachers' personal values and their views on citizenship

The previous chapters suggest that it is not always easy to locate minimal, personally responsible, or maximal, justice-oriented citizenship in participating teachers' views. It is often the case that teachers' views on citizenship or civic education pedagogy contain characteristics of participatory citizenship, which is placed somewhere between minimal and maximal citizenship. The puzzling case is also presented in Chapter 5, that two ends of spectrum of citizenship which are supposed to be contrasting each other can coexist. This is because Japanese teachers' views contain combined characteristics of maximal and personally responsible citizenship, as they emphasize on working collectively for public good but through individuals' responsible acts. For the English teachers who participated in this study, they had diverse views when it came to British identities. Some teachers interpret British identity in terms of a national and legal sense which is related to minimal citizenship, while other teachers think British identities are plural and multi-layered which is closer to maximal citizenship. Hence, even within a relatively small sample of this study, it is difficult to state one possible interpretation of British identity based on the interview data with my participants. From these findings from previous chapters summarized above, this study infers the following: First, empirical data such interviews are not fully explained by citizenship typology. For instance, some Japanese participants' views required contrasting types of citizenship (maximal and personally responsible citizenship) rather than similar types such as maximal, justice-oriented citizenship. Second, among English teachers, some of them draw on maximal citizenship to interpret British identities, while others interpret it in terms of minimal citizenship. These ambiguities in teachers' views may be related to citizens' negotiations with social order and values in their attempts to secure their rights or address their concerns. This chapter so far suggested that both English and Japanese teachers' life experience shapes their sense of maximal, justice-oriented citizenship, however, participants also have life experience which can be related to minimal, personally responsible citizenship. With regard to English teachers, this study suggests their views on British identity is often interpreted as singular, national sense of identity rather than plural one. It is feasible to interpret citizenship in a minimal sense when it comes to a national identity because citizens do have a sense of belonging to a nation. Maximal citizenship is possibly a preferred option when society is multicultural and diverse as national citizenship sometimes implies membership which often generates inclusion and exclusion. For Japanese teachers in this study, their life experience illustrates their negotiation over neo-liberal values of personal responsibility and conservative gender values, which potentially conflicts with their sense of justice and shift toward gender equality.

8.5.1 National or plural sense of British identities

Two of the English teachers, Oliver and Andrew, talk about British identity and British values, but each of them has a different viewpoint which can be recognised as minimal or maximal citizenship. Andrew's view can be interpreted as minimal citizenship, as he says:

> In terms of my ethnic identity, I would never consider myself to be proud of my white skin, but I do say I am proud of that I am from Britain. I would say I am British first and then English next. I like the idea of being a collective home. I like to be in a nation that is collective home, with Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales. (Andrew, male citizenship teacher, working class, academy)

Andrew sees identity in terms of national citizenship with a reference to ‘‘collective home’’ which he includes four nations in the UK. In the excerpt above, it is possible to suggest that Andrew is talking about a singular sense of identity because these four nations he mentioned are often presented as the national identity for Britain as a nation in government policy. For instance, in 2000 the New Labour government defined that British identity represents multicultural state of England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales (Maylor, 2016, p. 315). Mayor (2016, p. 317) argues that a ‘‘singular conception of Britishness’’ leads to danger that certain groups are excluded based on the assumption that only British values are acceptable. Andrew's framing of a collective home also has possible relevance to the prevailing emphasis on British values and civic nationalism in education policies since the Crick report up to recent years (Farrell, 2016).

On the other hand, being British can also be interpreted in plural sense as one of the participants, Oliver, sees it as ‘‘universal values.’’ He notes:

> British values are really universal values. Everybody in the world should believe in them, see it as the advantages and alternatives to such (regimes) as obviously dictatorship, autocratic regime, or places where human rights violations. (Oliver, male citizenship teacher, working class, catholic school)

The British values Oliver talks about in the excerpt above is possibly different from the Fundamental British Values promoted in the curriculum, which some scholars see as contradictory to pluralism and alienating for some populations (particularly Muslims) (Janmaat, 2018; McDonnell, 2021). Oliver's sense of British values is close to others who maintain that values such as tolerance and respect can be universal (Elton-Chalcraft et al., 2017; Szczepek Reed et al., 2020). In Oliver's view, British values are universal values that ‘‘everybody in the world should believe in.’’ The excerpt suggests that Oliver has an ‘‘inclusive conception of Britishness’’- that individuals and groups express what they see as being British in many ways that go beyond a national and legal sense (Elton-Chalcraft et al., 2017). The inclusive sense of British identity can also be related to what Maylor (2016) terms as a multiple conception of Britishness that centres on cultural and ethnic diversity. How individuals interpret their (British) identity possibly depends on experiences with other cultures, as Fuss et al (2004) find that the experience of studying abroad or visiting other countries develops curiosity and openness to new experiences, and recognises a broader sense of identity. Among these two excerpts presented above, it is Oliver who has worked internationally as a youth worker for an international humanitarian charity organisation. Due to the small size of the sample, this study offers a cautious interpretation, but the findings suggest that the experience of living or working in international environment with people who have different values and cultures influences how one perceives identity in singular or plural sense. The possibility that life experiences inform individuals' personal values is further explored in the next sections. The remaining two sections consider a possibility as to how individuals interpret their own experiences which are influenced by social values. Although this is only implied in interview data with Japanese participants, the findings presented below infer that teachers' views are informed both by their own life experiences and the values shared in society.

8.5.2 Neoliberal values of personal responsibility vs *noblesse oblige*

Although not explicitly, the Japanese teachers in this study seem to be somewhat influenced by the values of neoliberalism. It is worth noting that their views on citizenship and civic education reflect maximal, participatory or justice-oriented citizenship, rather than minimal, personally responsible citizenship. However, the emphasis on personal responsibility prevails when it comes to their awareness of social class inequality. Four of the participants, Eita, Kumi, Tomohiko, and Yuichi, who self-identify as middle class feel their academic success and achievements are partly because of the prestige that they were born with, but they also see it as due to their personal efforts. For instance, Tomohiko reflects:

> When I was a student, I felt like making efforts will surely lead to a success. This is something like '*ritsu shin shutsu se*' (立身出世), the idea that the talent one is born with, and personal efforts can bring success, I think. I did not really suffer a lot in terms of accessing the resources I needed to make my best efforts to achieve my goals when I was young. (Tomohiko, male civics teacher, middle class, state school)

It is somewhat nuanced, but these teachers with middle class backgrounds reflect the ''neoliberal wording of citizenship'' that endorses individual responsibility, success, and choice, while assuming individuals' failure to make efforts is the reason for ''socio-economic and political ills'' (Sen, 2021, p. 615). In the excerpt above, Tomohiko recognises the prestige he has, but emphasises that individuals' efforts lead to success. This is reflected in his reference to '*ritsu shin shutsu se*' [5] which means advancement in a career through personal efforts and ability. '*ritsu shin shutsu se*' (立身出世) corresponds with the values of neoliberalism, but it also represents moral ideal in Japanese society that conscientious diligent work is a civic virtue. Takeuchi (1976) maintains that '*ritsu shin shutsu se*' (立身出世) conveys a moral lesson that hardworking citizens can achieve success, while lazy ones cannot. Education policy in Japan also combines neo-liberal values and patriotic morality, as Kitagawa (2016) suggests that the Fundamental Law of Education (2006) contains neo-liberal concepts such as fostering self-governing individuals who are responsible for themselves as well as moral conservative ideas about respecting tradition and culture, affection to the nation, and moral responsibility. With a hybrid influence of neo-liberal and conservative moral values, Tomohiko's experience represents a meritocratic education system where individuals are responsible for their success or failure at school (Veugelers, 2007). Due to the meritocratic society and education system, those who have less prestige also feel it is their responsibility to address economic hardships. Takuya (who grew up in less affluent family) remembers:

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[5] **ritsu shin shutsu se' (立身出世)** : According to Japanese dictionary, Kojien, 'ritsu shin shutsu se' (立身出世) means being successful in securing a high position in the society or in one's own career. It often assumes that success relies on one's own talent and efforts rather than social structures.

> My family was not that affluent. Though my parents did not tell me, I was aware of that since I was at elementary school. This taught me to be responsible for making my own decisions and choices, so I chose to go to national university rather than private one as tuition fee were less expensive. I was a bit too considerate of others. When making decisions, I always try avoiding displeasing others (Takuya, male civics, history, and geography teacher, working class, less privileged state school)

Takuya reflects that his less affluent family background taught him to be responsible for his own decisions and choices with consideration to his surrounding environment or circumstances. In addition, the excerpt suggests that Takuya also shares the civic virtues of being hardworking, conscientiousness, and diligence expressed in *'ritsu shin shutsu se'* (立身出世) mentioned above. Takuya works hard as he faces more difficult economic circumstances, and made his own decision to choose a national university (which costs less but it is often more difficult to pass exams at). This can be a process of empowerment that Amitay and Rahav (2021, p. 136)) define as a transition from a helpless situation to a ''state of agency'' through securing control on one's own life or environment. Although Takuya feels his experience taught him to be responsible, it is also possible that he demonstrated his agency, as Vaughn (2018) suggests that controlling one's feelings or beliefs to achieve goals is agentic behaviour.

Unlike English teachers with working class backgrounds who criticize social structures and inequality, Japanese teachers emphasise personal responsibility for individuals' success or failure in their life. However, three of Japanese participants are aware of social structures and believe that it is not just about personal responsibility. They develop this awareness through their experiences in childhood when interacting with peers with socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds (Mamoru), teaching children with lower socio-economic status (Yuichi), or news reports on social inequality (Eita). Mamoru exemplifies these teachers' views, as he notes:

> At my school (which costs a lot of tuition fees), most students are from affluent families. I often remind them that 'you all do have prestige, there are some people who do not have choice but to live in poor conditions. You should not exclude them' I also think we, those who with at least a certain degree of prestige, should not leave everything down to individuals' responsibilities. I think we all have a shared responsibility to improve society. So, I would like my students to have a sense of *'noblesse oblige*', a responsibility of those who with privilege. I tell this to my students in my class too. (Mamoru, male civics teacher, private school)

Along with other two teachers, Yuichi and Eita, Mamoru is rather critical about the perspective which sees individuals as responsible for their own successes and failures. These three teachers say personal responsibility does not explain individuals' success or failure fully. In Mamoru and Eita's words, those who are privileged should have a sense of *'noblesse oblige*.' This can be a shared responsibility to improve society. However, these Japanese teachers' views may not fully represent justice-oriented citizenship in Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) sense. Their views are more to do with participatory citizenship in a way, as they envision citizens who take leadership in helping those who are in need and advancing the enhancement of the whole society (including cultural, economic, political, and social aspects) (David et al., 2017). These findings from interview data tentatively tell that some of the participating teachers' interpretations of their own experiences is also influenced by social values that emphasise personal responsibility. Influence from society seems profound, as those who support maximal, justice-oriented citizenship in this study are also in support of personal responsibility. The last section further illustrates the influence of conservative gender values in Japanese society.

8.5.3Conservative gender values versus gender equality

Interviews with Japanese teachers suggest there is a persisting barrier on gender equality due to conservative values. The majority of Japanese teachers have developed critical views toward gender inequality. This confirms the maximal, participatory or justice-oriented citizenship reflected in their views on citizenship and civic education. Ten out of eleven Japanese teachers encountered some forms of gender inequality in their lives. Four of them, Eita, Kumi, Haruto, and Yuichi, mention that there is a ‘‘glass ceiling’’ that prevents women’s advancement in their career. Kumi, the only female Japanese civics teacher in this study, feels that ‘‘Japanese society still remains dominated by men’’ and there are very few female civics teachers. Other male participants (Yuichi and Eita) also feel there still is a glass-ceiling or something like a ‘‘wall’’ that leads to society dominated by males. For instance, Eita says:

> From my perspective as a male teacher, the conservative value that men work outside family makes it difficult for men to take childcare leave. For me it is not a big issue as I cannot imagine myself having family. I also enjoy working. But my senior complained that some people looked at him coldly when he was on childcare leave. So yes, I think there are still barriers relating to gender. (Eita, male History, Civics, Geography, and Japanese teacher, state school)

Eita feels there are obstacles not only for females, but also for males. The excerpt above suggests that there is a ‘‘barriers relating to gender’’ that makes it difficult for male teachers to take childcare leave. These findings confirm previous research that gender equality and women’s political representation in Japanese society is hindered due to persisting traditional gender values (Eto, 2010; Maeda, 2006; Nakano, 2018). Eto (2005) notes that female politicians are still very few in Japan. This is possibly due to thee persisting ‘‘dominant normative value’’ that sees politics as for men and social pressure that discourages women participating in a political profession (Maeda, 2005, p. 347). Policy discourse particularly in the conservative party, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) also puts forward a conservative family model where men work outside the home and women take care of the family and children (Nakano, 2018). These are the possible reasons that Kumi feels there is a glass ceiling in her career path, and male teachers such as Eita see the ‘‘walls’’ that impede their right to take childcare leave.

The awareness of gender inequality is possible a basis of Japanese teachers’ orientations toward maximal, justice-oriented citizenship, which is characterised as reflective inquiry and social criticism (Idrissi et al., 2021; Print, 2009) and questioning the social system that causes injustices (Fry & O’Brien, 2015). Five teachers (Eita, Haruto, Kotaro, Mamoru, and Tomohiko) state that they have developed their awareness of gender inequality, as they started questioning traditional gender roles. It is often through the process of questioning family values (as Mamoru did) or listening to female members of their family (as in Eita’s case). In other cases, teachers mention their university and work experiences. For example:

> At the school I work in, there are more female students than male students with a 1:2 ratio. So, I suppose this can influence students’ gender values, particularly boys. I myself feel this working environment broadened my perspective too, although I would have to say that I did not have many opportunities to think about gender equality etc until I started working as a teacher. (Kotaro, male history / civics teacher, middle class, private school)

Kotaro talks about his work environment where there are more female students than male students. Although Kotaro was not very aware of gender inequality, he feels his work environment ‘‘broadened’’ his perspective. The excerpt also suggests that some people may not notice gender inequality in Japanese society unless they have a chance to experience different perspectives. Tomohiko’s experience is also similar, as he remembers female friends were the majority at the university where he did his MA. When they were exchanging views, he was criticised by female friends for having rather traditional gender values. Possibly through understating others’ positions or listening to others’ perspectives, Tomohiko and Kotaro became aware of their own gender values. Tomohiko and Kotaro’s experiences are also related to Brian, an English teacher, who became aware of his unconscious gender bias through the interaction with a female colleague. Therefore, the excerpts above suggest that these Japanese teachers also became aware of what Gundara (2014) sees as a centric knowledge system which fails to acknowledge inequalities in society. Their experience is also representative of the ‘‘critical politics of difference’’ which lead to the transformation of identity and values, such as ‘‘what it means to be’’ a male or good citizen (Arnot, 2016, p. 144).

The majority of teachers in this study are aware of gender inequalities and problematize the persisting glass ceiling that Kumi faces in her career and gender discrimination mentioned by Eita in the excerpt presented above. Nevertheless, one of the participants, Shirou, is inclined to support traditional gender values where ‘‘women have the responsibility for the home and the family while men work to support the household financially.’’ He notes:

> I personally do not see that it is appropriate that the mass media puts overemphasis on gender equality. I feel something is not right about that. I even think perhaps it does not have to be equal all the time…I do not have any objections against equal opportunities, but it should not be ‘forced equality.’ I mean, I would not agree with the idea that it is wrong if everything is not equal like 50:50. I would not see Japan is behind or wrong compared to the US or Europe just because we are not achieving gender equality. (Shirou, male civics teacher, middle class, less privileged state school)

In the excerpt above, there is a degree of patriotism present. Scholars see the responsibility to a country or patriotism as characteristics of minimal, personally responsible citizenship (Akar & Albrecht, 2017; David et al., 2017; Li & Tan, 2017). It may be worth noting that Shirou is oriented toward personally responsible citizenship in his views on the concept of citizenship and civic education. For instance, Shirou sees making donations as a possible means that his students can do as a form of social action (Chapter 6). Participation such as volunteering and making donations, is recognised as personally responsible citizenship. It is also to be noted that Shirou mentioned making donation is because it is what his students can do, as most of his students are under the voting age. In addition, the excerpt above also suggests that Shirou is influenced by moral conservative patriotic values, as he sees that Japan is not a backwards country ‘‘just because of not achieving gender equality.’’ Shirou’s patriotic remark suggests that conservative and patriotic values persist in Japanese society, including in education policies such as the Fundamental Law of Education (2006) that Kitagawa (2016) sees as emphasis on patriotic and traditional values and ‘‘love for the nation.’’ As presented above about socio-economic inequality, this study suggests that conservative moral values influenced other Japanese teachers’ perspectives on their own lives. For instance, Tomohiko mentions ‘*ritsu shin shutsu se*’ (立身出世) which is a moral view about the civic virtue of hard work (Takeuchi, 1976). Based on the findings, minimal, personally responsible citizenship can be linked to moral values which define that individuals’ successes are based on their own efforts and conforming to the conservative values endorsed through education policy by the government.

Moreover, it is not only Shirou whose views on gender (and possibly citizenship) reflect minimal, personally responsible citizenship with an emphasis on the conservative values and patriotism. Three of the Japanese teachers (Tomohiko, Takuya, and Mamoru) reflect that they have (or used to have) traditional values. However, they also feel they changed their views, as they became aware that traditional values hinder gender equality. For instance, Tomohiko used to have an ‘‘old-fashioned view’’ that the ideal was that his partner would be a full-time housewife, although he later changed his mind. Mamoru also recognises his father’s sexism, but he shifted away from it as he questioned his parents’ political views. The findings suggest that the majority of Japanese teachers in this study feel that gender inequality is still persistent as traditional gender values remain. As Eto (2010) reports that traditional gender roles are possibly changing, but it is a slow process, as a conservative social environment still prevails. The possible interpretation is that quite a comprehensible portion of the Japanese population still support traditional values, such as the division of labour based on gender. The reason why the changes are slow is due to the civic virtue in Japanese society that one should contribute to maintaining social cohesion, rather than pursuing individuals’ self-interests (Kobayashi et al., 2021). The persistence of traditional values is a possible reason for the maximal, personally responsible citizenship reflected in some Japanese teachers’ views on citizenship (Chapter 5).

8.6 Chapter conclusion

This chapter proposes that teachers' life experiences and careers are possible reasons for their views on citizenship and civic education. The findings suggest that challenging family, society, and politicians during their adolescence, encounters with diverse and different values, and political discussions informed their views that reflect maximal, justice-oriented citizenship. While English teachers challenge or resist their family values, Japanese teachers take a more reflective approach, as they question their parents' conservative values and government policies rather than directly confronting them. English teachers' challenging their family values can potentially develop into critical perspectives towards political institutions. For Japanese teachers, questioning social norms and the government possibly develops their emphasis on a critical analysis of society. These different experiences may possibly explain the different views on protests between English and Japanese teachers: English teachers often encourage activism or even civil disobedience, while Japanese teachers feel reluctant to take part in protests. Regardless of this difference, both English and Japanese teachers believe that political discussions equip them with a perspective with which to see alternative ideas when they encounter different values or opinions. These experiences possibly develop their views that are related to maximal, participatory, or justice-oriented citizenship.

The findings suggest that both English and Japanese teachers' orientations toward maximal, justice-oriented citizenship comes from the spirit of activism and awareness of inequality that they develop throughout life experiences. Teachers in both England and Japan became aware of structural inequality (in terms of ethnicity, social class, and gender) through their interactions with their peers at school, opportunities to study abroad, or their careers as civic educators. Findings from both interviews with English teachers and Japanese teachers suggest their experiences encountering diversity in terms of culture, values, and other perspectives led to the maximal, justice-oriented citizenship reflected in their views. This is possibly the case, as experience to address cultural difference develops individuals' senses of justice (Castro, 2013). However, there is also a key difference. English teachers' senses of justice are similar to the ''spirit of activism'', which includes awareness of structural injustice and attempts to transform society through social movements (Wheeler-Bell, 2014). This is shown through the emphasis English teachers put on ‘solidarity with marginalised people’ ‘fighting [gender] inequality’, and awareness of ‘unconscious biases.’

Although one Japanese teacher, Isao, has somewhat similar ‘spirit of activism’ to English teachers, most of the Japanese teachers interpreted it in terms of tolerance and understanding multiple perspectives, rather than activism. They see dialogue as important to understand alternative perspectives from their own. Japanese teachers agreed with some scholars who see dialogue as a means to negotiate multiple perspectives, and bring about tolerance through understanding others (Rapanta et al., 2020; Yomna, 2019). Japanese participating teachers’ ‘spirits of activism’ may be explained by learning experiences. Japanese teachers in this study actively participated in reading groups or discussion groups about politics, economics, or philosophy when they were university students. In addition, some Japanese participants were encouraged to read newspapers, or be informed about current affairs when they were high school students. The participating Japanese teachers’ learning experiences at schools and university involved discussing academic papers on political philosophy or relevant fields, and critically analysing government policies. This seems to be a partial explanation for their emphasis on dialogue and awareness of multiple perspectives.

This chapter also offers possible explanations for the sporadic presence of minimal, personally responsible citizenship, which is not as salient as maximal, justice-oriented citizenship, reflected in both English and Japanese teachers’ views. English teachers’ reflections on their experiences suggests that they not only have a plural sense of identity which is related to maximal citizenship, but also a singular national sense of identity which is interpreted as minimal citizenship. This chapter suggests that there is a certain degree of nationalism when it comes to British identity or values. One of the participants, Andrew, frames British identity with a sense of nationalism. This is because Andrew mentions British the national identity united by tradition, culture, and political institutions in the UK (Maylor, 2016), rather than a more plural one which includes a cross-national, global identity (which some identify as cosmopolitan citizenship) (Osler, 2011; Osler & Starkey, 2003, 2018; Starkey, 2012). It is not only English teachers, but also Japanese teachers whose views reflect a sense of nationalism (which is also related to minimal citizenship). Some Japanese teachers support traditional values and patriotism which potentially hinder gender equality, although it should also be noted that there are others who are in a transition phase to shift away from these values. Similarly, personally responsible citizenship is reflected in some Japanese teachers' socialisation processes, while others seek alternative values to counteract the overemphasis on individuals' responsibilities. It is worth noting that Japanese teachers' emphases on shared responsibility suggests a collective and cooperative, non-confrontational approach, rather than an ''oppositional political attitude'' (Reay, 2018) which is reflected in English teachers' views.

This chapter has illustrated the significance of teachers' experiences in their socialisation processes and careers which informs their views on citizenship and civic education. Lawy and Biesta's (2006) approach to see citizenship as practice offers insights with which to comprehend interviews with English and Japanese teachers in which they reflect on their experience throughout their childhood, adolescence, and professional lives as teachers. Recognising citizenship as practice, this chapter offers insight into a process through which individuals develop and experience civic agency, confidence to take part in society, and feelings of empowerment (which scholars recognise as important for practicing citizenship through active civic and political involvement) (Conner & Cosner, 2016; Kahne & Westheimer, 2006; Wyn & Dwyer, 1999). In conclusion, the development of maximal, justice-oriented citizenship possibly comes from experiences such as challenging or questioning family values and society at a younger age, political discussions, parents' political views, as well as civic involvement. Minimal, personally responsible citizenship is related to citizens' identity framed with nationalism, conservative values, and neoliberal values which recognise individuals' efforts and responsibilities as the main determinants of success.

9 Conclusion

This study offers some insights to understand how teachers' views on citizenship informs their visions for civic education and pedagogical approaches. Teachers' life experiences were also considered as possible influences on their views on citizenship and civic education. Regarding the context, citizenship is framed in terms of personal responsibility or self-reliance in both English and Japanese political discourse. It is also worth noting that the low level of young people's participation in politics, particularly formal participation such as elections, is of concern to education policy makers and politicians in both societies. In order to explore socio-political and cultural influences on English and Japanese teachers' views on citizenship and civic education, I took a qualitative research approach. I utilised semi-structured interviews with English and Japanese teachers, which offered clues to understand contextual influence on their views on citizenship, civic education, and their life experiences to develop their awareness of social justice, which influences how they see the social world. The research questions and the research design in this study were also informed by my own personal values and the belief that teachers play important roles to equip young people with justice-oriented citizenship. For this reason, my data analysis for this study focused on the maximal, justice-oriented citizenship presented in teachers' views.

As a conclusion to this study, I highlight some of the key findings. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the implications and future directions for research on citizenship and civic education. This study addressed an overarching question, 'what are civic education teachers' views on citizenship and civic education?' The key findings are: a possible link between teachers' views on citizenship and their approaches to civic education; criticality and conformity in their approaches; and the relationship between teachers' own life experiences and their views. This study is potentially of interest to education policy makers and education practitioners, because the findings offer insights into contemporary challenges to address diversity, and clues to understand teachers' agency. In addition, I also offer my perspective for future research on citizenship and civic education based on the findings of this study. I propose that future research could address teachers' agency to foster maximal, justice-oriented citizenship, and the dilemma to address the requirement to teach citizens' responsibility in the society. The findings also suggest that further research could focus on the potential gap between teachers' views and students' agency. While this study contributes to further understanding civic education teachers' views on citizenship and civic education as well as how their views are influenced by their own life experiences, I also acknowledge the limitation in terms of the small size of the dataset, and that I was not able to have observation data from the schools my participants work at (mainly due to the pandemic). These will be explained in the following sections.

9.1 Overview

In order to discuss the key findings of this study, I start with restating my research questions and a summary of findings on participating civic education teachers' views on citizenship, their aims and pedagogical approaches of civic education, and the possible influences from their life experiences. This study addressed the following research questions:

1. How do teachers in England and Japan define the meaning of citizenship and how do their interpretations differ?
2. What is the aim of civic education English and Japanese teachers envision?
3. What are English and Japanese teachers' pedagogical approaches to civic education?
4. How do English and Japanese teachers relate their life experience to the development of their views on citizenship and civic education?

9.1.1 Teachers' views on citizenship

The chapter 5 presents the findings on teachers' views on citizenship. In this study, participating teachers' views are dominated by maximal, justice-oriented or participatory citizenship, rather than minimal, personally responsible citizenship. English teachers and Japanese teachers agree that participation and criticality is important for young people's citizenship, although their views differ in terms of how they see these two terms. For English teachers, participation is to make change on the matters or concerns that affect citizens themselves through civic and political involvement, including protests. Japanese teachers relate dispositions for participation, such as personal efficacy, where having a positive self-image and sense of happiness brings about active engagement in civic and political matters in society. As for criticality, it illustrates their different views on citizenship more explicitly. English teachers see criticality as an important skill through which to express discontent about government policies, while Japanese teachers believe it is political literacy skills that help form informed decisions (often based on criticism toward government policies). In addition, their views on community have a different emphasis. English teachers relate their view of a sense of community as solidarity and trust, to collective actions as a community to secure rights collectively. Japanese teachers see that citizens have a responsibility to contribute to their community. These findings suggest that participation, based on the criticism of the government and socio-political issues and community involvement, are encouraged by both English and Japanese teachers, however, their views also show a different emphasis in terms of expression of discontent and senses of responsibility.

9.1.2 Teachers' aims and pedagogical approaches to civic education

Findings on participating teachers' views on the aims of civic education and their pedagogical approaches are discussed in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 respectively. Participants' views on citizenship are reflected in how they view the aims of civic education. As English teachers believe that participation is to effect change through such means as campaigning or leading projects, they feel civic education should equip young people with skills for articulation and negotiation so that they can get their argument across. Japanese teachers also share the view that civic education should empower young people to be active participants, but through such means as policy proposals, petitioning, or voting. Similarly, the critical thinking skills that civic education aims to foster are to challenge and question the status quo in English teachers' views, but Japanese teachers think students should analyse and discern information. Both English and Japanese teachers also see civic education's need to enhance community involvement, but with different emphasis on collective action. English teachers encourage community involvement and encourage students to address collective concerns, while Japanese teachers see reconciling self-interest and collective interest as requirements for collaboration with others. When it comes to pedagogical approaches, English and Japanese teachers both draw on student-led research projects and discussions on political themes. They share a common intention to develop political efficacy skills, such as argumentation and students' interest in their own community. Their pedagogical approaches also focus on familiar topics or relevant issues to students' own lives or their own local community in order to build students' interest in taking part in political processes. Possibly due to the institutional contexts that require political neutrality in the Japanese context, some find it challenging to bring in politically contentious topics into their classrooms. Japanese teachers also emphasise on the relational aspects in their pedagogical approaches, such as critical reflection and considering differences between views and perspectives.

9.1.3 Teachers' life experiences in the past as young citizens and today as civic educators

In Chapter 8, I proposed the importance of heeding attention to teachers' life experiences in the past and present, drawing on the perspective which sees citizenship as practice (Lawy & Biesta, 2006). The findings on participating teachers' reflections on their experiences of their childhood and adolescence (as well as civic education practitioners) offer possible explanations for their views on citizenship and civic education. Chapter 8 suggests that participating teachers views related to maximal, justice-oriented or participatory citizenship are informed by their experiences of challenging or criticising their family's values or government policies. English teachers talked about how they rebelled against their parents' political or family values when they were young, which possibly led to their emphasis on political activism (often including civil disobedience). On the other hand, some of the Japanese teachers' adolescences involved questioning parents' political views and changing their minds. This experience also led to their emphasis on the ability to see multiple perspectives, and critically analysing information. Moreover, the findings also offer a possibility that both English and Japanese teachers in this study developed their spirit of activism through their life experiences. They became aware of structural inequalities of ethnicity, social class, and gender when they interacted with other peers at school, through the opportunities to experience different cultures, and their professional careers as civic educators. It is also suggested in the findings that the spirit of activism may take multiple forms. For instance, English teachers present a sense of justice, such as by having solidarity with marginalised populations to fight for inequality, while Japanese teachers think that social justice can be brought through tolerance and negotiating multiple perspectives through dialogue.

9.1.4 Contextual difference of citizenship and civic education

The different views on citizenship and civic education presented in the finding chapters (Chapters 5-8) also illustrate the contextual influences on English and Japanese teachers in this study. For instance, they have different views about citizens' participation in protesting. English teachers encourage their students to be active citizens who make change through activism, including protests. Civil disobedience is also supported by some of the English teachers in this study. On the other hand, Japanese teachers distance themselves from protesting and encouraging students to take part in it. This is possibly due to the social context, where challenging laws and accepted norms is perceived to be a nuisance to public in Japanese society, while in English teachers' views protesting is citizens' right to seek solutions for matters that affect them. These socio-political and cultural contexts also influence participating teachers' life experiences when developing their spirits of activism. English teachers feel their experiences of fighting against inequality in solidarity with marginalised groups developed their awareness of social injustice, while Japanese teachers think that their experiences of having dialogue to understand and negotiate with others who have diverse values is influential. The comparative findings seem to suggest that citizens can develop diverse forms of activism and means with which to express their awareness of social justice in accordance to social context. For instance, it is explicit forms of activism that English teachers mention, while Japanese teachers tend to talk about implicit forms of activism. These are both means to effect changes, but they are different in terms of challenging the status quo and existing power structures.

9.2 Key findings: Expert civic educators' views and contextual influence

The key findings of this study are about the interplay between English and Japanese teachers' views on citizenship, and the socio-political and cultural contexts in which they approach civic education. Previous studies on civic educators' views on citizenship indicate that personally responsible citizenship is prevalent among both pre-service and in-service teachers' perceptions of citizenship. As Weinberg's (2020) survey data indicates, secondary school teachers with citizenship training in England are more likely to support justice-oriented citizenship, this study explores expert civic educators' views further with details through qualitative interviews. Based on the interviews with English and Japanese teachers with expertise in civic education, this study confirms Weinberg (2020) that expert teachers' perceptions of citizenship are characterised in terms of justice-oriented citizenship (rather than personally responsible citizenship). Findings from empirical data of interviews with expert teachers of civic education also advances theoretical understanding of citizenship practice for social change. This study also considers possible influences from participating teachers' citizenship practice in their life experiences. Participating teachers' views and approaches to civic education mainly correspond with justice-oriented citizenship, which is developed through their experiences that raise their awareness of social injustice. In addition, teachers in this study are also influenced by social or family values which build a certain degree of personally responsible citizenship in their views on citizenship and civic education. Therefore, the findings of this study suggest that teachers are also citizens who practice and experience citizenship in their daily lives and are influenced by broader socio-political contexts. The following sections briefly summarise the findings to discuss theoretical contribution of this study, socio-political constraints on teachers' visions, and influence from teachers' own life experience.

9.2.1 Theoretical contribution: theory of Change.

Exploring participating civic education teachers' views, values, and life experiences, this study contributes to theoretical understanding of citizenship and civic education. The findings from this study suggest that citizenship for social justice involves not only disrupting power relations in the society but also reflective, critical thinking process. The comparison between English and Japanese interview data also unpack diverse views on civic education and citizenship practices. This section briefly summarises the findings from my interview data and discusses the theoretical contribution this study provides. While participating English and Japanese teachers' shared emphasis on civic and political interest (passion), sense of community, and critical thinking skills correspond with participatory, justice-oriented citizenship to some extent. However, their views also tells alternative perspectives to explore nuanced forms of citizenship practice for social justice concern. This is summarised below:

> ***Passion***: To some extent, participating teachers agree that finding interest / passion for a cause brings active engagement in politics, civic life, and social critique. This is similar to Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) argument and explained by the justice-oriented citizenship models. However, interview data I collected also adds multiple interpretations of 'disobedience' and nuanced, diverse ways to be 'passionate, active agents of social change'
>
> ***Community*** : My interview data fits to Participatory citizenship in a way that active involvement in community is emphasised as important element in citizenship. In addition, participating teachers' views suggest that active community involvement and participation in existing political structure are also practices of justice-oriented citizenship. It is manifested as solidarity and shared responsibility to address social justice concerns collectively or to make a positive change to the community.
>
> ***Critical thinking*** : Critical thinking that both English and Japanese teachers talk about corresponds with justice-oriented citizenship with the emphasis on social critique to question the power relationship. Nevertheless, it is not only linked to 'taking part in political protest, activism, campaigning' but also independent thinking or reasoning based on democratic principles and values as well as sense of justice.

These findings lead to the development of an alternative theory (Theory of change) to explain and theorise the participating teachers' views on citizenship, civic education, and experience. The following outlines the proposed ‘theory of change’.

The proposed theory offers insight into citizens’ process to internalise activism or spirit to bring social change such as scrutinising government policies and making informed decisions for one’s civic and political engagement (critical thinking) and reflecting on one’s own or collective concerns to build a passion or interest to address the cause (passion and a sense of belonging). It explains how citizens develop their desire and capacity through finding a passion for a cause, nurturing a sense of belonging, and developing critical, independent thinking skills. These are explained below:

1) Finding a passion for a cause

Finding a cause that interest oneself or feel passionate about leads to active civic and political participation to influence or change the situation. Participating English teachers, for example, explained that participation in political activism or campaigning comes from ‘passion’ for a cause that troubles oneself, something like ‘fire, or empowered feeling. Although expressed with lesser emphasis on political protests, Japanese teachers also share their view that social change comes from citizens’ interest to address their own or collective concerns. Similar to empowered feeling to engage in politics mentioned by English teachers, Japanese teachers also value the personal efficacy such as positive self-image and confidence in oneself. The values placed on citizens’ passion for a cause or interest to address issues of concern brings an implication that civic education can foster agentic citizens if it can offer opportunities for young people to find their concern and passion to address it.

2) a sense of belonging;

A sense of belonging leads to shared responsibility and solidarity which bring collective efforts to transform one’s own or shared place. English teachers mentioned ‘shared responsibility’ to stand up for ‘what's right and what’s wrong’. For instance, this can be community actions to protest against a plan to build a factory close to the park. Japanese teachers also added more relational means to bring a change for common good of community through dialogue and deliberation. One of the participants explained it is an ‘engagement in public affair’ through expressing ones’ opinions and listening to each other. In this case, change is also a process of deliberation through which citizens reach agreement by adjusting their positions and finding a common ground. Although a there is a socio-political and cultural difference, citizens share their passion to make social change collectively or individually for the community they feel they belong to such as school, local community, nation, or global society.

3) critical/independent thinking

Citizens with critical thinking skills can bring social change through challenging the status quo or structural inequality. Findings from interview suggest critical thinking can be practiced in different forms including disobedience to resist the injustice and critical engagement with socio-political issues. English teachers' views vary including 'breaking the law' to resist the injustice and challenging the structure in the 'right way' through critically evaluating socio-political issues and not accepting what is being told. Interview data with Japanese teachers unpacked less combative but analytical types of critical thinking that develops citizens' ability to bring change. For instance, citizens develop their cause of concern through scrutinising the information and seeking accountability for government's policies. Therefore, citizens with the competence of critical analysis of socio-political issues have power to effect change because they can engage with politics based on their informed decisions and independent thinking.

The theory of change also offers an insight that explicit forms of activism alone may not lead to effective citizenship to address social justice. For instance, as English participants noted in the interviews, there is a 'fine line' between civil disobedience for social justice and disturbing the public. It is possible to argue that what makes the difference is whether acts of disobedience come from reflective and internal processes to develop one's passion for cause and critical thinking to be strategic in practice. The findings suggest that one's passion for a cause and a sense of belonging can be motivation to address structural inequality and bring change for social justice, however, effective change requires critical, independent thinking skills. An example is that citizens should be passionate about or interested in collective purpose of community to effect changes, while they also need critical reflection on justifiability of citizenship actions and the potential conflicts of interests. A possible implication for civic education is that opportunities for deliberate, discuss, and debate one's own opinion / positions could foster such capacities. Therefore, the 'theory of change' (passion, sense of belonging, and critical thinking) not only adds values to exploring nuanced, diverse forms of citizenship practice for social change but also offers theoretical understanding of how civic education nurture young people's passion, sense of belonging, and critical thinking to practice citizenship effectively for social change.

9.2.2 Social and institutional constraints

Impact of neoliberalism

Previous comparative studies report that there is a cross-national shift of emphasis toward social and moral responsibility in civic education (Brown et al., 2019; Lee & Fouts, 2005). Given that participating teachers' views in this study are related to maximal, justice-oriented citizenship, interview data also suggests that both English and Japanese teachers' views are partially related to an emphasis on responsibility, conformity, and civic duty (which are aspects of minimal, personally responsible citizenship). Hence, this study partially confirms the cross-national shift in the emphasis toward responsibility. It is possible that the shift may come from the influence of neoliberalism, which impacts political discourse in England and Japan. Both the UK's Conservative and Labour parties endorse personal responsibility of individual citizens and mutual help in communities. Neoliberalism is combined with a patriotic moral tradition in Japanese politics, as the leading party LDP promotes self-sacrifice for the purpose of the collective needs of the nation and individual communities. The emphasis on personal and moral responsibility is also reflected in teachers' views in this study, although not too explicitly.

Both English and Japanese teachers mention personal responsibility when talking about a sense of community. For instance, some of them think that individuals have responsibilities not to drop litter, to close windows after class, and be aware of rules and regulations. Japanese teachers are also similar, as some of them think individuals are responsible for their own communities. However, as an English female teacher suggests, responsibility to the community is fluid- moving and developing from personal acts towards organised community action. In addition, Japanese teachers also refer to moral responsibility and conformity to community, which is often interpreted as civil society. Some think that individuals should reconcile their needs with others in order to contribute to public welfare. Others also feel that individuals should prioritise social harmony, rather than disrupting society with protesting. These views explain Japanese teachers' reluctance to encourage students to take part in protests. The political discourse, which contains neoliberal emphasis, is possibly the contextual factor which explains how a certain degree of minimal, personally responsible citizenship was expressed in participating teachers' views. As neoliberal discourse is cross-nationally influential, this finding also suggests it as a potential explanation for the cross-national emphasis on social responsibility reported by previous studies (Brown et al., 2019; Lee & Fouts, 2005).

Institutional pressure on teacher agency

Both English and Japanese civic education teachers face institutional constraints on their professional agency as teachers. As participating teachers are oriented towards maximal, justice-oriented citizenship, they are keen to empower young people to influence matters that affect them. Nevertheless, they also face a dilemma, especially when dealing with political issues. For English teachers, it is about encouraging young people to be active citizens who bring social change through taking part in political processes (including protests and civil disobedience). Participating English teachers' views are not unanimous when it comes to civil disobedience, as some believe protests should be within the law while others think that citizens can break the law if it is to address injustice. In this study, those who encourage social movements and protests are aware of the risks and try to mitigate them by building students' knowledge bases first. Wood et al (2018) also recommend this approach, however, the potential risk of political indoctrination remains to be a challenging issue for teachers, as civic educators face the dilemma of encouraging young people to bring about social change by engaging in socio-political issues while they also need to avoid taking sides and indoctrinating their students (Kerr, 2000; Wood et al., 2018).

For Japanese teachers, there is also a constraint on their professional agency due to institutional context. As mentioned in previous chapters, education in Japan is depoliticised due to the regulation that teachers are required to avoid introducing political activities and presenting their political views (Yumoto, 2017). In this context, one Japanese participant in this study also noted that his lesson content (which involves discussion on political matters) may not be favoured by the local board of education, although in doing this he exercises his professional agency. Although participating Japanese teachers in this study encourage their students to discuss and deliberate on current political issues in the classroom (Chapter 7), this might not represent the pedagogical approaches of Japanese civic education in general as Tamashiro (2019) suggests there is a psychological burden on teachers to avoid political issues. In fact, critical thinking Japanese teachers emphasise is related to analytical and reflective practice, rather than developing the counternarrative mentioned above. Although the findings of this study may not provide a full grasp of institutional situations, this study offers a partial insight into these participating teachers' attempts to use their professional agency.

9.2.3Minimal, personally responsible citizenship in teachers' life experiences

The findings suggest that participating teachers' citizenship experiences as young citizens and professional civic educators are influenced by nationalism, and conservative and neoliberal values. This then informs their views related to minimal, personally responsible citizenship. As reported in the chapters about findings, teachers' views are related to maximal, justice-oriented citizenship. However, their views also reflect a certain degree of minimal, personally responsible citizenship, which is possibly informed through processes of forming identity based on nationalism, and developing values based on the idea that success is determined by individuals' efforts.

Some of the English and Japanese participants' views suggest that they see identity as a singular, national status of citizenship, rather than a plural one. This is in contrast to a cross-national, plural sense of identity, which some scholars refer to as cosmopolitan citizenship (Osler, 2011; Osler & Starkey, 2003, 2018; Starkey, 2012). Some English teachers believe that British identity is about national unity, traditional culture, and political institutions., while there are also several Japanese teachers who support traditional gender values and patriotism. The findings tentatively suggest that those with experiences of encountering different cultures tend to see identities in plural terms, rather than as the singular status of national citizens. Drawing on Fuss et al (2004) who suggest that experiences of different culture by visiting or studying abroad leads to increased levels of curiosity and open-mindedness, it is possible that such experience leads to a shift away from nationalism endorsed in policy discourse (such as Fundamental British Values (FBV)) (Janmaat, 2018; McDonnell, 2021) or Japanese education policy led by Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) which endorses patriotic emphasis combined with neoliberal values (Kitagawa, 2016).

Japanese teachers' lives as young people and civic education professionals suggests that they are influenced by the neoliberal values of personal responsibility and conservative gender values, however, some of them also made attempts to shift away from it. Combined with an old teaching of *ritsu shin shutsu se*' (立身出世) that supports the moral value of being hardworking, some Japanese teachers in this study share a view that individuals' successes depend on their own efforts, and hard work. This view is also related to the neoliberal emphasis on personal responsibility. Reflecting on their experiences in the past, my participating teachers believe that they were encouraged to work hard to achieve their goals. However, others also question this view and support the idea of '*noblesse oblige*': that citizens have a shared responsibility to address structural inequality. Similar to the emphasis on personal responsibility, some Japanese teachers shifted away or questioned conservative gender values while studying at university or through their professional experiences, while others continue to have the conservative values. These findings suggest that teachers are also negotiating between minimal, responsible citizenship based on nationalism, conservative values, and neoliberal values and maximal, justice-oriented citizenship characterised as civic agency to bring about social change.

9.3 Limitations

While this study can offer contributions to understanding civic education teachers' views on citizenship and civic education, I acknowledge that there are limitations that the scope of this study cannot include, and aspects of the study design I could have done differently. These limitations are my data sample, my data collection, and the complication of human nature. I will explain these below.

9.3.1 Data sample

The size of the data is rather small, as I took a qualitative research approach in order to understand the views of a particular group of civic education teachers. The purpose of this research was to understand contemporary issues and challenges related to citizenship, and how civic education can empower young people to be active participants of society by focusing on civic education teachers who have expertise in citizenship or civic curriculum in England and Japan respectively. This approach narrowed down potential participants to those who met criteria which was explained in the methodology chapter (Chapter 4). As participants are expert civic educators who are knowledgeable about citizenship in England and Japan, their views inform contemporary issues related to citizenship in these two societies, as well as the challenges of civic educators. Nevertheless, the findings are not generalisable due to the small number of participants. In addition, I also am aware that female civic education teachers are underrepresented. both in English and Japanese data. Future studies could take a quantitative approach to explore views from more diverse groups of civic education teachers, not limited to those who with expertise and knowledge about citizenship.

9.3.2 Data collection

Due to the pandemic (during which in-person meetings and international travel was restricted), data had to be collected online. While there are benefits to online interviewing (such as participants being able to choose places at their convenience), the limitation is that online data collection does not allow me to make notes on the atmosphere of the schools where teachers work, classroom observations, and what the surrounding areas are like. This means that schools' local areas, school culture, and the students studying at the schools were not fully explored. I did background searches before interviewing my participants. I learnt about the schools where my teachers work and their school curriculums by checking information available online (such as their schools' official websites). This information helped me to ask some ice-breaking questions, but I acknowledge that fieldnotes could have been more informative and useful. Nevertheless, I exhausted mitigation measures to address the challenges of data collection during the pandemic. The limitation on data collection was beyond my control, because nobody (including myself) could expect the pandemic happen.

9.3.3 Teachers' views may contradict what they do in practice

As this study aims to understand teachers' views on citizenship and civic education, I also acknowledge the possibility that participating teachers might contradict themselves for various reasons. Participating teachers in this study expressed their views on citizenship and civic education, which are related to maximal, justice-oriented citizenship. They believe that they wish to support young people's active participation, encourage diversity and global citizenship, and develop democratic values, nonetheless, it is impossible to deny the influence of my presence as a researcher. Teachers in this study might have exaggerated the sense of justice in their view. Their views on citizenship might not correspond with their teaching in practice. They may also draw on a transmission approach of pedagogy, such as teacher-led lectures aimed at imparting knowledge or information, more than they said they would. This could have been addressed through incorporating classroom observation. However, it is beyond the scope of this study in terms of time, the focus of the research question which examined teachers' views rather than practice, and the circumstances which meant that contacting people in person was minimised. Therefore, it would be wise to leave classroom observation and ethnographical data to future studies.

9.4 Implication of findings for policy makers and practitioners

Findings from this study are also potentially of interest to education policy makers and education practitioners. For Education policy makers, expert civic education teachers' views presented in this study inform about contemporary issues and challenges related to citizenship and the potential of civic education to empower young people. The participating teachers' views presented in this study have a potential to inform education policy makers about what civic education needs to address. The comparative approach is also beneficial for policy makers to understand the cross-national contexts of civic education, and determine the direction for their own countries. Moreover, the views from expert civic education teachers would be beneficial for civic education practitioners to think about the model of citizenship that contemporary society calls for, and how they can empower young people to be active participants. For these reasons, this section highlights the participating teachers' views that illustrate contemporary challenges related to citizenship in today's plural and diverse society, and their professional agency to address the challenges.

9.4.1 Civic education for social justice

The findings suggest that one of the challenges is to bring about empathy for others. In Zembylas's (2015) definition of empathy is the passion and courage to act for social justice, not only about oneself but also for others. Empathy also brings about a sense of being a global citizen to combat injustice around the world. Shultz (2007, p. 255) argues that social justice which eradicates poverty and marginalisation is possible if people around the world are ‘‘joining together’’ through ‘‘deep compassion.’’ However, teachers in this study vocalise that this is not an easy task, especially when it comes to developing a sense of empathy for those who have different values or cultures. For instance, some of the English and Japanese teachers envision the idea of global citizenship, such as interconnectedness with other people around the world, shared history with other countries, and a sense of solidarity. Nevertheless, they also are aware that there are some people whose view is that world is separated according to national borders, rather than connected. Some Japanese teachers also suggest it is a difficult task to bring about empathy toward others' suffering, because young people in Japan tend not see human rights issues such as discrimination as their own concern but somebody else's problem. When talking about the challenge to address diversity among citizens, one of the English teachers suggests it is compassion that citizens need in order to have empathy for others. These concerns and suggestions expressed by participating teachers highlight that citizenship needs to move from what Starkey (2018, p. 154) calls as ‘‘minimalist definition of national values’’ which often reinforces stereotypes. Hattam and Zembylas (2010) maintain that there needs to be a shift away from selfishness and egoistic mentalities toward compassion for others. In this sense, civic education needs to foster what Zembylas (2015) sees as active empathy or compassion to share the suffering of others, which leads to collective efforts to address problems and make a difference.

9.4.2 Social class & disengagement

In addition to the call for civic education to foster empathy and compassion, findings also suggest that there needs to be policy to address social class inequality, which potentially leads to disengagement from politics. It also has a potential risk of causing a gap in access to and the level of civic and political knowledge between those with wealthier background and those who are disadvantaged. Some English teachers who work in disadvantaged areas see that their students are disengaged from politics, feeling it is not for them. Participating teachers encourage those students to see politics as their means to make a difference. In the Japanese context, teachers working in rural, disadvantaged schools report students' political knowledge is so low that they need to start from building basic understanding. This suggests that there is potentially a gap in students' accesses to opportunity for developing civic and political knowledge. These findings confirm previous studies on social class, citizenship, and civic education (Marri et al., 2013; Middaugh, 2008; Weinberg, 2021) that children with wealthier backgrounds tend to have more opportunities of civic learning, compared to those with disadvantaged backgrounds. This eventually leads to disparity in civic and political participation adulthood. As some of the participating teachers feel that those disadvantaged students in particular need to be 'empowered' and see politics as for about them to be involved in, I suggest that education policies and school curriculums need to provide opportunities for young people- especially those who are from disadvantaged backgrounds- to feel their voice is heard and influence on the matters affect them.

9.5 Future direction

To conclude, I briefly discuss a possible direction for future research. I propose the findings from this study lead to further research on teachers' (as well as young people's) agency. Possible directions are discussed below.

9.5.1 Teachers' agency

In this study, participating teachers offered their perspectives on citizenship and civic education. Their views are informed by their own life experiences throughout their childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. Their own careers as professional civic educators today also influences how they see the English or Japanese society. Their life experiences informed their professional agency to equip young people with such critical thinking skills to question structural inequality and ability to make a difference. Nevertheless, findings of this study also suggest that teachers' agency is often constrained by institutional contexts, such as government policy that requires Japanese teachers to be politically neutral (Kerr, 2000; Wood et al., 2018). Thus, I argue that future research should explore how teachers negotiate these constraints in their attempts to act on their professional agency. In addition to institutional constraints, teachers also face a dilemma to foster critical citizens while teaching about laws and social norms (Morris & Cogan, 2001). As suggested by the literature and this research, Japanese teachers have negotiated conservative values in society in their lives, hence cultural and social values are also possible factors that influence or even hinder teachers' agency. In a Japanese context where conservative and traditional values remain influential (especially gender roles) (Eto, 2010; Maeda, 2006; Nakano, 2018), it would be worth focusing on female teachers' agency and exploring how they see their role as civic educators and how they challenge or conform to the conservative values throughout their lives.

9.5.2 Teachers' views and their teaching practice

This study also has a potential to be expanded on to explore teachers' views on citizenship and their teaching practice. As it is noted above, it is possible that what teachers say in the interviews about their views on citizenship might not necessarily correspond with what they do in their classroom. This is due to many reasons, including influence from the context of the interview and the time constraints teachers face in their busy schedules. In order to explore the possible gap between teachers' views and their teaching practice, future research could be carried out with a different research design which involves both interviews and classroom observations. The future study on this theme will be able to bring further insight into the gap between teachers' visions of citizenship and the various constraints they face in their daily work as civic educators. These constraints may include limited amounts of time, their professional training needs, or be specific to each school context in which teachers work. In addition, future study could also have a broader research focus to include students' views and their experiences of civic education at school. For this purpose, interviews with students and classroom observation also offer insights into how they feel about the overall learning experience, and whether the civic education curriculum is helpful for them. Understanding the challenges teachers face as well as students' learning experience will be interesting not only to teachers and students themselves, but also to education policy makers, headmasters, community leaders, and parents. This study shed some lights on teachers' pedagogical approaches, nevertheless, the findings are based on interview data. Teachers' classroom practice and how they deliver citizenship or the civic curriculum in England and Japan were not fully explored through interview data. Therefore, further exploration into their classroom practice is an area worth of future focus.

9.5.3 Differences between Teachers' and children's views

As this study has illustrated teachers' views on citizenship, future studies could focus on young people's views on citizenship. Based on the findings from interviews with teachers, this study suggests that teachers are aware that young people may not be engaging with their community, or at least finding it hard to relate to. For instance, some of the English teachers are concerned that young people are losing a sense of community in their own local areas. Some of the Japanese teachers also are concerned that schools may not be able to develop students' interests in community because it is difficult to allocate sufficient time for students to research on their community independently. Therefore, young people are losing a sense of community or finding it difficult to develop connections to it. Perhaps they are also experiencing a gap between their sense of community and adults' including teachers' views on community. For this reason, future research could focus on how young people feel and think about community. This research question about young people's views on citizenship, including their sense of community, could be part of aforementioned research which involves classroom observations and interviews with both teachers and students. In this case, students can be asked about their views on community and how they feel about their own local communities. Alternatively, future research on young people's views on citizenship could also take on interviews and a participatory research method to explore young people’s views or citizenship practice. The findings from the future research on young people’s views on citizenship could also be compared to the teachers’ views illustrated in this study, or possibly with the findings from further research on teachers’ views and their classroom practice.

9.5.4 Teaching responsibilities and young people’ agency

This study found that both English and Japanese teachers encourage young people’s active civic and political participation. However, findings also suggest that students are recognised as future citizens, or citizens in waiting in some of the participating teachers’ views. Future citizens or citizens in waiting are those who are in process to be prepared to participate in the future rather than being citizens with right and responsibility in the present (Osler & Starkey, 2006; Hanna, 2019). With this perspective of viewing young people as future citizens, civic education is often seen as a means to educate young people to be aware of their responsibility and duties (Biesta & Lawy, 2006). In this study, both English and Japanese teachers believe that teaching responsibilities are also important, as they mention obeying laws, maintaining order, and morality. Participation is often seen as citizens’ responsibility to contribute in Japanese teachers’ views. The emphasis on responsibility has a potential risk to hinder the development of young people’s agency, or their ability to act on their own goals, as scholars suggest that education which focuses on teaching responsibilities fails to develop young people’s awareness that they themselves as well as others are entitled to the universal human rights (Jerome & Starkey, 2022; Howe & Covell, 2010). Howe and Covell (2010, p.99) call this as ‘‘miseducation’’ which fails to equip young people with self-interest and empathy for others. Drawing on this perspective, teaching with a focus on responsibility potentially may hinder young people’s agency. Given that conservative gender values persist in Japanese society, I suggest it is worth focusing on young people’s agency, gender, and social justice. For instance, future study could explore how female students at secondary schools or girls at primary schools exercise their agency in challenging or ‘learn’ to conform to existing gender values which often limit their rights. Gender inequality is also an issue in English society, as some of the participants suggest, hence the future study could also take a comparative approach.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview questions

Appendix B : Generating initial codes

Appendix C : Generating initial themes

Appendix D: Examples of themes and sub-themes

Appendix E: Initial themes on teachers' life experiences

Appendix F : Bird, Bell, and I / Misuzu Kaneko

Appendix A: Interview questions

Section I Interview questions about teachers' views on citizenship

For English teachers

Identity : What kind of identity would you think is required for a good citizen? (e.g. mutual respect and responsibility etc.)

Virtue: What kind of behaviours do you think citizens should espouse / represent in society?

Political involvement: How would you define political literacy and participation in a democratic/ political society?

Social prerequisite: What would you think is required for effective citizenship which encourages people to act responsibly and actively participate in society?

For Japanese teachers

Identity: What kind of identity would you think is required for a responsible citizen? (e.g. respects others, etc.)

Virtue: How do you think citizens should behave as members of the public/ society (Shimin)?

Political involvement: How would you define the political rights and responsibilities of citizens to address problems in society?

Social prerequisite: What would you think is required for effective citizenship which contributes to people's welfare and the formation of a peaceful and democratic society?

Section II Interview questions about teachers' views on civic education (teachers' views on the aim of civic education and their pedagogical approaches).

2.1 What kind of learning outcomes do you think citizenship education should bring about?

Prompts:

- What kind of dispositions and capacities of citizens would you like your students to develop?
- What kind of action would you like your pupils to take in order to solve a problem in a society?
- Could you please provide an example of how you think a student should act in a situation where one should address the problem of ‘World hunger’ for example?

2.2 How do you teach citizenship education to achieve that outcome you have mentioned? Prompts:

- With regard to your goal of citizenship education, how important are knowledge, participation skills, and capacity to make change?
- Why or why not? How would you organise your lesson?

Section III Interview questions about teachers’ life experience

3-1. Social class, ethnicity, and gender

- In what ways do you think social class influences your views on citizenship / citizenship education?
- How about your ethnic identity? Do you think it is influential for developing your viewpoint?
- How do you see your gender identity? Do you think it influences our views on citizenship/ citizenship education?

3-2. Family background and personal relationships

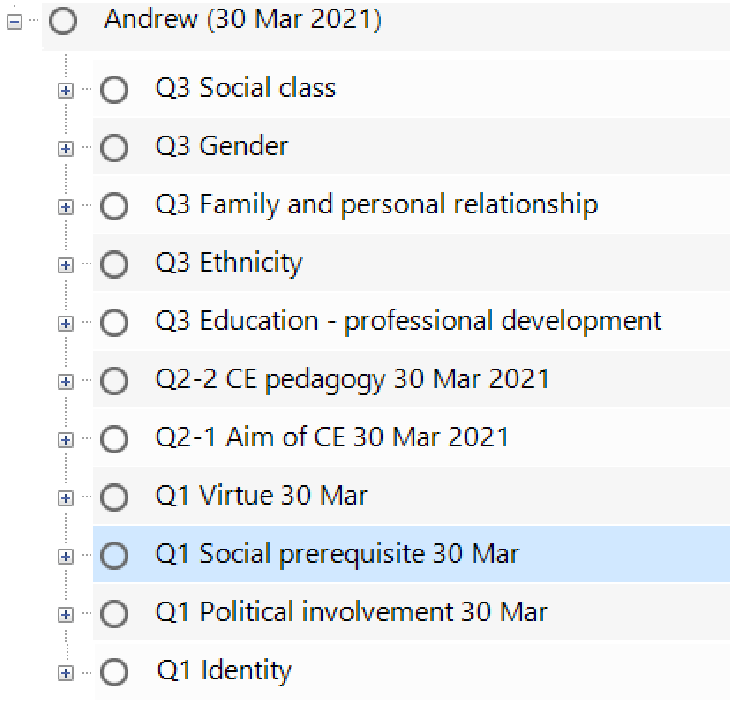
- To what extent do you think your family influenced your views on citizenship and citizenship education?
- Who is the most influential person for you to develop your views on citizenship / citizenship education? (parents, teachers, friends, family relatives, etc) Why?
- Do you remember anyone else who could possibly have influenced you? For example, your work colleagues, students, boss etc

3-3. School where teachers have learnt citizenship education or related studies

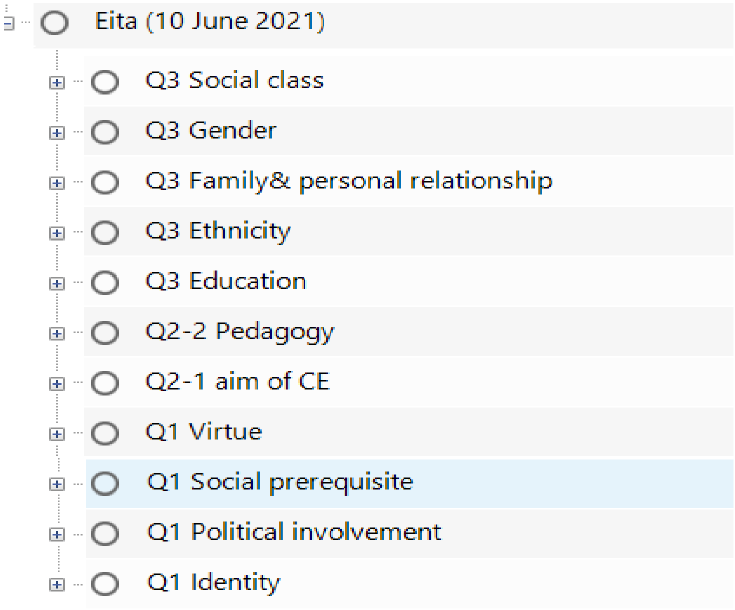
- Based on your experience of learning about citizenship education or related studies, what is the most influential class/ course/ learning materials/ school activities which has contributed to development of your views on citizenship and your citizenship education pedagogy? Why?
- Do you think your educational experience influences your views on citizenship and pedagogical approach? Why or why not?

Appendix B : Generating initial codes

In each interview, initial codes were grouped together based on the relevance to research questions about citizenship (identity, civic virtue, political participation, and social prerequisite), civic education (Aim of CE [civic education]' or 'CE pedagogy'), and life experience (social class, gender, ethnicity, family and personal relationships). An example is provided below:



Andrew (30 Mar 2021)
- Q3 Social class
- Q3 Gender
- Q3 Family and personal relationship
- Q3 Ethnicity
- Q3 Education - professional development
- Q2-2 CE pedagogy 30 Mar 2021
- Q2-1 Aim of CE 30 Mar 2021
- Q1 Virtue 30 Mar
- Q1 Social prerequisite 30 Mar
- Q1 Political involvement 30 Mar
- Q1 Identity

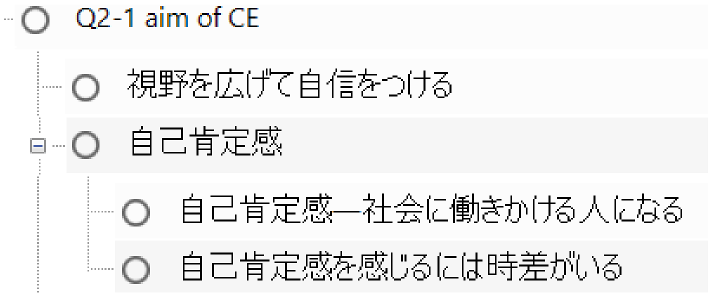


Eita (10 June 2021)
- Q3 Social class
- Q3 Gender
- Q3 Family& personal relationship
- Q3 Ethnicity
- Q3 Education
- Q2-2 Pedagogy
- Q2-1 aim of CE
- Q1 Virtue
- Q1 Social prerequisite
- Q1 Political involvement
- Q1 Identity

Appendix C : Generating initial themes

Below examples of theme development in my research question about the aim of civic education. Initial codes within an interview with Haruto were merged to form two themes which are ‘self-efficacy (*jiko koutei kan* 自己肯定感)’ and ‘broadened perspective (*siya wo hirogete jisin wo tsukeru* 視野を広げて自信をつける).’:

Candidate themes found in the interview with Haruto.



○ Q2-1 aim of CE
  ○ 視野を広げて自信をつける
  ⊟ ○ 自己肯定感
    ○ 自己肯定感—社会に働きかける人になる
    ○ 自己肯定感を感じるには時差がいる

Translation:

Question 2-1 (Aim of Citizenship education)
Broader perspective & confidence (視野を広げて自信をつける)
Self-efficacy (自己肯定感) 自己肯定感　社会に働きかける人になる Self-efficacy: Citizens actively participating to make changes. 自己肯定感を感じるには時差がいる Developing self-efficacy takes time

The two codes were merged to form the theme ‘self-efficacy’ and present a connection to each other as illustrated below:

Self-efficacy	In my sense, **self-respect is about having one’s own will, being able to express it, and the competence to act on it.** I see people with this sense of self-respect as being able to be active participants in society who can make social change through overcoming difficulties and failures (Haruto, male Japanese teacher)
	A sense of confidence or self-respect takes time to develop. For instance, first year students report that they do not feel too confident but they become more competent to act on their will as they go into second and third year. (Haruto, male Japanese teacher)

Appendix D: Examples of themes and sub-themes

SUB-THEMES FOR THE THEME ‘ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP’

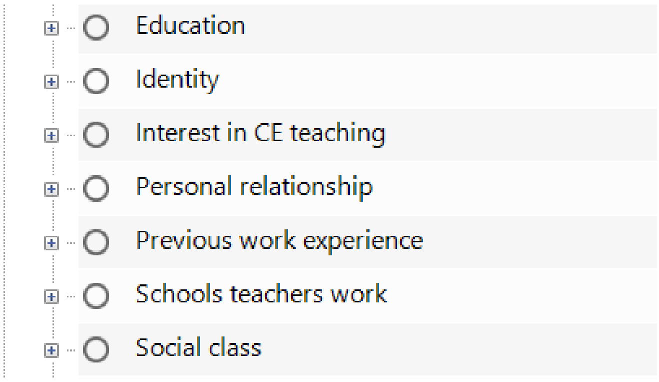
Sub- themes	texts
Hold those in power to account	…what they [students] can do to **hold those in power to account for their action/inaction.** (Larry, male, English teacher)
Active engaged social citizens	[citizenship] should **make sure [students] know how they can make things better within society,** so make them active and engaged social citizens. (Colin, male English teacher)
Year 7-8 citizenship action	[Citizenship action gives] flavour of **making a difference**, being exposed to people who are campaigning on issues of all sorts of issues.. (Linda female, English teacher)
Develop a mind to make change	you are sort of developing [students’] minds “when I am older **what change could I make,** what could the government do to change things, not just accepting that's the way it is, what could we do to make it better. Should everyone go to jail or that sort? (Katie, female English teacher)

SUB-THEMES FOR THE THEME ‘PARTICIPATION’

Themes	texts
Participation in society (社会参加)	I think the aim of civic education is to develop a sense of responsibility to participate in and **make contributions to society**. This includes voting, but I also say it can be a contribution one can make through their profession, like working as an expert with knowledge or expertise. (Kumi, female Japanese teacher,)
Participation in school activity (学校での参加)	[aim of civic education is] to foster attitude or **disposition to contribute**. For instance, it can be active participation in school events, like playing your role for **collective purpose** as a classroom or a school community (Shirou, male Japanese teacher)
Civic action (市民的な行動)	I think civic education brings about an increased level of **interest in public affairs and attitudes to get involved**. In my opinion, it does not always have to be political demonstrations as they are not necessarily good things to do. I would say developing awareness and mindset to participate is just good enough… (Kotaro, male Japanese teacher)

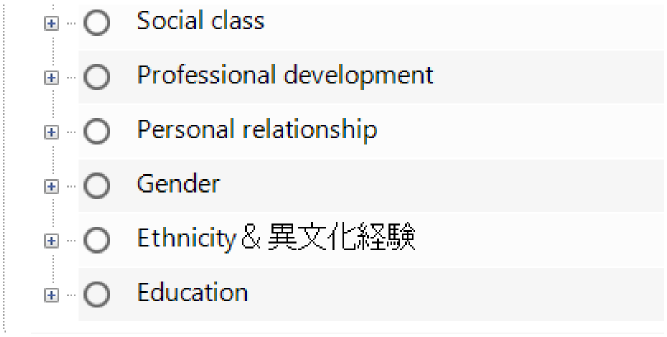
Appendix E: Initial themes on teachers' life experiences

Initial themes on teachers' life experiences (English teachers)



- Education
- Identity
- Interest in CE teaching
- Personal relationship
- Previous work experience
- Schools teachers work
- Social class

Initial themes on teachers' life experiences (Japanese teachers)



- Social class
- Professional development
- Personal relationship
- Gender
- Ethnicity＆異文化経験
- Education

Appendix F : Bird, Bell, and I / Misuzu Kaneko

Bird, Bell, and I / Misuzu Kaneko

Even if I spread my arms wide,
I can’t fly through the sky,
but still the little bird who flies
can’t run on the ground as fast as I.

Even if I shake my body about
no pretty sound comes out,
but still, the tinkling bell
doesn’t know as many songs as I.

Bird, bell, and I,
We’re all different, and that’s just fine.

私と小鳥と鈴と / 金子みすゞ

私が両手をひろげても、

お空はちっとも飛べないが、

飛べる小鳥は私のやうに、

地面(じべた)を速くは走れない。

私がからだをゆすっても、

きれいな音は出ないけど、

あの鳴る鈴は私のやうに、

たくさんな唄は知らないよ。

鈴と、小鳥と、それから私、

みんなちがって、みんないい