

Geographical Education and Nationality

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I. Introduction

This paper concerns the relationships between geography and two linked ideas that have created and shaped the world of humankind in the 20th century. Those two ideas, nationality and nationalism, are considered as projects of the field of geography itself, and as the responsibility of geographers and their ways of thinking, carried into the classrooms of national education systems.

For the purposes of this discussion, nationality is the realization by the self that one belongs to a group - the nation; for most of the 20th century this has been most widespread form of group self-identification and the most prevalent cultural determinant at the present time. Nationalism is a style of thinking or philosophy that believes the nation to be the source of creative energy and well-being; in our times and in most places it is the dominant political philosophy. The nation state is the spatially-organized expression of nationalism, emphasizing the nation's territorial imperatives through national boundaries, national capital, national education, national economy, and so on; it is the preferred form for organizing political space over most of the earth.

Nationality (or national feeling) has several meanings. Most important for this discussion is the feeling of belonging to a group, a self-identification by adherence in thought or action to a group thought to be separate from other groups. In this *de facto* sense, nationality exists regardless of any official recognition or propaganda by any government, party, or organization. There are the 'ins' and the 'outs' - those who belong and those who do not. Identification is the key feature of

nationality - it is usually voluntary, being taken for granted, learned, or consciously or unconsciously adopted. This identification and attachment has been evident among humanity since ancient times but has assumed great importance over the past two hundred years.

Nationality has another meaning, of official or *de jure* recognition, as with citizenship of a state. A person may be born into a nationality, take it willingly as a gift, be given it through marriage or adoption, or be forced to accept it. Many states promote this legal definition of nationality, awarding it as a precious gift, not to be bestowed or undertaken lightly, perhaps restricting its recognition to those born within a specific area, or within specific years, or who pass some other "test of citizenship." This kind of nationality invariably brings privileges with it; for example, voting rights and the right to be a participant in national social programs.

Nationality is not the same as ethnicity - a term which connotes membership in a community defined by parentage or inheritance. However, individuals and governments may use ethnicity as the principal marker of nationality.

For a *nation* to exist this self-identification is essential. No specific identifying feature is essential to the existence of a nation: neither language, nor religion, nor parentage, nor a land or a specific piece of territory, although these may be used to define a specific nation. Nor is a specific nation necessarily defined by acceptance of a declared set of beliefs, ideas, and ideals. What a specific nation is, a matter of historical and geographical contingency, not a matter of sociological, political, or psychological theory. Indeed a nation may exist without any carefully considered and conscious recognition of a specific set of features which distinguishes it in the mutual adherence of its members.

Recent statements within the history of ideas have focused on *nationalism*; for example, Isaiah Berlin argues that nationalism, the prime mover of political history for at least the past century, brought no intellectual lineage with it from the 19th century (Berlin, 1991). 19th century social philosophers predicted neither nationalism's growing power nor its 20th century dominance of world affairs. Nor did 20th century political commentators predict the toppling of the Soviet system or

nationalism's present-day reversals of postwar European federalism.

Liah Greenfeld, in her ground-breaking study of nationalism (Greenfeld, 1992) in England, France, Germany, Russia, and the United States of America, argues that nationalism in the modern world can, as a political philosophy, be defined this way or that. In reality, nationalism is nation-specific; the loyalty that nationalism demands and the nationality on which it rests is quite different from one country to another. If this is so, and Greenfeld has many nation-specific examples to support this point of view, it provides a foundation for a restated and spatially differentiated human geography. Remaking our understanding of the human world becomes an exercise, not of regional division by some statistical criterion or set of criteria applied across humanity, nor by discovering the rules of spatial interaction, but by discovering how nationalities and nationalisms have emerged and knowing about their singular and distinctive forms of spatial relationships and geographical organization. In this task knowing about the impact on school geography of the nation-specific features of nationality and nationalism and of school geography on those features is one of the keys to understanding.

II. Geography, Nationality, and Nationalism

That the history of our field of geography can be viewed through the lens of the idea of nationality is almost self-evident. A cursory survey of the history of geography among the geographical megapowers (e.g. France, Germany, Russia, Britain, United States) shows how intimately the spread of nationality and nationalism (whether benign or virulent) was aided or abetted by the ideas, work, and personalities of the founders of the different national versions of the discipline.

The relationship between geography and nationality has not been emphasized over the past several decades because of the almost complete dominance of the discussion of geography as science, especially as spatial science. The geography of the previous century was criticized as being "exceptionalist," that is, divorced from the aims and aspirations of science and thus not

worthy of inclusion among the sciences as they were developing from the 1940s onward.

However, the geographers of the previous decades no doubt thought they were creating knowledge in what they understood to be the scientific spirit of their times. The positive science of the geography of the middle decades of the 20th century took a much narrower view of what constituted science than the broader conception of science as "organized knowledge." Moreover, the work of geographers of that earlier phase was intimately bound up with national programs to educate the citizenry. The new mass schools with compulsory attendance for several years for all children in the state, were sponsored by the national states, and had, as a principal task, the promotion of nationality and the foundation of the national welfare (Boli, 1989). Geography was enlisted by governments to be in the forefront of this development. Of course, the degree to which this was so varied from one national state to another; nevertheless, in virtually every country where national school systems were created, geography was the key to the development of the national idea, as expressed in nationality and nationalism, more than any other branch of knowledge, with the possible exception of history.

The rise of geography as spatial science was accompanied by a widespread decline in school geography. Decades of neglect, although slight in some countries, in others amounted to virtual abandonment of geography as an important part of school curricula.

However, beginning in the 1980s, the relation of geography as it is perceived by the national state and to programs of education, has undergone another shift in its foundations. Country after country (and state after state) is spring-cleaning its school geography curricula or creating new curricula if none existed.

These lines of thought open up a set of questions about geography's relationship to national policies and national aspirations. Three questions come to mind:

- (a) Can the history of geography be given new insights by emphasizing its connection with national programs for school geography and their intentions regarding the structure of the

political world?

(b) Given the mutual reinforcement of school geography and national awareness over the past century and a half, how do the new and newly-revised school curricula in geography relate to the questions of nationality and nationalism?

(c) Despite geography's recent lengthy career as a transnational science, distinctive national traditions have been powerful enough to merit separate national chapters or sections in recent histories of the discipline. To what extent does geography's relationship to nationality, national character, and national curricula set the research and teaching tasks of the discipline and what distinctive features of academic geography in the different countries result from that interaction?

Two of these questions are examined: first, question (a) with a brief reconstruction of the history of geography paying particular attention to the time when both geography and nation state became firmly established; second, question (b) with a review of recently revised or newly developed school curricula in several countries, which gives evidence that there are new trends in geography's relationship with nationalism. Most of this discussion concerns the northern Atlantic world; however, many of the questions raised can be asked in any national context where geography curricula are developed and promulgated in a national governmental context to prescribe geography in school systems.

III. Brief History of Geography

Our current world of nations and their nation states but, more particularly, the widely-held ideas of nationality and nationalism, in all their forms, are related in their origin and spread to the development of school and academic geography. Nationality and nationalism together are the most powerful political propellant of our age; our discipline has been a willing or unwitting instrument in their construction as the dominant idea in the organization of human life.

Geography as Cosmology

From the 15th to the 19th century geography was an all-inclusive cosmological enterprise which moved from a medieval compound of theory, myth, and description to an integrated study of nature and life, the interest of educated people and participated in by some of the most prominent minds of the time.

During this long age of geography's ascendancy in western social and intellectual life, the dynastic state was the norm. Education was largely the responsibility of the religious establishment, especially in Catholic countries, where the education of the children of the faithful was a closely-guarded prerogative. Geography's home was the fashionable society, the public lecture hall, the library - not the schoolhouse. Its practitioners were men (and some women) in scientific societies, in state mapmaking, and in travel to "unknown lands."

National Geography

Geography and its relation to the political and social structure began a new phase at the beginning of the second half of the 19th century; it was associated with the spread of nationalism and the rise of the nation state. Mass schooling in geography sponsored by the fledgling nation states was inaugurated to create and cement the idea of nationality among the people. Subsequent to this huge task came the development of state-sponsored graduate schools in geography to supply an adequate corps of geographically literate and knowledgeable teachers and teachers of teachers. The faculties of the new graduate schools and many of the geography teachers and others wrote geography books and developed programs of geographical research and writing to undergird the rapidly developing academic geographical establishment and to provide an intellectual justification of geography to society at large.

In his recent book on the intellectual history of geography, David N. Livingstone describes, in extensive sequences of pages, aspects of the history of geography in several nation stages in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Livingstone, 1992, *passim*). The main concern of Livingstone's account is the historical engagement between geography and the principal intellectual

issues of the times in question. At issue in several sections of the book are the organicist (Neo-Lamarckian) trends in the work of geographers in several countries during the heroic period of academic geography (ca. 1870-1930).

The temporal conjunction of the popular spirit of the age (nationalism) and the intellectual spirit of the age (organicism, following the revolution in biology) argues for a cause and effect relationship between the two; however, which brought the other to the forefront is not easy to determine. Suffice it to note here that nationally prominent geographers did as much as any group of discipline-oriented intellectuals to promote that connection in their work (see Livingstone, 1992, *passim*).

It was into the nexus between nationalism and social evolutionism that geography was promoted as a school subject and developed as an academic discipline, within specific national contexts. More than that, the nature and content of geography was an expression of the societies whence it sprang. That is, it reflected the particular national circumstances in which its growth was fostered, accommodating itself consciously to the nationalist and Lamarckian spirit of the age, or perhaps unconsciously accepting the foundation upon which the society was building itself, or at least reflecting the policy of government which sought to increase, through the use of geographic education, the power and influence of the national state.

Geography as the Science of Space

New ideas spread through geography, beginning in Europe and North America in the 1930s and 1940s. These ideas promoted geography as science, rejected its "exceptionalist" history and adopted the epistemologies of "natural science" and "social science." While the earlier cast of geography was international (literally - "between the nations"), the "new geography," was transnational (literally - "across the nations"). The teaching of geography declined in some national school systems, was virtually abandoned in others, or became a fossilized version of the geography taught in the earlier era. Regional geography and political geography became outcasts. College and school courses on specific regions were abandoned. Older methodological guides; for example, Hartshorne's *The Nature of Geography* (Hartshorne, 1939) were called into

question. In time, several perspectives began to compete for the philosophical underpinning of the discipline: in physical geography, positive science for strictly biophysical subject matter and open system analyses of environmental studies when humanity was an important or dominant actor; in human geography, positivist, humanist, marxist, structuralist, and other points of view. Many of the linkages between human and physical geography were strained or even broken; in the minds of some commentators the split was profound in both theory and practice (Johnston, 1986).

National Geography Again?

Evident by the 1980s (and continuing into the 1990s) is another set of changes, including a strong revival of school geography impelled by the imperatives of the national states (themselves invigorated by the break-up of the USSR and the breakdown of its satellite system) and by a resurgent national particularism. Associated with this, in some kind of sea-change, was a secular decline in the significance of the mid-century positivist backbone of the social sciences. *Regional geography* of the comprehensive kind began to gain ground again and some mending of the split between human and natural (physical) geography got underway.

IV. New National Guidelines for Geography

This section discusses newly-mandated or proposed guidelines for geography curricula in Norway, the United States of America including the State of California, Japan, and England. Included are (a) the salient features of curricula (in boxes), (b) the intentions behind the curricula as revealed in prescriptive government documents or in proposals for adoption, (c) commentary for each curriculum on how it relates to the subject of this paper, and (d) a discussion of the common and distinctive features of the curricula.

NORWAY Based on *Curriculum Guidelines for Compulsory Education in Norway*, Ministry of Education, Oslo, (no date: ca. 1990).

Intentions. Children should know about their roots as individuals as well as members of a society and should understand their continuity with the past. They should develop a respect for the natural environment, understand the need to protect it, and take on a responsibility for it. By learning about other cultures, children should come to respect other ways of life. They should also respect the opinions and beliefs of others and, by doing so, learn to live in a democratic society. They should understand the need for cooperation within Norway and between Norway and other countries. By engaging in field study and other exercises children should learn to participate in creative activities, should become responsible for their own actions, and should become self-reliant.

NORWAY

Elementary School - Grades 1-6

Geography a Key Field

Peoples and Societies Before Us
 Norway and the Nordic Countries
 Special Study of the SAMI people
 Europe and Other World Regions
 Forms and Natural Basis of Life
 Resources and Industry

Secondary School - Grades 7-9

Geography More Distinctive

(Topics are at greater depth)
 Local Living Conditions
 Our Society in Earlier Times
 World History and Geography
 Interplay of Humanity & Nature
 Other Peoples' Ways of Life

Secondary School - Grades 10-12

Geography as Science

Statistics and cartography
 Systematic Physical Geography: Landforms, Climate
 Systematic Human Geography: Population, Economy

Comments. The curriculum in geography is strongly supportive of the country of Norway as a continuing society of individuals who have a strong ethical sense of their responsibilities, yet who, through knowledge, are aware of the need to understand and respect other individuals, other peoples and other societies. The focus is not on nationalism or nationality as such (neither the word "nation" nor the word "state" is used) but on community and one's place in it. Geography as presented in this curriculum is intended to create in the mind a world for living a life as an autonomous individual within what is only one of many different societies. The

curriculum as a whole endorses the regional idea but without any discernable understanding that "superorganic" structural entities exist. It also lays claim to fostering childrens' interest in the natural environment and capturing the "green" idea to be a central responsibility of school geography. Scientific geography is confined to the upper secondary years; it seems to be a reflection of the positivist side of academic geography of the past generation - the understanding of Norway as the home of a people and as a place for the exercise of "green" ideas receives little weight.

UNITED STATES. Based on "National Geography Standards," (NGS, 1993) in draft (to be completed in final form, in 1994).

Intentions. As part of the federal government's initiative in school geography, the United States Congress has authorized an assessment of geography in the nation's schools to be carried out in 1994. This is part of the National Assessment of Educational Progress for which the Geography Consensus Project produced the *Geography Assessment Framework* (NAEP, 1992). This is a continuation of the ground-breaking work done by the Joint Committee on Geographic Education, which published *Guidelines for Geographic Education - Elementary and Secondary Schools* in 1984 (JCGE, 1984).

Thus NGS is the recent culmination of a decade-long effort to revitalize geography in the United States (on which, see Lanegran, 1991). NGS outlines "a complete and coherent education in geography," making the study of geography a cumulative educational process. It presents "benchmark" standards for what students should know and what they should be able to do as a result of their studies in geography. These national standards (see box) are guidelines to be implemented in the independently organized school systems of the states of the United States. How the proposed knowledge and skills will be acquired by children must be decided by state and district school personnel and brought to reality by the ingenuity, creativity, and individual work of geography teachers in the classrooms across the country.

This proposed expansion of America's stake in geography, though not yet realized, means a new beginning for the field of geography in the United States. NGS, though developed by an

UNITED STATES "NATIONAL GEOGRAPHY STANDARDS"
(In draft, Summer 1993)

I. Seeing the World in Spatial Terms: 1. Maps, globes, and other tools. 2. Mental maps of Earth. 3. Spatial Organization of Earth's surface.

II. Elements: Places and Regions 4. Physical & human characteristics of place. 5. Regions and Earth's changing complexity. 6. Culture and experience as influences on perception of places and regions.

III. Fundamental Physical Systems 7. Physical processes that shape patterns on Earth's surface. 8. Nature and distribution of ecosystems.

IV. Fundamental Human Systems 9. Nature, distribution, and migration of human populations. 10. Nature and complexity of Earth's cultural mosaics. 11. Patterns and networks of economic interdependence. 12. Processes and patterns of human settlement. 13. Forces of cooperation and conflict that shape the divisions of Earth's surface.

V. Environment and Society 14. Earth's physical and human systems, their connections and interactions. 15. Consequences of the interactions between human and physical systems. 16. Changing meaning and importance of resources.

VI. The Power of Geography 17. Interpretations of the past. 18. Interpretations of the present and planning for the future.

alliance of school and academic geographers with political, bureaucratic, and other forces from within the Washington "establishment," refers back to the 1984 Guidelines ... These proposed that school geography be organized around five themes: location, place, human-environment interaction, movement, regions. In the following years, in many states, "geographic alliances" of school teachers, educationists, college and university geographers, politicians, and other interested parties from the private sector, began to prepare for geography's part in the educational reforms that NAEP is intended to invoke.

NGS makes the following argument for a content-oriented curriculum, based on the five themes of the 1984 Guidelines.

"These themes ... are powerful content organizers for geography's study of Earth as human home. They reflect geography that is consistent with industrial society rather than the post-modern view of the subject that has emerged in the late

1980's. This new focus explores the dynamics of the future involvement in world political, economic, and environmental issues. Thus geography is pivotal to the education of future citizens" (NGS, 1993, p.2).

This middle of the road and comprehensive view of the field is embraced because it has wide support, "... the National Geographic Standards are not full of surprises, but reflect the geography community's thinking to date" (NGS, p.2). The 18 standards, from "1. Maps, globes, and other tools" to "18. Interpretations of the present and planning for the future ..." reflect a broad view of geography, shared by many of its practitioners in the schoolroom as well as in the academy, that geography is an integrative subject of wide provenance, embracing ideas and approaches from the social and physical sciences, the humanities and arts, and from the world of the bureau and the boardroom. Spatial geography, as developed over the past generation, is well represented. Although there is some acknowledged overlap from one standard to another, this is seen as an advantage in teaching practice because individual teachers and other curriculum builders can be selective in their topics and approaches without violating the essential integrity of geography.

NGS identifies three "content outcomes" to clarify the intentions behind the study of the 18 standards. These should encourage teachers and, through them, students to see geography as a study of contemporary life with wide applications to thought and action.

Space and Place specifies knowledge and understanding of geographic information relating to particular places on Earth, spatial patterns on Earth's surface, and the physical and human processes that shape those patterns.

Environment and Society specifies knowledge and understanding of the interactions between environment and society - how people adapt to, depend upon, are affected by, and modify the natural environment.

Spatial Connections and Dynamics specifies students' understanding of geography as it relates to regional variation and connections between peoples and places. (NGS, p.3)

The proposals are intended "to emphasize the integrative and synthetic aspect on the world" of geography. Geography "empowers people in practical and personal contexts". "What is specified is that which is needed for children to become productive American citizens (NGS, p.4). The value of geography is put in the strongest possible practical terms: "Geography must be as rigorously taught in the United States as it is in other countries that depend on their citizen's knowledge of the world to compete in the global economy, to ensure the quality of the earth's environments, and to comprehend the cultures of people who share our planet' (NGS, P.1).

Comments. These intentions are nothing less than a claim for the central ground in the educational process. If that claim succeeds then geography will undoubtedly become a vital force in United States education again, surpassing the position it held early in this century.

Success, even on a partial scale, will require much more than a curriculum endorsed by the United States Congress and agreed to in principle by state boards of education. School teachers will have to educate themselves so that they can teach the new curriculum. Moreover, the need, for a discipline based-education, for several tens of thousands of teachers will come quickly if the implementation of new curricula follows upon the national evaluation process. In turn, that will mean a reordering of the priorities of college and university departments of geography; which will need to understand the new curricula, reconstruct their own course structures, and set about helping to educate the teachers needed for the new school geography.

CALIFORNIA. *History - Social Science Framework for California Public Schools, Kindergarten Through Grade Twelve* (CSBE, 1988: see also Salter, 1986).

Intentions. In its 'message' the State Board writes that the new curricula "will encourage good citizenship and a commitment to demographic values' (CSBE, p.5). These intentions are elaborated in extensive prose sections (p.2-26) which look to an understanding of change and continuity as a result of the interaction of ideas, events, and individuals; the value and fragility of democratic institutions, the ethics of beliefs and behavior; the recognition of cultural and political elements that

CALIFORNIA

(CSBE, excerpted and summarized)

Kindergarten. Learning and working now and long ago

Grade One. A child's place in time and space

Grade Two. People who make a difference

Grade Three. Continuity and change

Our local history: discovering our past and our traditions - Our nation's history: meeting people, ordinary & extraordinary

Grade Four. California: A changing state-The physical setting - Pre-Columbian settlements and people - Exploration and colonial history - Missions and ranchos, Gold Rush and the Western movement - Population growth and linkage to the USA - Modern California

Grade Five. U.S. History and Geography: Making a New Nation

The land before Columbus - Age of Exploration - Settling the colonies and the West - War for Independence - The young Republic - Westward expansion

Grade Six. World History and Geography: Ancient Civilizations

Grade Seven. - ditto - Medieval and Early Modern Times

Grade Eight. U.S. History and Geography: Growth and Conflict

Grade Nine. World History, Culture, and Geography: Modern World

Grade Ten. U.S. History and Geography: Continuity and Change

create barriers between peoples and that sustain the values that unite them. Children will come to understand "that the national identity, the national heritage, and the national creed are and that our national history is the complex story of many peoples and one nation, of *e pluribus unum*" (CSBE, p.5). It will enable children to grow up and live productive lives in a multicultural society. The "goal of knowledge and understanding" is interrelated with and interacts with the "goal of democratic understanding and civic values" and the "goal of skills attainment and social participation" which also are interrelated and interactive (CSBE, p.11).

The framework is intended to "integrate history and geography with the humanities and social sciences." Literacy in geography will develop awareness of place, understanding of the characteristics of places in which events occur, understanding of environmental issues and how decisions affect the environment, understand the complexity and interdependence of the world by

studying the major regions of the Western and Non-western worlds (CSBE, p.15-17).

Students "must recognize that American society is now and always has been pluralistic and multicultural," that the American ideology extols equality and freedom, and that there has been a historic struggle to extend equality and freedom to all, that the United States has a special role in world history as a nation of immigrants, and that the nation's moral force "unites as one people the descendants of many cultures, races, religions, and ethnic groups" (CSBE, p.19-21).

Comments. The integration of history with geography means that the disciplinary content of geography receives little attention in the later grades. The emphasis is on the informational content of geography, especially on the idea of the regional context or theatrical stage on which the events of history are played. Geographic literacy means the acquisition of large amounts of facts. By contrast, the earlier grades seem to provide at least the opportunity for genuine geographical exploration, for allowing children to create their own geographies of school, neighborhood, and natural environment.

The political intention of the curriculum is powerful. The acquisition of knowledge for its own sake is subordinated to understanding American ideals and to the need to support the broad multicultural effort needed to realize those ideals. There is a sharp contrast between this education for the instilling of a distinctive nationality and the disciplinary nature of NGS.

JAPAN. Based on *Education in Geography and History in Junior High School* (JHS 1989) and *Guidelines for Teaching Geography and History in Senior High School* (SHS 1989)

The new curricula described in these documents were to be introduced in junior high school in 1993 and in senior high school in 1994, as part of a reform of education begun in 1987.

Intentions. These revisions of the national curriculum are organized so that children may progress from the comprehensive study of Japan and the world to more systematic and specialized learning.

Students should understand peoples of different cultures living in international society by learning about the natural and human character of Japan's regions and the world's regions.

JAPAN

Fifth Grade: Geography of Japan and Local Geography
Production, transportation, communication and their relation to national life. Land as environment to be used and preserved. Affective consideration of the land and people of Japan. Maps, tables, statistics and their uses. Thinking about social phenomena.

Junior High SchoolThe World and Its Regions

General identification of various countries - Life and environment - problems of life and environment -study of selected countries

Japan and Its Regions

Japan compared to the rest of world - Life, nature, and economy of home region (field study) - Japan and its regions nature and people, industry and region, shelter and living, regional connections

Japan & International Society

Japan and the rest of the world - Responsibilities of people of Japan - General and specific study of 1-3 countries

Senior High SchoolContemporary World & Regions

Uses of maps and field study
Maps: functions and use
Regional changes and the contemporary world

Peoples of the World and Their Interactions

Nature and life in the regional context - Cultures and regions - Interactions with other cultures

Contemporary Challenges for World Cooperation

Worldwide problems of cities, population, environment - Regional problems with specific country examples - International solutions to regional/world problems

They should develop qualities and attitudes which help understanding of Japan's position and responsibility in international society. Students develop specifically geographical points of view through map and field research, through consideration of natural and human relationships at the world and regional scales, and consideration of the causes of resource, environmental, population, food, housing, and urban problems.

Students should understand the regional concept, including complex and single feature regions, economic regions, and functional regions; also regional change. Students engage in field study, including independent work and the management of

field-derived information. Students should develop the ability to make judgments about complex humanity-nature relationships.

Comments. (See Nakayama, 1991, for a lengthy commentary.) The curriculum responds to the internationalization of Japanese society and to the increasing interdependence of the present age.

There is a severe cutback in the importance of the "social studies" compared to the curriculum being replaced. There is a reinstatement of the pre-war significance of history, geography, and civics, along with a substantial diminution of economics, sociology, and political science. "Sailor geography" (otherwise known as "place-name geography" or "capes and bays geography") has been a typical form of geographic education in Japan. The new curriculum reflects a much more discipline-oriented geography, including substantial amounts of fieldwork and problem-solving. Shuichi Nakayama of Hiroshima University specifically advocates "place-perception enquiry" as the best method of teaching geography, emphasizing the role of culture in the study of environment. This is essential for a basic understanding of other places and peoples (Nakayama, p.72-3).

ENGLAND. Based on *Geography in the National Curriculum (England)* (DES, Geography, 1991).

Intentions. The reform of education in England, begun in the late 1980s, identified geography as a foundation subject to be studied by all children up to age 14 and then as a full course or as a short course up to age 16. As with other subjects, school geography in England is set up in four "programs of study," for each of the following approximate age groups: (1) 5-7, (2) 8-11, (3) 12-14, (4) 15-16. The programs of study are set out in detail; it is intended that pupils will reach five sets of "attainment targets" while at school.

The documentation for neither geography nor history discusses the intentions behind the prescribed programs of study.

However, the reform as a whole was undertaken by the former Thatcher administration to raise standards of achievement by English school children (there are separate curricula for Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales). Standards were perceived as having fallen over the previous decade or two. Further, the reform was undertaken to ensure equal educational

ENGLAND

Attainment Targets

1. Maps and fieldwork
2. Understanding of places
3. Physical geography: climate, landform, water, life
4. Human geography: population, settlement, economy
5. Environmental geography: quality and management of environment and resources

Programs of Study

Years 1-2. The locality (place): e.g. land use, weather, plants, animals, shopping patterns.

Years 3-6. The locality and other regions: e.g. soils, weather and farming, other places (including abroad)

Years 7-9. Quality of life in different countries: e.g. pressure on resources in holiday areas, industrial decline, energy problems.

Years 10-11. Regional problems in Europe; poverty in Brazil; rain forest, tundra, wetlands; pollution problems in Europe.

ENGLAND: PLACES AND THEMES

	School Year									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Localities										
The local area	*	*	*	*						
A contrasting area in the UK	*	*	*	*						
In economically developing country				*	*	*				
In EC country outside the UK						*				
Beyond the UK			*							
Regions										
The home region				*	*	*	*	*		*
Countries										
EC country and theme						*	*	*	*	*
Econ. developing country						*	*	*	*	*
USA, Japan, and USSR						*	*	*		
International Trade							*	*	*	*

opportunity (perceived as being notoriously uneven), and to halt (even reverse) the weakening of national identity among the young.

Comments. It is evident that geography is a thoroughly

“academic” subject. Most of the work undertaken by students is topical (systematic) geography and is learned by problem-solving based on a fund of information, ideas, and skills, often presented in a regional context.

A clear progression is visible as “programs of study” take students through increasingly complex “attainment targets.” For example, Attainment Target 1 focuses on children learning how to “use maps and learn fieldwork techniques;” these are programmed into classes from ages five to fifteen. Attainment Target 2 “places and themes” is programmed as in the table above.

The courses of study are comprehensive as far as subject matter is concerned, with the exception of historical and cultural geography, which are not specifically identified. Despite the diverse character of the English population, the geography and history curricula both proceed on the assumption that they are not there to promote cultural diversity among the population of schoolchildren. Put another way, there is a strong presumption of equal opportunity built into the educational system, which assumes that all children should have the same educational opportunities and that calling attention to cultural and ethnic differences might lead to a breakdown of the ‘national’ curriculum and of equal opportunity for all.

The study of places, regions and countries form a central part of the new curriculum. Study moves from the home locality in the youngest age classes, to the home region, to other parts of the United Kingdom, to countries of the European Community, to the USA, Japan and the USSR (presumably now Russia and her neighbors), and to developing countries (see above “Places and Themes”).

The programs of study have no references to “the nation” and very little attention is paid to the idea of the national state. However, when dealing with the countries of the European Community, attention is paid to the “sense of identity” of individual countries.

Geography has clearly captured the “green” interests of schools and children. An “attainment target”(no. 5) is “Environmental geography: use and misuse of natural resources; quality and vulnerability of different environments; possibilities of protecting and managing environments.”

The new curriculum in History has a greater role in imparting ideas of nation and nationality (DES History, 1991). The study program for ages 8-11 is on British History (3 core study units), Ancient Greece (1 unit), and Exploration and Encounters 1450-1550 (1 unit); for ages 12-14 on British History (3 units), the Roman Empire (1 unit), and the Second World War (1 unit); for ages 15-16 the 20th Century, (on Britain, International History, and on social-cultural-economic change). Recommendations for "supplementary study" are in approximately the same proportions.

V. Discussion

These new programs share several features. Most important, for this paper's purposes, is the emphasis on the study of the home region and the home country for several years, especially by younger children. With this knowledge and within the context of other school programs comes an identification with the home region and country. Apart from the nation itself, the territory-the land - is often the most revered of the national icons; it is celebrated in national literature, songs, anthems, and may take on a symbolic (sometimes a mystical or almost religious) status. This identification with the land, the home district, and the national territory, may be wholly learned, primarily at school. It is plausible to assume that there is no structural necessity (or biophysical mechanism) that impels humans to a love of the homeland or assists children in the acquisition of knowledge about it.

Several reasons, more mundane than biological necessity, reinforce the teaching of the home region and the home country in the early years of school. First, it is to the advantage of this kind of study that children already have a wealth of information to which teachers can appeal immediately. Further most young children are aware of the significance of the home and the home country, an awareness that reinforces the purposes of this kind of instruction in the easiest possible way.

Second, all but a few children cannot read and write when they begin school; in most instances they do not become literate, as far as complex texts are concerned, for several years. The

development of ideas, from individual observation and oral communication, about the geography of the home region, done out of doors "in the field," is a common use of school time. Introducing children to geography at an early age is also possible with a wide array of graphic materials from maps to pictures to videos. Geography, in this sense of easy discovery, is a natural for the early years and a welcome change for teachers and children from the learning of literacy and numeracy.

Third, it is also likely that children will already be aware of nature. Even if they are not, this aspect of the child's world is again easy to construct with the help of excursions and through pictures and other media. Once again, children can construct a geography of their home district and country in which people and nature and the relations between them play a part in the creation of their world view.

The above discussion rests on the assumption that children can construct a geographical reality in their own minds and that this constructive ability is an essential human attribute (Bruner, 1968; Norberg-Schulz, 1971). However, more may be at stake; identification with the home region and the homeland may result from a structural component in the human make-up - perhaps as part of their genetic inheritance. In the past two decades new ideas have been injected into those disciplines concerned with the existence of humankind on Earth. Among those disciplines, geography has also been challenged, first by Yi-fu Tuan, who wrote of "the affective bond between people and place or setting" (*Topophilia*, 1971, p. 4). This is yet another epistemological undermining of positivist paradigms (whether empiricist areal differentiation or theoretical spatial science).

These new ideas also subvert those humanistic and structural versions of geography that are methodologically and philosophically adrift from Earth as humankind's home.

Are there deep structural relationships between humankind and Earth? Comprehensive statements of this kind have come from Edward O. Wilson, the biologist known for his advocacy of the genetic basis of much of human life. Wilson and others propose a "biophilia" theory, seeking to find a broad solution to the riddle of human life on Earth. The biophilia hypothesis proposes that the human species has the ability (usually taken to have a biological basis) to evaluate, understand and affiliate

with the natural world (Kellert and Wilson, 1993). These abilities or predispositions are not the same as animal instincts, rather they are rules or capacities for learning about the world. Among these capacities are "naturalist" values which give satisfaction from direct contact with, or experience of, nature; "ecological" values which enhance observation and understanding about nature; and "aesthetic" values which enhance harmony with and understanding from nature.

These ideas correspond with frequently experienced and expressed positive feelings and thoughts when people engage nature firsthand. Further they offer a plausible explanation of the alacrity with which children embrace pro-environmental attitudes and show a high level of interest in things having to do with nature. Thus the apparent ease with which children learn about their home region may be a response, not only to taught ideas, but to structural affinities enhanced by educational experiences in geography.

In this paper I have assumed that nationality and nationalism are contingent with different features for different nations depending on the specific spatial and temporal circumstances in which they develop. Nevertheless, it is widely believed that nationality and nationalism are structurally determined. Once again the belief (if articulated as to its causes) is of an underlying set of rules, this time for a human group bonding at a scale far beyond that of the kinship or companionship (which also may result from other proposed structures). Such group self-identification by way of biological inheritance is an article of faith among many peoples at the present time. No doubt the intensity of these beliefs stretches from mild to strong; for example, many countries have legal definitions of nationality which give citizenship to children of those already citizens, regardless of any other consideration. At the other extreme, the nationalist beliefs of combatants in the hostilities in the former Yugoslavia have led to the wholesale raping of Bosnian women, whose children will inherit (so their attackers believe) the nationality of the male parent (as reported in *The New York Times* in several issues in 1993).

But such intentions are far from those which inform the curricula described above. The past of the society is directly addressed in Norway as "our society in earlier times," in Japan

as a people with a closed corporate past and a more open future, and by California as a society with a history that has led to a multicultural society. In each of these geography is combined with history in the earlier school years; in the United States federal proposals the materials on the development of American society are still there but are subsumed under topical geographical headings. National materials are much less easy to identify in the English geography curriculum, although there is much work on the home region and country.

Nationalism elevated the national individual to a powerful position in the modern world. It carried, by its own logic, the need to claim the individual's loyalty. It was the alliance of individual and nation that was behind the creation of educational systems which sought to enhance the position of the individual as a full member of the national state and to ensure the loyalty of that individual. The result is a world in which the person and the state are the two foci of power. The modern Olympic Games, with their glorification of individual and nation, are a powerful metaphor of our age.

To argue that nationalism is in decline at the present time seems foolish, mere flying in the face of current events and the spirit of the age. The national state is at the pinnacle of power. In Europe nations without states have recently created them or are trying to. The states of the Middle East are consolidating their aspirations. China and India are preoccupied with internal problems and economic development. In Africa forty states are emerging as viable political entities, despite the environmental, social, and political problems that oppress their citizens. The long experiment with totalitarian socialism in the Soviet Union is over and China's communism is eroding. Economy, society, and everyday consciousness seem to be pressed into national containers.

Yet nationalism, in the 20th century, seems to have built-in negative feedback system - war. Following each of the world wars, first the League of Nations and then the United Nations attempted to keep the more virulent aspects of nationalism at bay. Further, regional groupings of national states began to pool their economic, social, and even their political interests in supranational organizations. The most notable of these is in Europe where twelve nations (perhaps more soon) have taken

giant steps toward creating a cosmopolitan society, lessening the sovereignty of the national state.

Secondly, the aspirations of regions or sections within nation states have gone some way to weakening the centralized power of the national state. Policies of decentralization have been evident in countries as different in their national organization as France and the United States. Indeed, the growing sentiment toward a "communitarian" philosophy and scale of organization, although first proposed as an antidote to excessive individualism, also attacks the national state as a focus of loyalty.

Thus, despite the seeming power of the individual and the nation, other scales of organization merit the attention of geographers. In most of the curricula examined here, these other spatial foci are attended to, from rather modest acknowledgement of their existence to a fuller treatment.

In the half century since geography lost its regional bearings, several sub-fields made headway as quasi-independent research specialties, developing gaps in scholarly outlook between them. While the split between human and physical geography was the most notable, several branches of human geography began to create their own separate traditions: economic and urban geography were the vanguard of geography as spatial science, on the other hand historical and cultural geographers deepened their humanist points of view. Physical geography, also divided into separate fields (geomorphology, climatology, biogeography), became more self-confident in its scientific status. Geographic information systems, with cartography and remote sensing, moved to the forefront of computer applications, and became a fast growing sector of geography.

During these years, however, came another swing away from geography for its own sake, towards research and courses in which could be discerned some practical value for national social or economic problems. Many geographers developed research topics having to do with their home countries or regions within their home countries. In this work they were often supported by national governments or by other organizations intent on bringing the academic world into the national orbit.

The revival of school geography, as revealed in the specifications of the curricula summarized above, centers on the

home region and the home country, and on human-nature relationships, especially in the regional context. The implication is that human and natural geography, whatever their separate achievements, fuse as a duality in the context of the region and that they are indeed firmly bonded as the same discipline.

If geographers in research and teaching universities (in addition to those in all levels of school teaching) seize the opportunities provided by the new widespread interest in geography, then the new global century we are promised may see all segments of geography play important parts in the understanding of the continuing drama of humankind on Earth.

But that will be a geography in national containers; it will be incumbent on the new generations of geographers to maintain and enhance those cross-national linkages in research and teaching which will ensure that geography is solidly prepared to enter the cosmopolitan age that seems the likeliest to succeed our nationalist times.

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