

# **Governance Issue on Citizenship/Social Studies Education: Democratic Education and its Paradox Problem**

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## **Abstract**

This study would explore some questions on citizenship/social studies education from the perspective of the governance structure in subject pedagogy. It would research school curriculums in England and Japan, find out the difference, examine the effect of value-relations in subject pedagogy and consider the governance structure of citizenship/social studies education as subject pedagogy. And it would find out that integrating the three processes of citizenship/social studies education leads to a paradox structure, but that there is a way of escaping this dialectically, through spiralled levels.

**Keywords:** subject pedagogy, comparative approach, case study, processes of research, practice and policy.

## **1. Background, Aims and Methods of this study**

Citizenship education is currently bathing in the limelight of attention in education circles around the world. The level of attention being paid to it is high (Arthur, Davies & Hahn, 2008; Davies et al., 2018). However, there is great variety in terms of its content, methods, ways of thinking and forms of implementation, and it varies in complex ways from country to country. In this study, the focus is on the subject pedagogy of subjects such as social studies that assume major responsibility for citizenship education, and governance theory of citizenship/social studies education as subject pedagogy is considered.

Citizenship education is vital for the world's countries and regions because various countries and societies are working to educate their young people into democratic citizens. However, this necessity is not uniform and will vary according to the circumstances and conditions of each country and region. This study will look at and examine the factors and their structure that explain why citizenship education is taught differently in certain countries and regions. These factors include social imperatives, the historical environment and circumstances, the religious and cultural background, the societal importance of morality and ethics, and the degree to which citizenship education is academically developed. These are factors based on the countries and regions of the United Kingdom and England, the United States, the West, and Japan, China, Korea, the East Asia and they have been discussed by many scholars (Kennedy, 1997; Cogan & Derricott, 1998; Cogan, Morris, & Print, 2002; Lee et al., 2004; Jho, 2006; Ikeno, 2011).

The concept of subject pedagogy is a concept of pedagogy that has been created and developed in Japan. Subject pedagogy is education research that constructs a rational, coherent theory of aims-content-methods in relation to a specific subject (area), as the subject (area) exists beyond temporal and spatial constraints. For

example, it could take the form of considering coherent aims-content-methods subject pedagogy theory for what could exist as citizenship education or social studies education, across national and time boundaries, in relation to the subject of citizenship in England and social studies in Japan and the USA.

Many researchers and practitioners are already engaged in the quest to identify commonalities across space and time in citizenship education as subject pedagogy (Arthur, Davies, & Hahn, 2008; Davies et al., 2018). However, there is a great deal of diversity in citizenship education in different countries and regions. This diversity has its roots in the political, economic, social, cultural and ethnic circumstances that exist in each country or region. The complexity of these factors influences citizenship education and social studies education as subject pedagogy, creating dichotomies of realities and values, theory and actuality, research and education and so on, forming a paradoxical structure (Mouffe, 2005).

In citizenship education and social studies education in particular, not only is the concept of democracy situated as an aim, but substantive values such as freedom and equality are treated as content, procedures are regulated as methods, and so the situation is more complex than in other subjects or areas, and the paradoxical structure is clearly apparent. The function of regulation accentuates aims, and lays emphasis on content and methods. An emphasis on content leads to an over-valuing of substantive values and the risk of value indoctrination, while an emphasis on methods leads to over-valuing of procedures and the risk of methodism or formalism. In other words, if social studies education or citizenship education as subjects are tied to democratic education, other aspects are excluded, and this can lead to the paradox of creating the reverse side, or evil face, of this area of education. For as long as citizenship education and social studies education continue to try to bear the banner of democratic education, this paradox is likely to continue.

In order to solve this problem, it is necessary to examine how this paradox arises, why it arises, how it functions and how it can be overcome. For this purpose, this study proposes to unpack this paradox as governance, and provide a solution.

Main research questions in this study are

- How the subject for citizenship education is governed as subject pedagogy?
- What activities are required to govern the subject as citizenship education?
- What difference is between Asia and West in citizenship education and why?

This study (1) takes England as a representative case of the western world and Japan as a representative case of Asia, (2) analyzes citizenship education research and practice in both countries from the perspective of subject pedagogy and (3) clarifies the characteristics of citizenship education, together with associated factors and reasons, as subject pedagogy in both areas. The methodology used in this study is a comparative approach based on case study.

This study would explore these questions from the perspective of the governance structure in subject pedagogy. This study has three faces on method and procedure:

Phase 1:

Finding out the difference in the function and role of subject pedagogy for citizenship education in school curriculum of Europe and Asia, focused on England and Japan.

Phase 2:

Examining the effect of value-relations on subject pedagogy for citizenship education in England and Japan: the effect of the subject “Religion” to the subject “Citizenship” in English school education and the subject “Moral” to the subject “social studies” in Japanese school education,

Phase 3:

Considering the educational structure, relationship between objectives, contents and methods for becoming citizen in England and in Japan,

This study would research school curriculums in England and Japan, find out the difference, examine the effect of value-relations in subject pedagogy and consider the governance structure of citizenship education as subject pedagogy.

## **2. Case Study**

### **2.1 Citizenship education research and practice in England**

Until recently in England, social science related subjects consisted of geography and history, and there was no teaching of civics education subjects or integrated social studies subjects. Citizenship education was also very vague. In this respect, the introduction of “citizenship” as a subject from 2002 is highly significant. “Citizenship” is set in the curriculum as a compulsory subject at Key Stages 3 and 4 (Years 7-9 and Years 10-11), corresponding to the junior and senior high school stages in Japan. In primary school, at Key Stages 1 and 2 (Years 1-2 and Years 3-6), it is optional rather than being a compulsory subject, but schools are encouraged to incorporate it, with recommendations made to include it in Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE), which covers individual and character education, social education and health education.

There were various factors in the background to the introduction of “citizenship”. Crick (2002, p.114), who headed the advisory group on the introduction of “citizenship” as a subject, stated that “citizenship” was introduced to change political culture at national and regional levels. That is, the aim was not merely to produce well-behaved, law-abiding citizens who would comply with the government, but rather was a bid for “active citizenship”, situated as “the radical agenda of civic republicanism” (Crick, 2002, p. 114). Citizenship is not reading and understanding something and then being able to behave on that basis. The important thing is action at first hand. However, that does not mean that citizenship can be achieved just through volunteer activities. Practical learning of the knowledge, competences, skills and attitudes needed to cope with society, represented by the community, is important. Using the word knowledge in its wide meaning to include all these aspects, Crick (2002) argued that what is needed to make citizenship effective is “not an abstract or an academic comprehensive knowledge, but a practical knowledge of what levers of power are relevant to particular intentions (p. 106)”, emphasizing that it is practical knowledge that needs to be developed.

In the words of Crick, the aim of “citizenship” is not “to restore or create good citizenship”, but “learning of active citizenship” (Crick, 2002: 115). The point of “citizenship” is in the specific mission outlined below (DfEE & QCA, 1999: 12):

To teach “them (children) about economy and democratic institutions; encourage respect for different national, religious and ethnic identities, and to develop pupils’ ability to reflect on issues and to take part in discussions.”

The first feature of “citizenship” is that it deals not only with knowledge and understanding of politics, economics and other aspects of contemporary society, but also extends to values and attitudes. The second feature is respect for diversity. In particular, diversity of identities is evident. The third feature is the emphasis on discussion about society and participation in this discussion. These features are clearly apparent in the subject aims of “citizenship” (DfEE & QCA, 1999: 6).

- becoming informed citizens
- developing skills of enquiry and communication
- developing skills of participation and responsible action

One researcher who provides a new perspective on citizenship education as an independent subject in England is James Arthur. He states the following (Arthur, Davies & Hahn, 2008: 305)

“In Britain there is little attention given in modern educational discourse to religion and its role in shaping meanings of citizenship. In part this is due to the fact that many of the organizations that seek to promote a discourse on citizenship education are secular bodies that present issues of religious identity and faith in the language of community, equality, diversity and values. .... Consequently, accounts of citizenship in educational studies generally omit positive references to religion.”

Arthur presents the religious viewpoint as a new perspective on citizenship education, and emphasizes the relationship between citizenship education and the spirit of Christianity. In particular, he stresses the importance of religion in relation to secularism, and points out that the spirit of Christianity is influential in citizenship education. This observation could be interpreted as one of the specific characteristics of western citizenship education. This is an important observation, as it has not previously been pointed out in the research literature.

Arthur’s observation that the spirit of Christianity is at work in citizenship education does not mean that moral and religious values such as the virtues of tolerance and loving one’s neighbour are important or should be important. It means that when students think and discuss or take action in citizenship education, what is sought is absolute universality based on values such as community, equality and diversity, rooted in the foundation of the spirit of Christianity.

In citizenship education in England, each unit progresses based on standards of what is right and what is wrong as knowledge, skills and understanding are acquired. This is a major point of difference when compared to citizenship education in Japan and many other Confucian-heritage Asian countries. Citizenship education in many Asian countries is based on relative universality, and decisions are made not about what is right, but about what is more right.

While there is a long history of citizenship education research in England, citizenship education as a subject has been created and is being implemented in response to the demands of religious and cultural context and the pressing needs of society. In terms of content, as Arthur points out, it is characterized by the common framework of socially important morals and ethics based on religion in the form of the spirit of Christianity. In England and other western countries and regions, citizenship education takes many diverse forms, and may be implemented across whole school education, or as an independent subject, or as social studies. Apart from this feature of diversity, the following three points can also be made.

First, citizenship education is situated in the school curriculum in some form or other. In England, it is clearly defined as an independent subject.

Second, it is linked to national and societal development. The subject of citizenship in England aims for democratic social integration in UK society.

Third, citizenship education has the Christian value of absolute universality as a hidden standard. Absolute universality is brought to bear on decisions and judgements about actions, and about good and bad in society, and it has an important influence as a standard of judgement. It takes on aspects of the role of moral education in thinking about and judging good and bad in society. In these countries and regions, religious education exists as a subject, but moral education is not a subject. It could be argued that citizenship education is assuming the function of moral education.

## **2.2 Citizenship/social studies education and citizenship education and related research in Japan**

In many Asian countries and regions, as in Japan, citizenship education is carried out as social studies education, and its content is diverse. In Japan, citizenship education is generally taken to be education to develop qualities of a citizen, that is citizenship, necessary for assuming responsibility as a member of society (Ikeno, 2011). In relation to social studies education carried out in school education in Japan at present, it is generally seen to represent a wider range of educational activity than social studies, covering whole school education or even being situated as educational activity as a whole, incorporating social education as well.

On the other hand, citizenship is also a blanket concept encompassing the nature of social studies as a subject, and it is a concept that is invariably used in defining social studies. For example, the nature of social studies education in Japan has been defined in social studies pedagogy as a subject “to develop citizenship qualities through social understanding” and in the “Course of Study” as having the subject aim of “developing civic qualities and abilities” (Utsumi, 1971: 7).

In Japan, while the concepts of “citizenship qualities and abilities” or “civic qualities and abilities”, concepts that can be taken as virtually synonymous with citizenship, regulate the nature of the subject of social studies, there actually exists a certain sense of distance in practice between social studies and citizenship education. This is partly caused by the fact that social studies has been regulated as one subject through the Courses of Study. In Japan, problematization of this issue of this sense of distance has been used as a rationale for proposing a wide range of diverse types of social studies education theories and practices that diverge from current practice in social studies. It is a fact that valuable debate considering the nature of social studies is being conducted now.

In this way, citizenship education in Japan, taught as a single subject as social studies, can be said to exhibit the following two features.

First, citizenship education is linked with social studies as school subject when it is situated in the school curriculum. In one way, this gives it an established position, but it also leaves ambiguity. As social studies comes in first place, citizenship education always has to take second place.

Second, it is linked to the nation. The perspective of development and progress of society is much less prominent than citizenship education as the foundation for creation and development of the nation state. In this sense, citizenship education is more concerned with the development of national citizens than citizens in general.

In addition to these features, there is also a tendency for citizenship education in Japan and Asia to be conducted as though its standards were “natural,” with a dependency on history, politics, economics and culture (Parmenter, 2004: 94). As far as right and wrong in nation and society or judgements and decisions about actions are concerned, judgements are based on what has happened so far, a relative universality based on time and situation. Overall, the spirit of Confucianism which is prevalent in Asia is often at work as a standard for judgement. It could be argued that citizenship education in the Asia region can easily be linked with moral education.

### **2.3 Discussion**

What are the philosophical concepts that need to be secured in conducting citizenship/social studies education policy, practice and research as subject pedagogy, in comparison of citizenship and social studies education in England and Japan? What kinds of problems are entailed in actually realizing these? How can these problems be grasped and solved? Investigation of these problems is the concern of this study.

It has become the norm for citizenship/social studies education to be conducted along the lines of divisions between theory and practice, or research and education. It is normal for this same division to be evident in countries all over the world. However, from the perspective of school teachers, who are located on the front line of cutting-edge educational practice, this division of labour splits them into two or three personae. They actually carry out citizenship/social studies education, situating themselves and negotiating the roles of researcher, policy implementer and practitioner as the situation requires. In this situation of reality, conflicts and contradictions can arise. It is possible that these conflicts and contradictions could be inherent to the theories and processes of citizenship/social studies education research and practice. In particular, social studies, which has democracy as a concept of the subject, seems to inherently contain a paradox in the realization of this concept, which individual teachers cannot help but re-create.

Based on this awareness of the problem, there seems to be a necessity for action and work that embraces citizenship/social studies education as a whole, integrating the theory-producing research process with the policy process of structuring and implementing education in society, and the practice process that creates the reality of education. This seems to be precisely the role of an academic organization, and is a research concern. In the sections that follow, class observations will be made about the research context and practical context, issues for research investigation will be identified, and a basic foundation for their consideration will be laid out. Based on this foundation, problems to be solved will be clarified, strategies for resolution will be created, and possibilities

for how construction of a new form of citizenship/social studies education could be progressed using these strategies will be examined.

### **3. Problems in the research**

#### **3.1 Problems constructing subject pedagogy theory**

So far, the construction of citizenship/social studies theory as subject pedagogy has been propelled based on emphasis on three positions. The first is theory connecting the elements of aims-content-methods. This is the theory of making mutual links between the three factors of aims, content and methods as subject pedagogy (Utsumi, 1971). The second is aim-centred theory. Content and aims are selected and organized based on the aims of each subject (Ikeno, 2009). The third is education foundation theory. The aim here is to study how school society works as the educational foundation supporting the three elements of aims, content and methods.

For as long as such theory building has been carried out as an academic activity, it has been regarded as neutral and objective (Moriwake, 1999). However, is it really so? Is academic research not an activity conducted within the confines of real society? Do vested interests have no part to play in the construction of valid rationality? And could these not be a continuum of a varying phase rather than separate, individual cases?

If this is the case, each individual theory construct is relative, does not have universality, and is always subject to ideological criticism, and can only obtain temporary validity through thorough critical analysis by individual researchers and groups of researchers, or by undergoing the closest criticism conceivably possible (Ikeno, 2008).

#### **3.2 Problems of theory building in citizenship/social studies education**

In the construction of subject pedagogy theory, the construction of citizenship/social studies education theory encounters the additional complexity of having as its aim a values problem, namely, the creation of democratic society and education for this purpose – citizenship education (Ikeno, 2001, 2003).

Citizenship/social studies education is connected to the values of democracy, and is charged with teaching this. Consequently, through the teaching and learning of democracy, it promotes independent value formation among students. As it prohibits value indoctrination, values cannot be taught directly. If the selection of values is free, totalitarianism also becomes a permissible option, as happened in the Nazis' legal seizure of power. This is where the paradox of democracy arises (Mouffe, 2005: 1-16).

#### **3.3 Methods of study**

In this study, there is no dismantling of the various dimensions involved in the construction of subject pedagogy theory, but the three aspects of research, policy and practice are taken to constitute a linked spiral of varying structure, and a solution to the paradox will be sought through rethinking each dimension as a governance problem.

Governance is the integration of variance on each dimension, in other words, management, control, leadership and critical appraisal of one's own position and value choices. Rather than just managing subject pedagogy theory, citizenship/social studies education theory and unit (lesson) theory separately, this study would like to attempt a change of theory construction by eliciting relationships in collaborative/participatory government (governance) from the links in each of the higher-ranking distinctive features.

By recasting citizenship/social studies education theory as a "governance" problem, citizenship/social studies education and its theories transcend autonomous academic education in theory construction, educational practice and administrative policy and, if undertaken as collaborative/participatory government (governance), citizenship/social studies education itself is situated as part of citizenship education (research). Is that governance not precisely the role of the academic association?

### **3.4 Consideration**

#### **3.4.1 Questions**

The following seven questions are addressed and investigated in this section.

Q1. Why is the issue of governance being put forward?

Q2. What is governance?

Q3. How is this different from previous research?

Q4. Why has governance not been an issue so far?

Q5. Has there not been a problem with citizenship/social studies education research, what was the problem, and how are attempts being made to solve it?

Q6. Is research on governance issues limited to research on citizenship/social studies education?

Q7. Is governance not an issue related to the very roots of subject pedagogy research?

#### **3.4.2 State of the issue**

If we think rationally about the area we refer to as citizenship/social studies education, it is possible to divide it into three areas.

The first is that citizenship and social studies education is only possible when implemented as subject pedagogy in actual school situations. In this sense, it is citizenship/social studies education implemented as individual lessons in classes in each school. This is the level of teachers planning, implementing and improving lessons, and carrying out new developments.

The second area is practice in this process implemented within the framework of laws and politics, rules and norms, administrative orders and regulations. It is impossible to say that the practice of school education has no societal guarantee. Citizenship and social studies lessons are incorporated as one element of this process. The third area is not only examining the process of citizenship and social studies education objectively in terms of lessons and policy, but constructing contextual theory and models, working out relevant concepts, ideas and philosophies, and theorizing citizenship/social studies education itself. This is known as education theory research, and citizenship/social studies education also has a place in education theory research in the framework of subject pedagogy.



In practice, these three areas are organized as the three processes of practice, policy and research, and are treated as independent entities.

These three processes are represented in diagrammatic form below.

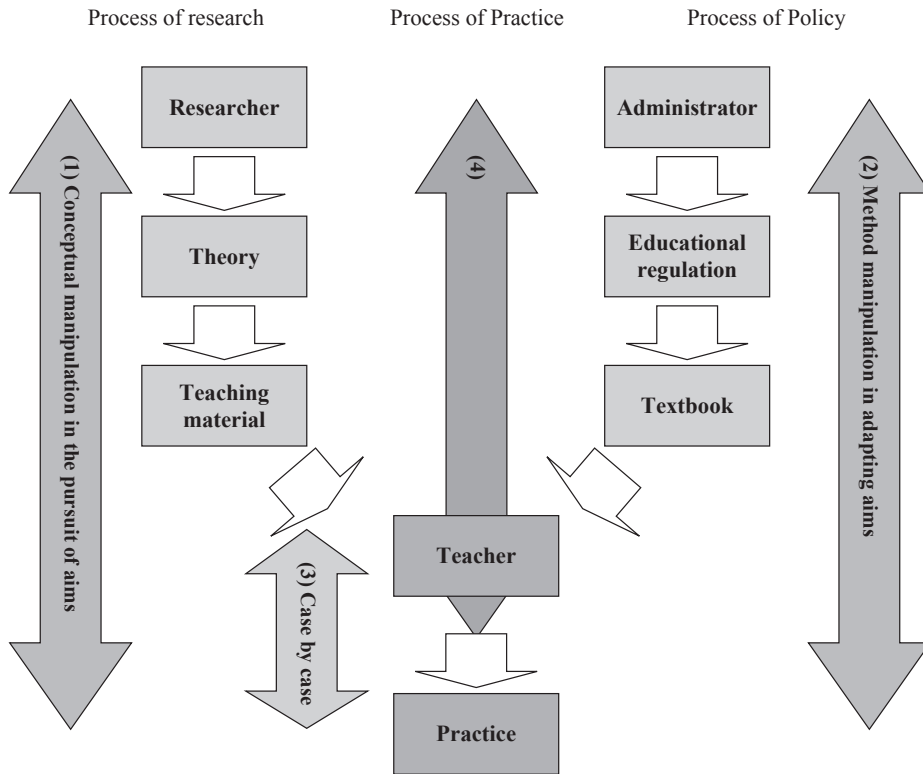


Figure 1: three processes of citizenship/social studies education

Figure 1 shows the three processes involved in citizenship/social studies education as subject pedagogy. The following four points can be identified as problems of governance issues from this figure.

First, the processes of practice, policy and research have progressed on the basis of different lines of reasoning. Second, each operates according to different modes of management and, accordingly, different standards of rationality. Third, the three processes originally centred on the process of practice and are linked. Fourth, the final point is that results evaluation of the effectiveness of citizenship/social studies education is done by teachers teaching students.

The first and second problems basically concern the question of whether different logic and rationality are individual matters or should be connected in different ways, and form the first point of debate. The third problem requires investigation in relation to the first point of debate, and the way in which this relation is formed is the second point of debate. There could be a tight connection, a loose connection, a secret connection. In other words, just as there can be strong democracy and weak democracy (Barber, 2009, chapter 5 & 6), a strong framework of subject pedagogy could be created and applied to the three processes of social studies, or a weak

framework could be created and loosely applied. The fourth problem evades judgement of results of the three processes so far, and pays no attention to them. There has been no clarification of what is actually happening in the classroom, or what students are actually gaining. There has certainly been analysis of lesson protocols and partial video analysis of what is happening in classrooms, but this is partial. Overall, holistic study has not yet been done. Understanding of students' overall learning results in the classroom, and facilitation of judgement about those results is necessary.

### **3.4.3 Governance issue**

Looking at these three processes in terms of strong connections, weak connections, close connections or loose connections leads to the elicitation of places to investigate and direct. This is the governance issue.

In general terms, governance is governing and controlling. Organizations and groups govern themselves soundly. Without using the specific term, one could follow Stanley (1992, pp. 98-99) in using Gramsci's term, "hegemony." Elsewhere, Stanley used the words "government" and "govern," and no longer uses hegemony. Perhaps he changed the use of words for ease of understanding.

Governance does not stop at managing the rationality problem scientifically or administratively, but progresses critically, in an integrating way, based on higher-level concepts and motives, laws and standards. These concepts can be used to explore the problems above in greater depth.

The following six characteristics can be suggested from the three areas/processes in Figure 1.

A: Each of the processes is progressing as "optional."

B: In the research process, (1) Conceptual manipulation in the pursuit of aims is frequent, based on the principles of "science." Scientific rationality. Paradigms.

C: In the policy process, (2) Method manipulation in adapting aims is generally conducted along the principles of "management/administration." Management rationality. Management framing.

E: Teachers tend to use (1) conceptual manipulation in the pursuit of aims and (2) method manipulation in adapting aims in a manner that suits them. Instrumental rationality. Trial and error.

F: The process of citizenship/social studies education is probably a process of these three linked together. Even if they exist as separate processes, they probably merge in the final analysis when the teacher makes choices about process. In this case, it is probably necessary to conduct one operation independently.

G: The three processes may actually be integrated through teachers of citizenship/social studies themselves integrating the three areas of research, policy and practice.

The problems emerging from the above characteristics can be synthesized in any number of ways. This issue of possibilities is the issue of governance.

### **3.4.4 Three sub-issues to be solved in the governance issue**

The governance issue is not an issue that can be elucidated at a single stroke. In this study, it will be divided into three sub-categories.

**(1) Sub-issue 1: Is it possible to expand the breadth of choice to the maximum? (Choice maximization issue)**

First, as can be seen in Figure 1, the three areas and processes are all progressing as options. Citizenship and social studies teachers, education administrators and education researchers, wherever they are located, progress to the next stage through some kind of choice. This kind of process is a normal thing in democratic society, and is perfectly natural. The guarantee of such choice represents the nature of democratic society, and provides grounds for the concept of citizenship/social studies education as a subject in democratic society for the development of citizens who will create democratic society.

The problem is the extent to which this choice is guaranteed. In theory, all options are open. In practice, it is well known that options are confined within a certain range. If options are limited within certain constraints, choices are narrowed, and it becomes difficult to implement change and reform in citizenship/social studies education.

How can wider choice be made possible? This problem is linked to the issues below.

- Is choice possible beyond each paradigm?
- Is the expansion of possibility of choice dependent on the conscience of researchers?
- Is it not impossible for educational choice to exist free from administrative regulation?
- How far can teachers understand each paradigm and framework, and are there not limits?

Answers to these problems will not be explored any further here, but it seems that these issues should not be reduced to the conscience and ethics of each individual, but that the work of expanding possibilities of choice is the work of the academic association.

**(2) Sub-issue 2: Is it possible for all options to operate according to coherent tenets and principles? (Coherent principle issue)**

If possibilities of choice were expanded, there is still no guarantee that choices would not become blurred. Even researchers sometimes produce contradictions, are attracted by other ideas, and go in other directions. In educational administration, there is a great deal of flexible change dependent on changes in society and the times. It is very difficult to guarantee coherence.

The issues involved here are as follows.

- For as long as researchers, practitioners and administrators stick to their specific tenets and principles, will the possibility of choice not be permanently narrowed?
- Is it possible to reach agreement on coherent tenets and principles for education in society? Is this something decided by opinions of the majority?
- If coherent tenets and principles cannot be agreed and cleared by society as a whole, will there not be a risk of simply falling into case-specific trial and error?

If response to these problems is reduced to the efforts of individuals, there will never be any hope of development. It is a question of either taking a perspective of evolution theory dependent on curtailment of

freedom and entrusting education and research to the long history of humankind, or of presenting a general framework within the boundaries of which coherence can be guaranteed.

In this study, natural selection theory is eschewed in favour of a loose framework theory, providing a perspective from which to examine measures to maintain coherence of tenets and principles. By doing this, an attempt can be made to achieve possible coherence. There is no guarantee that a good result will be produced, but adoption of this way of thinking prioritizes the merit of working towards judgement through trial.

### **(3) Sub-issue 3: What decides whether the results of selection are good or bad? (Judgement of results issue)**

Theory, policy and practice produced by coherence of choice are judged as good or bad dependent on the results they obtain for students. There are two problems here. One is the collection of information and means of data collection regarding the results obtained for students. The other is judgements about that data.

Data collection is quite difficult in education settings. This is because it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which a particular lesson has had an effect. In addition, if judgements are made, decisions about the criteria to be used for judgement need to be clear.

- How are the results of any choice to be judged?
- How are realization of concepts, realization of administrative goals, realization of children's achievement objectives to be judged?

If criteria for judgement place importance on the research process, and the realization of concepts places importance on the administrative policy process, and the realization of policy places importance on children's learning achievement, then the realization of children's achievement objectives will be accorded importance. In this case, all three end up being accorded importance. This is the structure of the paradox.

## **4. Conclusion: The Democratic education and its Paradox Problem**

If citizenship/social studies education as subject pedagogy is taken to be a three -process structure, it is often split into three processes for the purposes of investigation. When this happens, each progress as a separate structure, and they can never be integrated into a linked structure. Attempts to achieve a unified, linked structure lead to a never-ending circle of (1) expanding choice, (2) achieving coherence of tenets and principles and (3) setting criteria for the judgement of education results.

This paradox can be thought to arise from two factors. The first factor derives from division of the 3 processes. Dividing the process of education into research, practice and policy is the starting point of this observation. This is shown in Figure 1. Education is divided into three processes, not integrated.

The second factor is that social studies as a subject is situated as part of democratic education. Democracy and democratic education are two things rolled into one. These are the guarantee of the validity of procedures and the guarantee of specific values of democracy such as equality and freedom. These are compounded, are democracy and democratic education are used. When citizenship/social studies education as subject pedagogy is situated as democratic education, it cannot simultaneously achieve both aims of procedures

and content, and if it emphasizes procedure, it tends to become formalized, while if it emphasizes content, it tends to become too specialized. Procedure and values of democracy are not joined, then do not realize aims of democracy.

It is quite difficult to find a way to escape from this paradox. The only way to escape is in a dialectic way, changing the levels of the spiral.

The conclusion of this study is that integrating the three processes of social studies leads to a paradox structure, but that there is a way of escaping this dialectically, through spiralled levels.

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