

A Framework for Controversial Issue Gatekeeping within Social Studies Education: The Case of Japan

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Abstract

This article addresses how social studies teachers in Japan might employ a framework for addressing controversial issues. This framework recognizes multiple and overlapping contexts for curriculum and instruction decision making, including the classroom, community, and society. It also categorizes the state of topics among five levels, ranging from deeply taboo, silenced and unknown to student, taboo, controversial, free discussion and deliberation, and settled with little or no disagreement. Finally, we submit recommendations for pre- and in- service teachers, teacher education departments, and educational policy makers to reconceptualize how they think about controversial issues in light of the essential democratic normative mandate to teach them.

Keywords: Controversial issues, Japan, Curricular instructional gatekeeping.

INTRODUCTION

Similar to other free societies, Japanese education generally has limited time and makes few efforts to confront controversial issues in social studies classes. Too little concern for addressing controversial issues is evident as many teachers' views tend to agree with the majority or consensus view and teachers avoid risks by not venturing too far into uncomfortable topics (Shaver, Davis, & Helburn, 1979). This problem seems to be one of growing seriousness, however, as the nation continues to drift toward more reactionary views and as political constraints hamper legitimate efforts to educate democratic and justice-oriented citizens.

A radical approach to social studies may not be recommended or welcomed, but instruction in social studies must involve more than textbook reading and recitation. To that end, the work of developing tolerant, reflective, and engaged democratic citizens hinges upon the full release and discussion of controversial issues in the classroom and without this educative mandate realized, students are ill-prepared for their eventual exposure to prejudicial and propagandistic entrepreneurial efforts (Misco & DeGroof, 2014). Every free society, including Japan, struggles with this most critical and foundational educative enterprise (Misco, 2012; Misco & DeGroof, 2014). In response to this mandate, we propose how teachers might employ a framework to teach controversial issues in conscious and deliberate ways, while being cognizant of multiple contexts external to the classroom. We believe that teachers in free societies should make their classroom a forum for democratic action and should not hesitate to address controversial issues that hold meaning for future citizens.

CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES

Dewey (1933) situated doubts and controversy as a central fulcrum in the reflective thinking and pragmatic problem solving process. Without doubt and controversy, there is no occasion for reflection, only perception and recognition. Doubt, as found in controversial issues, which are always normative and sometimes moral, fuels the active search for answers and prompts judgment to filter and weigh the reasonability of meanings, ultimately leading to decisions based on reasonable grounds, which is the purpose of social studies education in Japan (Kusahara, 2014; Katakami, 2006; Kobara, 1987; Moriwake, 2001). Positioning students to have opportunities to address and confront controversial issues has profound implications for the health and vibrancy of democratic societies (Misco & DeGroof, 2014).

Given the importance of teaching controversial issues, Japanese social studies teachers have adopted the inclusion of numerous issues in their classrooms. Teachers tend to believe that teaching controversial issues is beneficial for student development of learning skills, as well as creating their own arguments and deliberating the issues with others. Also, teachers assert that utilizing controversial issues in their classrooms provides students with opportunities to formulate normative and value-oriented beliefs. By creating learning experiences involving analysis and evaluation of differing opinions and values underlying issues, teachers can position students with opportunities to revalue prejudgments and beliefs (Iwasaki, 2017).

The teaching of social studies as history, or as any other social science discipline, is a perversion of the field (Kusahara, 2008; Barton & Levstik, 2004; Sanaga, 2009; Watanabe, 2004). Descriptive history is not, after all, a natural reality but rather a constructed reality. Therefore, teachers need to encourage students to reconstruct history in terms of relevance to contemporary society and its problems (controversial issues), as well as students' own interests and concerns (Ikeno, 2006).

Controversies evolve and change over time. The social process of mediating these conflicting ideas is essential to build consensus (Yoshimura, 2001) and the opportunity to "examine issues and solutions" positions students to "reflect and rebuild their system of values" (Mizoguchi 2012, p. 5) is essential for civic life. Controversial issues are contested, normative, moral, and require attention, deliberation, and some degree of resolution in order to build more justice-oriented and democratic local, national, and international institutions. Yet, Japanese social studies teachers are likely to avoid teaching the authentic controversial issues including poverty, domestic violence, and bullying, and instead prefer to choose "authorized problems" as located

within the textbook covered, such as unfair labor practices and false accusation (Kusahara et al., 2015). Other research suggests that roughly 20% of Japanese social studies teachers who were asked to teach geography decided to embed controversial issues within their classes, including nuclear energy and free trade policies (Kusahara, 2012).

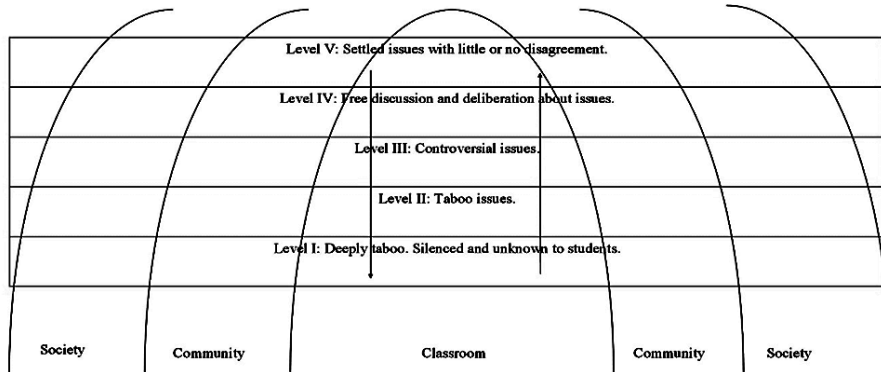


Figure 1. A framework for controversial issue gatekeeping

This paper builds upon and extends the idea of controversial issues as “tipping” (Hess, 2009), which refers to the evolution, change, and development of an issue within a context. Because it is often difficult to determine whether an issue is open, closed, or in the process of changing (Hess, 2009) and because multiple stakeholders in different contexts may view the current controversial state of an issue differently, we propose a framework to help teachers and teacher educators to make conscious and deliberate gatekeeping decisions about controversial issue inclusion. Of particular note is that this decision making is predicated on teachers recognizing the value of broaching controversies as a part of citizenship education (Misco, in press).

Some controversial issues are simply not known to students because of their intensely taboo status. For example, children are not exposed to a variety of topics when they are young and they are not even aware of their existence (Figure 1). Similarly, older students and citizens in authoritarian and totalitarian states are sometimes not aware of issues that are taboo. We refer to this stage of unknown taboo issues as Level I. In Level II, students are aware of a topic, such as religion, but do not discuss it in classrooms because they may not feel an open or welcoming climate to talk. Or, it simply is not something they are ready to discuss. The teacher is pivotal in deciding the extent to which Level II topics remain taboo within their classrooms or whether they should “pull the topic up” into the realm of discourse (Level III). Given the multiple realities, experiences, and identities within a single classroom, as well as the school and community contexts, topics might be taboo for some students and not others. A topic that might be taboo for the students may not be for the teacher. In short, teacher judgment is profoundly important in making these determinations.

Once a teacher unearths a taboo topic and “pulls it up” into the realm of discourse, it will likely take on a controversial status, whereby the various and competing beliefs not universally shared by students undergo reconsideration. Over time, this topic can enter Level IV, whereby students freely engage in deliberation and discussion. Although universal agreement may not be achieved, the electrifying element that results in

vehemence, argumentation, and discomfort recedes in Level IV to a point of normalized conversation and inquiry. Ultimately the end of Level IV should be tentative resolutions in Level V, or the reevaluation of values, laws, or policies resulting in a more justice-oriented and democratic local, national, and global contexts.

As this process of teacher decision-making about taboo and controversial topic occurs in classrooms, the issue also lives within the other domains of the school, community, and society. Part and parcel of curriculum instructional gatekeeping (Thornton, 1991) is the need for the teacher to recognize the status of the topic within the realms outside the classroom (Figure 1) and make contextual determinations about which topics should enter the classroom and their reasons for doing so. Certainly many factors enter into this judgment, including age of students, standards, school climate, parents, administrators, and other stakeholders. Yet, it is essential that the social studies teacher recognize their obligation to teach controversial issues for the health of democracy (Misco & Shiveley, 2016).

Additionally, it is beneficial for teachers to engage in meta-recognition on the extent and type of their curriculum instructional gatekeeping. Focusing on teacher dependence on context and independence as intentional agents, we classify teachers, based on observations and experiences as teacher educators, into the categories of: autonomous-independent, subjective-controlled, and situated-context. The autonomous-independent teacher primarily focuses on their classroom and is not heavily influenced by concerns external to the classroom. Given this level of autonomy these teachers could either substantively focus on controversial issues or ignore them altogether. This sort of teacher is the most promising, as well as potentially nefarious, as it relates to inclusion of controversial issues in classrooms.

Subjective-controlled teachers are influenced by contexts external to the classroom, but these do not deterministically influence them. For example, as is often the case with the Japanese social studies teachers, even if teachers working at the same school were equally influenced by the purposes of school management, principal initiatives, and the orientation of the education board, their implementation can be different because of their own beliefs and rationales of social studies education (Kusahara et al., 2014). The teacher thus inhabits multiple layers of variables and forces influencing their gatekeeping decisions. As a result, classrooms within the same school can exhibit great variability in terms of which topics are discussed and in what depth. This level of autonomy is similar to the mutual adaptation construct related to curriculum implementation. The vast range of variables external to the classroom informs teacher decision-making on a case by case basis.

The situated-context teachers (e.g., those found in totalitarian states) are primarily focused on that which is external to the classroom and they do not deviate from the position of the issue as it resides in the school, community, or society. Similar to the “fidelity” construct within curriculum implementation, this kind of teacher lacks autonomy (or has ceded it) and is a conduit of whatever forces are informing curriculum and instruction decisions. As a truly democratic society would not have teachers practice in this way, this sort of teacher represents the most hazardous and noxious position for free and justice-oriented citizenship education.

In the next section, we describe our thought experiment about how teachers might design a social studies unit focusing on a controversial issue while referring to the framework. We chose to begin with a thought experiment as prefatory to an empirical study in order to test hypotheses and reflect upon a range of possible outcomes, consistent with Dewey’s ideas (1933) on the psychological processes of reflective inquiry.

A CASE OF GATEKEEPING: TEACHING THE USE OF THE ATOMIC—BOMB DURING WWII IN JAPAN AS A CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE IN A CLASSROOM IN HIROSHIMA

In this hypothetical gatekeeping narrative, we assume a situation in which a teacher endeavors to teach about the use of the atomic bomb during WWII in Japan as a controversial issue in a classroom in Hiroshima. Through this focused and contextualized gatekeeping narrative, audiences can construct more concrete images about how the framework could be utilized, how the “subjective-controlled” (neither “autonomous-independent” nor “situated-context”) gatekeeping as typical in Asian democratic society could be done, and how it might be helpful for stakeholders (e.g., parents, school administrators, community members.)

Understanding Context

In this hypothetical situation, Suzuki Naoko as a 9th grade social studies teacher at a middle school in Hiroshima, Japan. She believes teaching controversial issues is crucial because when students are exposed to multiple perspectives while they deliberate normative and contested issues, they have the opportunity to grow as tolerant and open-minded citizens. Based on this premise, she has introduced manifold views into her social studies classroom to create discussions and expects her students to digest, revalue, and utilize them as lenses to critique and understand social phenomena.

At Ms. Suzuki’s school, the 9th grade social studies curriculum consists of civics and Japanese history. Similar to many social studies teachers in Japan, Ms. Suzuki has taught Japanese history chronologically. One day, when planning a unit about WWII in Asia, she is faced with the content related to the use of the atomic bomb during WWII in Japan. She decides to teach the topic using critical approach. Yet, because she feels stress in doing so, she chooses to utilize the aforementioned framework in order to determine the reasons for the emotional burden that she is experiencing and to resolve this burden in order to teach about the use of the atomic bomb during WWII in Japan.

First, Ms. Suzuki wants to confirm spatial scales which are classroom, community, and society on the horizontal axis of the framework. Community and society surrounding school and classroom would be varied depending on the characteristics of topics. Considering the characteristic of the topic, the use of the atomic bomb during WWII in Japan, Ms. Suzuki defines “community” as Hiroshima because Hiroshima is the city that was directly attacked by the atomic bomb and its government and its people have special interests in how to teach the tragedy. Additionally, she defines society as “Japan” because the Japanese government provides *gakusyusidouyouryo*, Japanese national curriculum, that carries legal binding force on how and what to teach. The national discourse in the curriculum surrounding the use of the atomic bomb during WWII in Japan also has strong influence on how to teach the topic.

After confirming spatial scales of the framework, Ms. Suzuki starts to think about the level of controversy she plans to unleash (Table 1). To begin with, she distinguishes between just mentioning the topic in her classroom and teaching the use of the atomic bomb during WWII in Japan as a controversial issue (Hess, 2009). Given the scale of society, Japan, she considers that dealing with the use of the atomic bomb during WWII in Japan is not controversial at all (Level V). Most social studies textbooks that were authorized by the Japanese government include descriptions about the topic and encourage teachers to teach it. Furthermore, the discourse of the textbooks suggests there is general agreement on the topic; Japan is the only country that was attacked by

the atomic bomb. Moreover, Japan overcame the tragedy and has pursued a peaceful world without nuclear weapons (e.g., Sakaue et al., 2015).

Table 1. The context of teaching the use of Atomic bomb during WWII in Japan in a classroom of Hiroshima

V	○	○	○
IV			
III			
II	✓	✓	✓
I			
Level of Discourse	Japan	Hiroshima	Classroom
	Scale		

○: Dealing with the use of atomic bomb during WWII in Japan in a classroom in Hiroshima

✓: Teaching the use of atomic bomb during WWII in Japan as a controversial issue in a classroom in Hiroshima

Alternatively, Ms. Suzuki judges that teaching the use of the atomic bomb during WWII in Japan as a controversial issue is a fundamentally alternative narrative. For example, the socially agreed upon discourse in Japan does not involve details about what Japan did during WWII. In other words, the official discourse only mentions the tragedy caused by the use of the atomic bomb, how the Japanese overcame it, and how they tried to pursue a peaceful world without nuclear weapons. It is not difficult to imagine that introducing multiple perspectives on the topic, including the causes that led to the dropping of the bomb, which are different from the official discourse, will collide with the official discourse in such a way as to render it taboo (Level II).

In the scale of community, Hiroshima, Ms. Suzuki considers that there is no problem with teaching the use of the atomic bomb during WWII in Japan because teachers in Hiroshima are actively encouraged to teach the topic (Level V). This topic is so deeply rooted into the identity of Hiroshima and its people that most schools provide special lessons about the topic every year. Similar to the scale of society, Japan, Hiroshima also has an agreed discourse on the topic, and that is well expressed in the aim of the Hiroshima Peace Program which was published by the City of Hiroshima: “Considering the tragedy of Hiroshima, students are expected to understand about the preciousness of individual’s life and the dignity of human being, and have desire and disposition for contributing to realize permanent world peace as citizens of international, peaceful and cultural city” (The City of Hiroshima, n.d.).

Additionally, symbols of Hiroshima such as the Hiroshima Peace Memorial (*genbaku dome*) and the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum deliver messages similar to the city’s peace education policy, even though the museum explains, to a certain extent, Japan’s invasion of Asia and the attack on Pearl Harbor (Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, n.d.). In a scale that is being informed by a singular discourse as is found in Hiroshima, Ms. Suzuki thinks that teaching the use of the atomic bomb during WWII in Japan as a controversial issue in a classroom would be taboo (Level II).

In the context of her classroom, Ms. Suzuki feels comfortable to teach the use of the atomic bomb during WWII in Japan because the Japanese national curriculum and Hiroshima’s peace education policy

support teaching the topic (Level V). Alternatively, she thinks that introducing multiple perspectives that are different from the agreed discourse in Japan and Hiroshima would be taboo because the atmosphere of society and community strongly affects her classroom's dynamics, and there is a good chance that descendants of survivors might exist in her classroom and may be offended by perspectives outside of the official discourse (Level II). Furthermore, she also worries about how other teachers and parents of her school view teaching the topic as a controversial issue.

Gatekeeping

Given the context of teaching about the use of the atomic bomb during WWII in Japan as a controversial issue in a classroom in Hiroshima, Ms. Suzuki might learn that a teacher who challenges prevailing discourses may feel uncomfortable in broaching divergent views, but also the members of society, community, and classroom may experience a similar feeling. Moreover, she also problematizes the situation that students did not previously have enough opportunities to be exposed to other possibilities or interpretations because a strong discourse concealed other potentialities.

Ultimately, Ms. Suzuki decides to adopt an inquiry-based approach to elevate teaching the use of the atomic bomb during WWII in Japan as a controversial issue from the realm of Level II to Level III. She thinks there are two main benefits with utilizing this approach. First, this approach diminishes students' psychological burdens or fears caused by being exposed to other views that differ from their own. Students are guided to understand and compare multiple perspectives and asked to develop rational answers to the unit's central question and naturally are exposed to the perspectives dissimilar to their own. Because inquiry learning asks students to recognize alternative views as subjects of analysis rather than as subjects of unconditional acceptance, they can deliberate and discuss multiple perspectives with less emotional pressure.

Second, this approach provides a position for Ms. Suzuki to escape the criticism that might be caused by introducing multiple perspectives on the use of the atomic bomb during WWII in Japan. The discourse of Japan and Hiroshima on the topic has overlooked the possibilities of other discourses, such as Japan's accountability in the tragedy. As such, the citizens of Japan and Hiroshima may raise objections to the introduction of other perspectives that differ with their own. However, the Japanese national curriculum emphasizes the development of students' critical thinking skills that is deeply connected to the goal of social studies. If criticized, she plans to answer the following question: "For students to have opportunities to develop habits of critical thinking while inquiring and comparing different ways of understanding the topic, I adopted multiple perspectives to think about the use of the atomic bomb during WWII in Japan."

To design an inquiry-based unit, Ms. Suzuki tries to come up with a central question. Central questions should not be answered easily and its answer should be varied according to students' knowledge and beliefs. As a result of the right central question, diverse and conflicting answers create provocative classroom discussions. She develops the questions "Was the United States justified in dropping the atomic bomb for punitive reasons given Japan's actions throughout Asia?" and "What is the lasting impact of the use of nuclear weapons during WWII in Japan?" Additionally, for guiding students to explore the whole history surrounding the topic, she prepares three supporting questions that cover the events before and after the tragedy (Table 2).

Table 2. A unit plan: "What is the lasting impact of the usage of atomic bomb during WWII in Japan?"

(for more details, see Kim & Kusahara, in print)

- Was the United States justified in dropping the atomic bomb for punitive reasons given Japan’s actions throughout Asia? - What is the lasting impact of the use of atomic bomb during WWII in Japan?		
Supporting Questions	Performance Task	Learning Materials
What events during WWII led the U.S. to use nuclear weapons in Japan?	- Create a flowchart, based on evidence, of the events that led the U.S. to use nuclear weapons in Japan during WWII.	Source A: A map of Imperial Japan’s territory in 1942 Source B: An article about the history of Hiroshima Source C: A video of Truman’s speech after dropping atomic bomb on Hiroshima
How did the use of the atomic bomb affect Hiroshima, and how did the city’s residents react to this?	- Write a journal entry for August 6, 1945, as a person who lived in Hiroshima.	Source A: The number of casualties in Hiroshima from the atomic bomb Source B: A video about dropping the atomic bomb on Hiroshima Source C: Images about Hiroshima after the atomic bomb Source D: An article about Hiroshima’s movement to peace
Who should the word “we” represent in the memorial cenotaph for the atomic bomb victims, which reads, “Let all souls here rest in peace for we shall not repeat the evil?”	- Make a claim about who should be “WE” in the memorial cenotaph for the atomic bomb victims, which is “Let all souls here rest in peace for WE shall not repeat the evil,” and share one’s claim through “take-a-stand” activity.	Source A: The memorial cenotaph for the atomic bomb victims Source B: Remarks by President Obama at Hiroshima Peace Memorial Source C: An article from The Mainichi “Atomic bomb survivors, residents welcome Obama’s visit to Hiroshima” Source D: An article from The Mainichi “Ex-Hiroshima mayor decries Obama’s Hiroshima visit without apology” Source E: An article from The Mainichi “Chinese media raps Japan for ‘playing victim’ through Obama’s Hiroshima visit”

Ms. Suzuki intends that students learn about what happened before the use of the atomic bomb in international context while answering the first supporting question, “What events during WWII led the U.S. to use nuclear weapons in Japan?” She prepares three learning materials for students’ inquiry: A map of Imperial Japan’s territory in 1942, an article about the history of Hiroshima, and a video of Truman’s speech after dropping the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. Through reading the texts and creating a flow chart of the events that led the U.S. to use nuclear weapons in Japan during WWII, students are expected to understand the generally silenced rationale for using the atomic bomb during WWII in Japan.

The second supporting question, “How did the use of the atomic bomb effect Hiroshima, and how did

the city's residents react to this?" is raised to understand Japan and Hiroshima's discourse one more time. Ms. Suzuki thinks that deep understanding of "my" or "our" discourse is a prerequisite to compare it to other ones. She prepares four learning materials for students' inquiry: the number of casualties in Hiroshima from the atomic bomb, a video about dropping the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, images about Hiroshima after the atomic bomb, and an article about Hiroshima's movement to peace. After learning what the use of the atomic bomb caused in Hiroshima and how the people in Hiroshima overcame it, she plans asking students to write a journal entry as a person who was in Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. As a result of this activity, Students have opportunities to empathize and deeply understand the discourse of Japan and Hiroshima.

The third question, "Who should the word 'we' represent in the memorial cenotaph for the atomic bomb victims, which reads, 'Let all souls here rest in peace for we shall not repeat the evil?'" is the highlight of this unit. Ms. Suzuki thinks Obama's visit to Hiroshima and the various reactions of stakeholders who are related to the visit are valuable for introducing multiple perspectives into her classroom. She prepared five learning materials that are related to his visit, but dealing with the event in different ways: the memorial cenotaph for the atomic bomb victims, remarks by Obama at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial, an article from *The Mainichi* "atomic bomb survivors, residents welcome Obama's visit to Hiroshima," an article from *The Mainichi* "Ex-Hiroshima mayor decries Obama's Hiroshima visit without apology," and an article from *The Mainichi* "Chinese media raps Japan for 'playing victim' through Obama's Hiroshima visit." She intends that students learn about how other countries think about Hiroshima. Also, she wants her students to understand there might be different viewpoints even in the same city. Students are encouraged to make their own claim about who should be responsible for the tragedy that happened in Hiroshima and should work to not "repeat the evil." Individual claims are shared within a "take-a-stand" activity, which expresses one's stance as a location in a physical space and discusses why they choose the spot. Ms. Suzuki intends to transform a singular discourse classroom on the tragedy into public sphere that students can express their own opinions on the issue.

Based on the inquiry, Ms. Suzuki plans a summative performance task of designing the last ten feet of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. Based on their learning through this unit, students are expected to answer what they think about the impact of the use of nuclear weapons during WWII in Japan and design their own last ten feet of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE GATEKEEPING

This narrative of gatekeeping illustrates how to utilize the aforementioned framework. First, teachers who want to design a unit with controversial issues need to confirm spatial scales that are on the horizontal axis of the framework. Each scale might be grounded in a different context, so considering the number and the type of scales is crucial to teaching controversial issues. Second, teachers should distinguish between just dealing with a topic in a classroom and teaching the topic as a controversial issue. Some topics are readily accepted by a society or community and are freely discussed among its members, but they also can be taught as controversial issues because of teachers' gatekeeping to educate democratic citizens (Hess, 2008; 2009). Therefore, teachers need to understand the difference between the two and consider this distinction in their decision making. Third and finally, teachers should develop rationales to explain and potentially defend their decision-making (Misco, 2017).

Additionally, this thought experiment provides a pathway for teachers regarding what to consider and how to approach the process when designing a unit with controversial issues. The first consideration is that every topic, even though the topic may be settled and freely discussed in a society or a community, can be taught as a controversial issue. The addition of nuance and normative questions invite reconsideration and reevaluation of topics and issues that are seemingly settled and accepted. As mentioned in the gatekeeping narrative, dealing with the use of the atomic bomb during WWII in Japan in a classroom in Hiroshima is not controversial at all. However, it can be taught as a controversial issue by adopting multiple perspectives on the topic that differ from the existing one and provide students the opportunity to share one another's opinions on the views. To transform a topic to a controversial issue, teachers should be the first ones who pay attention to the discourse of the other. The discourse of the other, including those found in other regions or nations, would be good resources to excavate different perspectives from the existing one.

Introducing multiple perspectives that collide with the existing views in a society or community might invite criticism from members of a society or a community. However, in democratic societies such as Japan, the mandate to educate democratic citizens through deliberation and discussion cannot be emphasized enough. In order to effectively defend their decision-making against possible criticism, teachers need to marshal evidence that they are mandated to teach controversial issues given governmental guidelines such as a national curriculum or research within a field.

CONCLUSION

We recommend that social studies teacher educators, as well as pre- and in- service teachers, employ this curriculum instructional gatekeeping framework to ensure that controversial issues are consciously and deliberately examined in their classrooms. We also suggest that researchers begin to empirically study the use of the framework within classrooms. As evidence begins to emerge, these data can inform new iterations of and modifications to the framework. In addition, teacher educators need to provide more training on controversial issue instruction, through workshops, conferences, and their own classes. Administrators also need to reconceptualize their understanding of social studies education and support their social studies teachers to make thoughtful decisions and cultivate an autonomous gatekeeping climate that encourages controversial issue instruction. Without fully understanding this central concern of social studies education, teachers would find little reason to modify current instructional, curricular, and structural approaches to citizenship education. If this view is perpetuated, the health and vibrancy of democracy and citizenship education will forever be in peril.

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