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teaching of history and geography

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EDITORIAL

History and geography teaching ensure the transmission, one could even say the creation, of a society's or a community's memory. While originally intended to satisfy a social or public need, the content attempts to situate a country in its history, and to clarify the images one has of one's self (i.e. one's country) and of others. School textbooks deal with educational needs and convey the social space and space/time conceptions of the people who prepared them. But, to what type of learning does their content lead: learning to be? learning to do? learning to learn? or learning to live together?

Official speeches today talk about globalization. At the same time, the voices of national and community claims have been raised. Individuality and the desire to be identified with particular origins have stoked passions and exaggerated differences. It is at this point that we may ask questions about the content of a textbook. Does it convey the duty, the ability or the desire to live together? Does it spread values based on the principles of knowledge, acceptance, tolerance, understanding and openness? Should the content deal with the uncertainties of globalization in our present world, with the spread of conflicts, with the 'national' collective memory, or with various partial, cross-bred, overlapping identities?

Two approaches have been adopted to respond to these questions in the 'Open file' contained in this issue of *Prospects*.

The first consists of analysing the precise nature of the knowledge conveyed by the history and geography textbooks of any country. This structured, formal and standardized knowledge gives the learners access to the accepted collective memory of that society. The objective of this knowledge is to mould, even to create, citizens who feel a sense of belonging to a community, a district, a nation, to a vast zone of cultural identity, to one of the world's sub-systems, or simply to the world.

The diversity of the content in history and geography teaching reflects that of the systems in which we live. It also conveys ways of being, of doing and of living. In this way, it may be a vehicle of socialization, of integration, of assimilation, of sharing the common good, of tolerance, of responsibility or, on the contrary, a way of expressing identity and thus of revealing tensions.

However, other implicit or out-of-school factors are associated with the explicit knowledge taught in school. Indeed, the learners are not empty vessels. They come to school with implicit or spontaneous knowledge; in other words, things that have been acquired through daily life in society.

The second approach is therefore concerned with the learner as a member of a group. The process of belonging tends, in its turn, to reproduce the fundamental myths, the collective memory, the clichés, the beliefs, the values and traditions of the group in order to create an acceptable individual.

Implicit and explicit knowledge condition the way pupils think and affect the way they view their society. This knowledge allows both teachers and children to pinpoint the key elements of belonging to that society. Nevertheless, if formal learning stresses the concepts of nationhood, national territory and international networks, implicit learning, for its part, is marked by a return to ethnic and community values typical of a specific local area.

We shall also deal with what not to teach, particularly in geography, as well as with the new concept of citizenship, which is perceived not only as a right acquired at birth, but even more so as a civil right acquired through residence in a particular place.

However, in the context of regionalism and globalization, we also ask ourselves questions about the future meaning of history and geography. What culture do we belong to? How can we learn to live alongside other cultures in a shrinking world? What meaning can we give to our contacts with other cultures? The contributors to this open file will attempt to answer these questions.

This edition of *Prospects* contains two other articles in addition to the 'Open file'. The first one, written by Brian V. Hill, suggests that a long period of neutrality on the part of governments towards the teaching of values has had a negative effect on the education of children. He is in favour of a change in this attitude in our common interest.

Finally, having learned at the beginning of March of the death at the age of 96 years of Clarence Beeby, who played a major role within the UNESCO Secretariat from its origins until the 1960s, we are pleased to close this edition with the homage paid by W.L. Renwick to the memory of Beeby, the epitome of the reflective educational administrator.

VIEWPOINTS/CONTROVERSIES

VALUES EDUCATION: THE AUSTRALIAN EXPERIENCE

Brian V. Hill

Geographers bicker amiably as to whether Australia is the largest island on Planet Earth or the smallest continent. It is a Western country in an Asian region, an industrialized economy in what the Brandt Report called 'the South'. Before the Second World War, it was popularly but inaccurately described as '98% British' (92% would have been closer). At the present time, it is one of the most secular societies in the world, and also in statistical terms one of the most pluralistic, with more than 30% of its citizens of non-British descent.

Despite its size, approximating that of the United States, five-sixths of the continental mass is inhospitable desert and the bulk of the population huddles on the seaboard from Brisbane to Adelaide. The control of education is distributed, and disputed, between the state (i.e. regional) governments and the Federal Government. Most of its schools (around 73%) are government schools under state control, but criticisms from the private sector are mounting in the light of dissatisfaction with the quality of what is being provided in the public sector.

A particular source of dissatisfaction concerns what is *not* happening in the area of values education. A long tradition of alleged value-neutrality still infects thinking in the government sector, but the non-government sector does not necessarily present a more balanced picture, particularly in regard to meeting the challenges of pluralism and co-existence in the democratic State. Such problems are far from unique to Australia, which suggests that treating it as a case-study, as I propose to do in this article, may well prove instructive for readers in other cultures.

Original language: English

Brian V. Hill (Australia)

Professor of Education, Murdoch University, Western Australia, since its creation in 1974. Initially a high school-teacher, he has obtained degrees from the Universities of Western Australia, Sydney and Illinois, and has lectured in many countries. He was Fulbright Senior Scholar at Stanford University in 1980. His interests concern ethics and values education, youth policy and religious education, about which he has published over 200 academic articles and chapters. The most recent of his ten books are: *Values education in Australian schools* (1991); and *Teaching secondary social studies in a multicultural society* (1994).

I will first set the stage by reviewing the developments that were responsible for creating the present hiatus in values education. Recent contradictory political messages at federal level will then be highlighted, leading on to a discussion of two non-governmental research projects which have attempted to pioneer a way ahead. They have both involved piloting a process of negotiation between divergent parties, out of which have emerged consensus frameworks of values at differing levels of generality. The final section will conclude with some reflections on the priority and plausibility of such attempts, given that countries which fail to find good answers and just solutions in the area of values education will face a bleak future. Indeed, so will the planet.

Chained to the past

We are all products of our past, and tend to remain chained to old attitudes, largely unaware of our captivity, until we are forced into reassessing our situation by radical external changes which put our accepted values under pressure. School systems are especially prone to culture lag because the schooling paradigm has been with us since ancient times and is extraordinarily durable, so much so that it is tempting to think that mass education must always require this kind of rigid institutionalization.

Nevertheless, although much has been said in all eras about the school's role in inculcating values, its main success has been with the transmission of knowledge and, more latterly, the enhancement of cognitive skills (see, for example, Hurn, 1978; Husén, 1979).

At the values level, schools appear to have succeeded only when they reproduced and reinforced the values already dominant in the social and domestic backgrounds of their students.

The potential for a more fundamental review of the scope and limits of schooling came when industrializing nations assumed the main responsibility for providing it. This was to be education for all, not just for favoured elites. The rhetoric of the time justified this in terms of the active citizenship required to make democracy work. The reality included the fact that the manufacturing industries required a literate labour market (Hill, 1976).

Agencies already dominant in the field—mostly religious—tended to see the development of State (i.e. national or federal) systems as a threat to their goals and values. Western governments felt obliged to reassure the public that they were neutral towards such partisan visions as those represented by these agencies. The State's prime interest was investing in the knowledge and skills necessary for active citizenship (and a trained labour force). This argument had the potential to be self-deceiving, in the sense that it laid false claim to neutrality in regard to more intrinsic and first-order values.

This was precisely the situation that arose in Australia in the nineteenth century. The first colony, in Sydney, had begun in 1788 without the provision of education by the government. Private and religious agencies began to plant schools in

town and country, and, after a time, government subsidies were made available to religious schools. These subsidies both relieved the bureaucratic conscience and minimized pressure on the public purse. But, as the populations in each of the emerging states grew, so the ability of non-government agencies to keep up with the educational demand diminished, and governments were obliged to develop government school networks.

Inevitably, since governments were now financing schools of their own, there was increasing concern about the way that the residual subsidies to the private sector were being put to use. Territorial disputes arose in regard to the placement of new schools, but, in general, the Protestant denominations were tending to relinquish the burden of mass education to the State. By contrast, the numbers of Catholics in Australia increased markedly in the mid-nineteenth century, and so did Catholic sector schools. An ecclesiastical hierarchy determined their policy very much in tune with the separatist, anti-liberal sentiments of the Vatican at that time.

Ultimately, the bitterness of the arguments that developed between the sectors led to every state legislating to withdraw government subsidy from non-government schools in order to put all their resources into state education departments (Austin, 1972).

It was in this climate of ideological dispute that the state systems defined themselves as neutral towards areas of value controversy. Teachers in the state of Victoria, for instance, were bound by law not to teach about or openly support any political, moral or religious opinion. That ruling survived until barely ten years ago.

The official story was that non-government schools *indoctrinate* (because they stand for particular world-views), whereas government schools *educate* (because they teach neutral skills and academic disciplines). In fact, of course, no curriculum can be neutral (see Hill, 1991, reprinted 1995), and every state curriculum had distinctive value features.

Catholic critics were partly justified in claiming at the time that government schools were more Protestant than anything else (Austin, 1972), but were also contributing to a general disdain for religion as such. Since such issues could not be openly addressed in the discourse to which supposedly neutral state systems were committed, those systems were therefore equally vulnerable to the charge of indoctrination, in this case by default.

Post-war challenges

There the case rested, until the Second World War forced Australia to develop a more global awareness. Bombs fell on Australian soil and Australians fought in all the major theatres of war. Conscious of how vulnerable it had been during the war in the Pacific, the Federal Government embarked on a substantial migration programme which not only accommodated as displaced persons many refugees from those European countries which had fallen under Soviet influence, but also actively recruited migrants from other European and East Mediterranean countries, lifting a pre-war population of 7 million to more than double that number in thirty years.

A high level of economic prosperity fostered the myth, partly true at the time, that Australia was 'the lucky country' (Horne, 1964), but much depended on there being a steady demand from the United Kingdom for its wool, wheat and raw minerals. Major economic realignments occurred, however, when the United Kingdom joined the European Common Market.

During the economic recession at the end of the 1980s, Australia, from having close to full employment, slipped to double-digit unemployment. Successive Federal Governments emphasized the need for economic restructuring to reduce the nation's reliance on primary and manufacturing industries, and set about to develop niche markets and consultant services around the western rim of the Pacific. Education talk began to be interleaved with talk about using the schools 'in the national interest' (e.g. Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1987) .

The reorientation of the Australian psyche went much deeper than economics. The Second World War brought the American 'G.I.' to Australia's shores. The conspicuous material consumerism of American culture, reinforced by the newly arrived images of television, appealed to many Australians. In the same spirit, the Australian Government supported the United States in the Korean and Vietnam Wars. Conversely, the American student revolts of the 1960s, triggered in part by the war in Vietnam and the threat of nuclear catastrophe, excited sympathetic stirrings on Australian campuses. From both sides, therefore, traditional values were under challenge.

Meanwhile, in response to the growing awareness among Australians of their Indian and Pacific Ocean neighbours, a long-standing policy of racial discrimination, widely known as the 'White Australia Policy', was at last removed from the Labor Party platform in the 1980s. This policy had held off non-European migration for a hundred years.

There was all-party agreement with liberalization of this policy, and this has since made the development of closer ties with industrializing Asian countries from Singapore to Japan much easier. In addition, vigorous promotion of educational services has brought thousands of Asian students to Australian campuses, international business alliances have multiplied, and the increase in the number of people seeking residence and citizenship in Australia—especially of Indian, Indonesian, Malaysian and Singaporean origin, together with the arrival of many refugees from such countries as Cambodia, China and Viet Nam—has already begun to account for a shift (approaching 2%) in Australia's ethnic balance.

Finally, a young adult cohort has emerged which, in several important respects, is probably unlike anything seen before. Parented by the permissive generation of the 1960s, the first generation to be baby-sat by the television is better educated than previous generations. This group is globally informed but existentially adrift, left to bring itself up, glamourized by commercial advertisers and the rock music scene, but aware that it is being manipulated by those same agencies. Many young Australian adults are reacting with anger—in some cases self-destructive—at the failure of the older generation to provide plausible models of a worthwhile life.

Paradoxically, many in the older generation are becoming aware of the restlessness and nihilism of young people in this cohort, and are beginning to talk

about values again. But their motivation is less to help the young than to re-establish the forms of social control that kept them in their place in previous eras. Not only is this option not viable, but it only deals with symptoms, leaving underlying causes unaddressed.

The main agencies of social control are frequently perceived to be law enforcement and education. At the present time, most governments at both federal and state level are canvassing ways to enforce law and reduce crime, even to the extent of diverting public funds away from social, health and educational services in order to pay for them. Gun control, for instance, is an easier reform option than providing more youth services. Education continues to receive moderate support, but the rhetoric that dominates current discussions is one of social control rather than personal development.

In brief, then, the traditionalism of the 'sleepy hollow' that was Australia before the Second World War has been shattered by vast changes. The Christian-Hellenistic amalgam of values, which previously provided a mostly implicit backdrop to community life, has given way to a values hiatus in which economic, strategic, multi-cultural, multi-faith, and intergenerational dissonances make it imperative that explicit negotiations take place to determine the direction that the Australian community should take in the future. One analyst has described it as a need to 'reinvent Australia' (Mackay, 1993).

Contradictory political messages

Central to any such endeavour must be the role of education. But two recent developments in this area at Federal Government level have sent out conflicting messages. First, under pressure from the Federal Minister for Education, the Australian Education Council (AEC) produced a statement of national educational goals, which was followed by a national curriculum. This concentrated on skills development and failed to address the real problems of values education. Second, in a separate exercise, the Prime Minister's Department convened an 'expert group' in 1994 to investigate citizenship education, and its report attested to grave neglect in the teaching of civic values. Each of these documents calls for a separate comment.

THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM

The push for a national curriculum came in the 1980s, at a time when the need for economic restructuring was dominating the thinking of the Federal Labor Government. Education was seen to be one of the potential engines of change. But, constitutionally, school systems in Australia are a state responsibility.

The AEC had existed for many years as a medium through which state ministers of education and their senior departmental officers could co-ordinate their approaches to the Federal Government in order to receive better funding. Seizing his chance when Labor Governments were in power in most states and could be expected to support him, the then Federal Minister of Education, John Dawkins, made a bid

to play a more pre-emptive role in the AEC, in order to push the states towards more overtly centralist economic objectives.

Although the resulting 'Hobart Declaration' (Australian Schools Council, 1989) contained a more generous range of educational goals than had been dreamed of in Dawkins' philosophy, it did, nevertheless, open the door to a situation in which educational leadership became much more politicized and the rhetoric of 'co-ordination' in 'the national interest' much more dominant. Similar developments were occurring in the United Kingdom, though ironically the driving force there was the conservative 'right' in the Thatcher government.

Subsequently, curriculum frameworks were developed in eight 'key learning areas' (KLAs), together with assessment profiles for each KLA. Regardless of the references to values in some of the frameworks, the emphasis in the profiles was on the specification of precise learning outcomes, chiefly concerned with cognitive skills. The signs were that the assessment 'tail' would wag the curriculum 'dog', and it was therefore inevitable that potential critics would scrutinize the profiles closely.

Overall, they consisted of about 860 student-outcome statements (SOSs) distributed over the eight KLAs and ranked in eight levels designed to take developmental considerations into account. Well over two-fifths of the SOSs were devoted to mathematics. As a first approximation, the author searched in these statements for some keywords that might indicate how much attention was being given to processes associated with values education, or to specific values themselves. Figure 1 resulted.

It makes sobering reading. At the most generous estimate, less than sixty of the statements explicitly identify values, and most of them relate to technical (or aesthetic) criteria or to the value of nurturing critical cognition (which I would not want to demean).

The area of LOTE (languages other than English) is perceived purely in terms of cognitive skills, as though they were hung in value-free space. The arts confine themselves to aesthetic criteria, except in one cryptic reference to the need to examine the influence of the arts on 'prevailing values' (8.5 etc.)—whatever we are to make of that phrase, which is not explained. And mathematics concedes only once in its nearly 200 national targets that, at the eighth level, students may be alerted to 'a relationship between mathematics and social conditions and values' (8.6), which is again undefined.

One would suppose that terms such as 'human rights' and 'core values' would be potentially important indicators, but each only occurs once, in the profile for SOSE (Studies of Society and the Environment). Outcome 7.1a reads: 'Critically analyses the ways core values of Australian society have endured or changed over time' (p. 119).

The word 'democracy' did not appear in *any* of the national profiles, except in SOSE Outcome 8.12, which uses its adjectival form. In more detail, this Outcome reads: 'Evaluates resource management in terms of ecologically sustainable development, social justice and the democratic process.' This is the only place in which these three values, which feature strongly in the supporting national documentation,

come to the surface in the profiles. And a lot of clarification is needed, if they are to serve as core values and be appropriately assessed.

The corollary of all this, as I have argued elsewhere,

is that a distinctive values curriculum actually *does* underlie the National Curriculum, implicit and technicist. It endorses academic convergence and political conformity, and is the more indoctrinative for not allowing these assumptions themselves to be exposed to critical examination (Hill, 1996a).

By the time the National Curriculum materials had actually been published, a change had come over the political landscape in Australia. In most states, Labor governments had been replaced by Liberal governments, traditionally hostile to centralism, especially since the Federal Government was still under Labor control. There was a general unwillingness to endorse that the national curriculum was in any sense mandatory, and several states proceeded to formulate their own curriculum statements. The changes, however, were largely cosmetic, doing little more than change the labels. The essential ethos of the national curriculum remained intact, as symbolized by the retention of KLAs and the endorsement of a similar number of detailed SOSs.

THE REPORT ON CIVICS AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

The national curriculum materials were barely in print before the Prime Minister's Department, motivated by a somewhat different set of concerns relating to Australia's multiculturalism and place in the Asian sphere of influence, convened a small 'Expert Group' to consider the question of 'civics and citizenship education.' Their report, *Whereas the people* [. . .] (Civics Expert Group, 1993) viewed education for citizenship as a project in *values* education, in which content knowledge and skills were regarded as means but *not* the end in view. The end in view, it said, was 'active citizenship'.

The report lamented the fact that Australian society had neglected to hold a dialogue on the question of core values, falling back pragmatically on what it called 'the ethics of tolerance and diversity' (p. 15). The problem with this attitude, as the report rightly said, was that: 'Here *difference* may mean competing claims from claimants who have little faith in common citizenship' [*italics added*].

Reviving the discourse

Fortunately, after a long positivist 'winter', other signs are beginning to appear of a willingness to bring values talk into social and educational theorizing.

MOVES AT STATE DEPARTMENT LEVEL

Several state departments of education have taken tentative steps in the last decade to identify particular ethical and personal values that are associated with our

FIGURE 1. Word analysis of student outcome statement

	ARTS	ENGLISH	HEALTH PE	LOTE	MATH	SCIENCE	SOSE	TECHNOL
Beliefs			7.1 8.1 4.2 5.14 7.13			8.17	4.5 5.8 7.8 8.7	
Commitment	8.1b							
Critical responses	7.4 7.9 7.14 7.19 7.23 8.4 8.9 8.14 8.19 8.23	6.4 7.5 8.1 8.5 8.10	8.4 8.5 8.5 6.7 7.7 8.7 8.9 8.10 8.13 7.14 8.14 7.15		8.23	8.1	7.1a	
Empathy								
Ethics, -al			8.1 8.10 1.14 4.14 8.14			8.13 8.16	8.9	5.4 7.4
Evaluation (technical) and 'assess'		6.4 8.4 7.8 7.12 8.8	7.2 8.2 6.3 7.3 8.4 5.5			3.16	7.5 8.5 8.6	1.4- 8.4 6.5 8.5 7.8 8.9
Evaluation (life-style)			8.6 8.9 8.10 4.12 5.12 6.12 8.12				8.14 8.9 8.10	
Interpretation (technical - none re other kinds of value)		1.7 4.6 3.5- 5.5 7.7 8.7 1.3- 4.3	4.6		5.7b 3D 5.11 6.11 5.23 2.27- 7.27	1.15	1.3- 8.3 5.3	
Justify, -ication		4.5 7.5	7.14					6.2
Moral, -ity			8.14				8.9	8.2
Religious, -on								
Response (Personal)	1.4 1.9 1.14 1.19 1.23 <i>et al.</i>							
Responsibility (moral)			7.9 1.10 5.10			8.14 1.18- 8.18	3.14 4.9	
Rights in family							3.1 4.9 7.9	
Rules		2.14 4.14					1.14 2.14 4.14 1.18	
Values (descriptive)	8.4 8.9 8.14 8.19 2.23 8.5 8.10 8.15 8.20 8.24	8.6	4.2 2.14 6.14 3.15		8.6	8.17	1.1a,b 2.3 8.13 8.14 8.15 7.18 8.18 6.19 1.10	7.4 5.7 7.7 8.7 3.11
Values (normative - explicit)			5.1 promote pers. devel. 5.5 fitness 4.6 promote rec. sport 7.10 Ottawa Charter	2.11 care for env + health 5.11- 7.11 2.12 6.12 8.12 2.13 encour particip. 3.14		8.5 reduce energy waste 8.12 improve air, water, etc. 1.18 care of living things 2.18 protect people	1.6- 8.6 care of place 2.7 recog. of achiev'ts 8.12 ecolog. sustainability social justice, democratic process.	3.2 environ. implications 5.2 as above

NOTE: The numbers in the columns represent the numbering of the outcome statements in the original document. These begin with a number from 1 to 8 representing eight developmental levels spread through the years of compulsory schooling. They sometimes run to two columns in the figure in order to make shorter an otherwise long table. Where two numbers are separated by a dash (for example 1.4–8.4) the implication is that some mention of this factor occurs at each of the levels between 1 and 8. Letters after a number (for example, 7.1a,b) indicate that the original numbering in the document sometimes splits the entry in this way.

Source: Hill, 1996a.

democratic way of life. Since the tendency has largely been to produce lists of value-concepts, it is possible to convey some sense of the common ground that has been emerging across the states by listing them, as in Figure 2.

What the figure shows is that the West Australian Social Education Syllabus started a trend in 1985 by producing a shopping list of values. Many of these were echoed in the 1989 South Australian document *Our schools' values* and the Queensland *Social education framework* of that same year. Another step in the evolution of this kind of document was the New South Wales booklet *The values we teach*, which grouped values under the headings: educational, interpersonal and civic, and related them explicitly to the kind of society Australia was perceived to have developed. A further step was taken along this road in the draft values charter enshrined in the second chapter of Queensland's 1994 Wiltshire Report, which reviewed the whole school curriculum.

Such statements stand in contrast to the bleached values-dimension of the national curriculum, and the state documents cloned directly from it. There was a dissonance here that was initially ignored, but, in the last two years, several states have undertaken supplementary enquiries to bring values issues to the fore and to produce values-outcome statements for inclusion in their curriculum frameworks.

This is partly attributable, no doubt, to the changing political complexion of those states, and the incentive (until the change of Federal Government in 1997 which brought the Liberals to power) to be different from the Federal Labor Government then in power. But some influence may also be credited to the two other initiatives that I will now discuss in more detail.

THE WEF SURVEY

First, an enquiry was conducted by the Australian branch of the World Education Fellowship and reported in the December 1992 issue of their journal *New horizons in education* (Dec. 1992, *passim*, and see also Campbell, 1992). Some 125 leading Australian thinkers were invited to identify what they perceived to be the directions in which Australian society should be heading in the near future. Using the Delphi research method (see Linstone, 1975; O'Brien, 1978), Professor Jack Campbell and his co-workers then, after further consultation with this group, generated an

FIGURE 2. Towards charters of values in Australian states

Values	States Years	WA 1985	SA 1989	Qld 1991	NSW 1991	Qld 1994
Adaptability		•	•	•	•	•
Authority, respect for legitimate					•	
Compassion		•				
Concern for the welfare of others			•	•	•	•
Co-operation		•	•		•	•
Co-operation, international					•	•
Creativity						•
Critical thinking						•
Diversity, cultural sub-groups, acceptance of				•		•
Ecological sustainability						•
Equality			•	•	•	
Ethical standards					•	
Excellence		•			•	
Family, place of, in society					•	
Freedom, individual liberties			•	•	•	
Honesty		•			•	•
Initiative, enterprise						•
Integrity		•				•
Intellectual enquiry						•
Justice, fairness		•	•	•	•	•
Lifelong learning						•
Life, respect for		•				•
Partnership: school/home/community						•
Peaceful resolution of conflict		•	•		•	
Rationality, respect for reasoning		•	•	•	•	
Responsibilities, social		•		•	•	•
Rights, human, respect for		•		•	•	
Self-respect						•
Sensitivity—physical, aesthetic, emotional, spiritual		•				
Stewardship of earth and its resources						•
Tolerance		•			•	
Truth, respect and search for			•	•		•

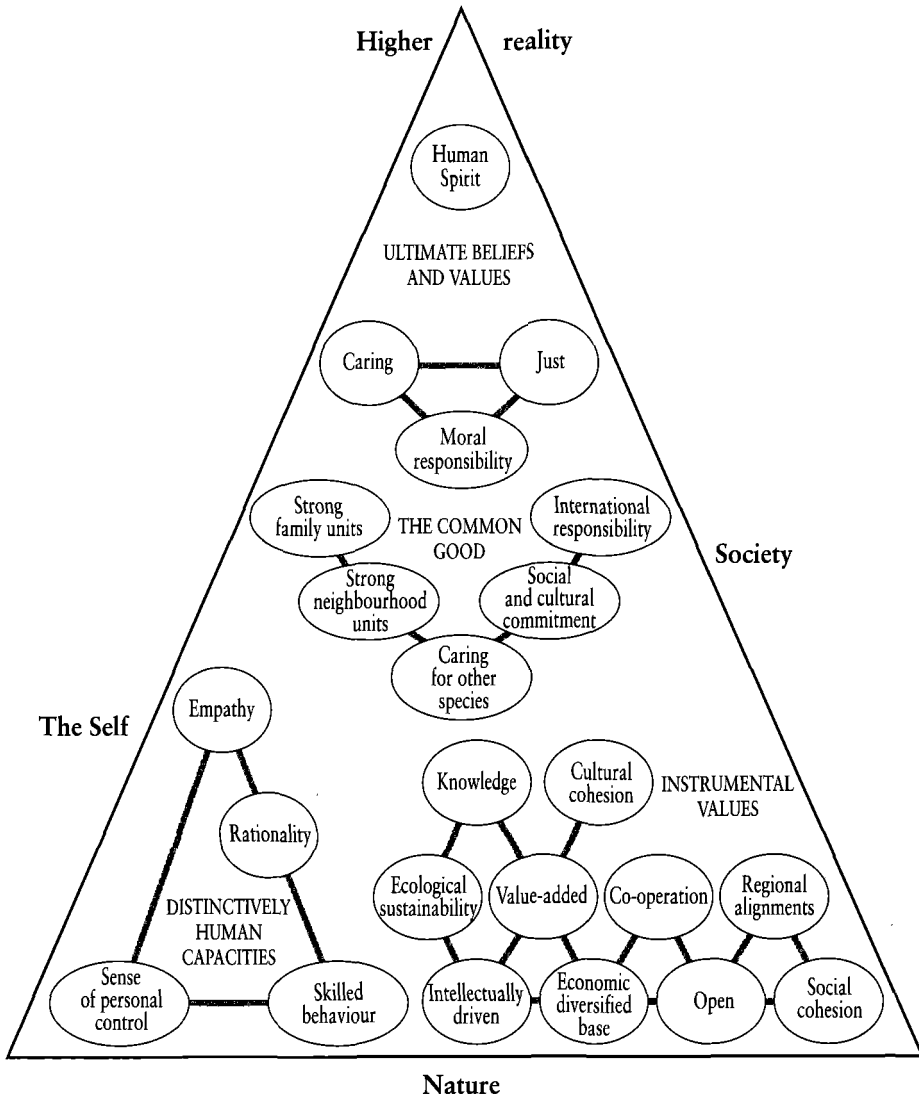
Sources: Education Western Australia (WA), 1985; Education South Australia (SA), 1991; Education Queensland (Qld), 1989; Education New South Wales (NSW), 1991; Queensland Curriculum Review, 1994.

agreed vision statement of twenty-two goals. Interestingly, though the list certainly included social and economic goals, values of a more transcendent and ethical kind were seen to be equally essential.

Some of the respondents were invited to show diagrammatically how the twenty-two goals identified in the survey might be clustered to present a more explicit overall rationale. The present author's contribution was Figure 3. The figure represents an upward movement in priorities from instrumental values and capacities towards the common good, and towards ultimate personal beliefs and values. The

goals of education are therefore to be ranked according to the degree in which they enhance distinctively human capacities and encourage commitment to moral and interpersonal goods. There is no space here to either expound or justify this schema, except to say that it was meant to show how values tend to be positioned—for both the individual and the polis—within a hierarchy of values. The author was also suggesting that it is futile to build citizenship education merely on

FIGURE 3: Twenty-two goals for Australian society



Source: First published in, and adapted from Campbell, 1992, p. 7.

descriptions of political processes and institutions, while ignoring the world-views that mean so much to the religious and ethnic sub-cultures in a society.

Most respondents in the visions survey were of the same view as this author. Human potential was seen to lie at the core of the goals complex. The concepts most frequently associated with this were knowledge, empathy, rationality, spirituality, self-control and moral responsibility. These elements represent a widely held belief that human beings are centres of self-consciousness whose aspirations and capacities reach beyond the satisfaction of purely physical survival requirements.

It is not irrelevant to mention that the work of this WEF group was carried out in Queensland, where, a few years later, the Wiltshire Report, which has already been mentioned, recommended the development of a state values charter (see also the present author's contribution to that report, in Hill, 1994a). The task of implementing this part of the report is still ongoing, given that it breaks new ground in Australian practice.

THE AGREED MINIMUM VALUES FRAMEWORK

The second project was developed in Western Australia, as a direct result of dissatisfaction with the value-deficiencies in the National Curriculum's Profiles of Assessment. This dissatisfaction first found expression in the non-government school sector, when Dr Tom Wallace drew together a state consortium of leaders in the Anglican, Catholic, Islamic and Jewish school systems. This group made a successful bid for funding through the National Professional Development Programme, which had been instituted by the Federal Government to facilitate the dissemination of the national curriculum.

In the latter part of 1994 the consortium undertook a review of the National Curriculum and its West Australian counterpart, and confirmed the deficiency of the assessment profiles with respect to values, as reported earlier in this article. They then perceived a need to establish what common ground existed between them, before attempting to remedy this deficiency. The result was the production of what was called an 'Agreed Minimum Values Framework'.

The process employed was as important as the product. It bore some resemblance to the more formal Delphi technique employed in Queensland. Consortium partners were invited to develop statements that encapsulated the values rationales of their respective systems, and to indicate what they perceived to be the democratic values which flowed from these. A small group of consultants, including the present author, then sought common elements and grouped these in three categories as shown in Figures 4 to 6. This schema was then presented again to the consortium partners for refinement.

It was particularly encouraging to find that once it was emphasized that the search was for minima, not binding maxima, agreement came surprisingly quickly. The consortium partners needed reassuring that their own more comprehensive value systems were not under threat, but were being consulted to ascertain how much common ground could be identified to form a solid foundation for co-operative action in the democratic society.

FIGURE 4. Shared ultimate values.

1. Life Perspectives We affirm God as creator and sustainer of all things.	2. Individual We affirm our creation in God's image and our dependence on Him.	3. Society We affirm that we are constituted to live in community.	4. Natural World We affirm that God made a good world for which we are to care.
<p>1.11 God as creator <i>God created the world and sustains its continued existence.</i></p> <p>1.12 God as self-revealer <i>God's nature and will through the natural world, conscience and prophetic revelation.</i></p> <p>1.13 Religion <i>Religion arises from the human response to God in the search for purpose and meaning in life.</i></p> <p>1.14 Spirituality <i>Humans sense that they are more than animal, and are to be encouraged to cherish and interrogate their experiences of transcendence.</i></p> <p>1.15 After-life <i>We affirm the belief that there is life beyond physical death which takes into account our previous life-choices.</i></p>	<p>1.21 Social nature <i>We are created social beings, and the full realization of human potential requires inter-dependence and the conquest of selfishness.</i></p> <p>1.22 Individual uniqueness <i>Each person is different, and should be encouraged to develop self-respect and realize their full God-given wholeness.</i></p> <p>1.23 Open to learn <i>Each individual should be continually open to the possibility of learning from the cultural tradition and from people of divergent views.</i></p> <p>1.24 Compassion <i>Each individual should have a sensitivity to, and concern for, the well-being of other people.</i></p> <p>1.25 Responsibility <i>Each individual has freedom of will and so must accept personal responsibility for their conduct and impact on other people and nature.</i></p> <p>1.26 Imperfection <i>Each individual is imperfect and fallible, and is given the opportunity of repentance.</i></p>	<p>1.31 Authority <i>We affirm the legitimacy of authority structures, the rule of law, and the recognition of human rights, consistent with what we know to be the law of God.</i></p> <p>1.32 Morality <i>We affirm that the moral institution of life arises from a God-given sense of personal responsibility for our conduct and relationships in accordance with God's commandments.</i></p> <p>1.33 Family <i>We affirm the primary importance of a stable, moral and caring home environment.</i></p> <p>1.34 Community <i>We are committed to encouraging interpersonal co-operation and social responsibility.</i></p> <p>1.35 Diversity <i>We recognize the richness of many cultural expressions, and welcome ethnic diversity in the context of shared community life.</i></p> <p>1.36 Contribution <i>Society has something to gain from every individual life, and should maximize the opportunities for all persons to contribute to the common good.</i></p> <p>1.37 Reconciliation <i>We affirm the need for reconciliation between those who are estranged.</i></p>	<p>1.41 Nature is good <i>The natural environment is good and beautiful in itself, and to be respected and appreciated as a gift of God.</i></p> <p>1.42 Stewardship <i>Our relationship to nature is neither that of dominators nor guardians, but rather that of stewards, charged with managing it in trust for future generations.</i></p> <p>1.43 Development <i>Development is an appropriate exercise of stewardship, provided that it maintains the ecological balance in nature through policies of sustainability.</i></p> <p>1.44 Exploitation <i>Recognizing that human sinfulness has led to much degradation of the environment, we accept a special responsibility to encourage the ecological repair of such areas.</i></p>

Source: Figures 4, 5 and 6 are taken from Western Australia, Cross-Sectional Consortium, 1995, p. 6–8. This was a federally funded project. Permission to use this material has been granted by the National Professional Development Programme. Copies of the original booklet may be obtained by writing to: The Values Project, AISWA, 3/41 Walters Drive, Osborne Park, 60171, Western Australia.

FIGURE 5. Shared democratic values.

1. Life Perspectives	2. Individual	3. Society	4. Natural World
<p>2.11 Search for knowledge <i>We affirm the search for knowledge, especially that which enhances the achievement of the other ends valued in this Framework.</i></p> <p>2.12 Religious quest <i>We affirm and encourage the human quest for ultimate meaning and purpose in life.</i></p> <p>2.13 Religious freedom <i>We affirm the right of individuals to choose and advocate their own life perspectives, consistent with the right of others to do likewise.</i></p> <p>2.14 Freedom of worship <i>We affirm the right of all individuals to freedom to worship or not worship as they see fit.</i></p>	<p>2.21 Equality <i>We affirm the equal worth and basic rights of all persons, regardless of differences in race, gender, ability, and religious belief.</i></p> <p>2.22 Opportunity <i>Each individual should be given the opportunity to explore and develop their own unique endowments.</i></p> <p>2.23 Tolerance <i>Each individual should be encouraged to show tolerance towards those of different opinion, temperament, or background.</i></p> <p>2.24 Citizenship <i>Each individual should be encouraged to contribute to the community services consistent with good citizenship.</i></p> <p>2.25 Caring <i>In particular, individuals should be encouraged to express caring concern towards all people, especially those in need.</i></p> <p>2.26 Responsibility and Freedom <i>Individuals should have the freedom to choose their way of life, subject to being held responsible for the impact of their choices on nature and other citizens.</i></p>	<p>2.31 Social justice <i>We recognize the rights of all persons to a fair share of the economic and cultural resources of the democratic society.</i></p> <p>2.32 The common good <i>We are committed to exploring and promoting the common good, and to ensuring that people's needs are met without infringing the basic human rights of others.</i></p> <p>2.33 Participation <i>As a democratic society, Australia should encourage and train its citizens to participate in the political process.</i></p> <p>2.34 Multiculturalism <i>We welcome the varied ethnic contributions possible in a multicultural society, and encourage their expression in ways consistent with the common good.</i></p> <p>2.35 Welfare <i>Society has a responsibility to provide a safety net for those who lack the capacity, through sickness, disability, or unemployment, to sustain a viable life-style.</i></p> <p>2.36 Reconciliation <i>In regard to personal and group conflicts, we affirm a preference for strategies of reconciliation rather than coercion and confrontation.</i></p>	<p>2.41 Conservation of the environment <i>We affirm the enjoyment of nature, and the need to preserve its diversity and balance.</i></p> <p>2.42 Sustainable development <i>We affirm the need to continue to develop natural resources to sustain human life, provided it is done in a way consistent with long-term sustainability.</i></p> <p>2.43 Rehabilitation <i>We affirm a need to rehabilitate habitats degraded by human misuse.</i></p> <p>2.44 Diversity of species <i>We recognize a need to arrest the extinction of presently surviving species.</i></p>

FIGURE 6. Shared educational values.

1. Life Perspectives	2. Individual	3. Society	4. Natural World
<p>3.11 Study of world views <i>We affirm the need to equip students with the tools to examine world-views (both religious and non-religious), especially those dominant in their background and school community.</i></p> <p>3.12 Personal meaning <i>We acknowledge the need of all persons for a sense of personal meaning, and we encourage critical reflection on questions of constituting the self in relation to the natural and social worlds.</i></p> <p>3.13 The family <i>We affirm the primary importance of family life and the responsibility of parents for the educational development of the child.</i></p> <p>3.14 Value systems <i>We encourage students to explore the moral point of view and to develop a personal value system.</i></p> <p>3.15 Knowledge <i>We affirm the tentative and limited nature of socially constructed knowledge, and the need to make students aware of this.</i></p>	<p>3.21 Access <i>We affirm the right of every child to be given access to available knowledge at an appropriate developmental level.</i></p> <p>3.22 Individual differences <i>We affirm that the curriculum should take into account, both in its planning and implementation, the individual's readiness and ability to learn.</i></p> <p>3.23 Empowerment <i>We value the development of critical thinking, the creative imagination, interpersonal and vocational skills, and basic competencies in the various forms of disciplined enquiry.</i></p> <p>3.24 Learning climate <i>We seek to encourage a learning climate free of coercive or indoctrinative elements, whether in the explicit or the covert curriculum.</i></p>	<p>3.31 Critical reflection <i>We encourage critical reflection on both the cultural heritage and the attitudes and values underlying current social trends and institutions.</i></p> <p>3.32 Benefits of research <i>We acknowledge a social obligation to support research that promises to improve the quality of human life, and to share the benefits as widely as possible.</i></p> <p>3.33 Value dimension <i>We are committed to demonstrating the existence of a value dimension in all knowledge.</i></p> <p>3.34 School as community <i>We view schools as communities in which all persons should be seen to have rights, and be encouraged to participate in decision-making related to the school's corporate life.</i></p> <p>3.35 Conflict resolution <i>We endorse peaceful means of conflict resolution at personal, social, and international levels.</i></p>	<p>3.41 Quest for truth <i>We recognize the human drive to understand the realities of the social and natural worlds as being a valid quest for truth in its ultimate unity.</i></p> <p>3.42 Domains of knowledge <i>We aim to promote understanding of all the domains of human experience, especially the physical, intellectual, aesthetic, social, moral and spiritual.</i></p> <p>3.43 Science and values <i>We affirm both the value and the limitations of the experimental methods of science, and their dependence on human values.</i></p> <p>3.44 Environmental responsibility <i>We are committed to developing an appreciative understanding of the natural environment, and encouraging a concern for forms of resource development which are regenerative and sustainable.</i></p>

Disagreements were far from being regarded as unimportant, but were postponed for later dialogue while the areas of agreement were clarified. The risk was that the consensus would be too slight to be the basis of much joint action at all. The actual outcome was an impressively robust 'minimum', as indicated in Figures 4 to 6. This has been the stimulus for much subsequent curriculum development.

This process, and the trialling of values outcome statements derived from the Agreed Minimum Values Framework, have been described and analysed in more detail elsewhere (see Hill, 1998). It needs to be said here that the section headed 'Ultimate Values' initially caused some concern when the framework was used as a basis for discussion in the government sector. Its theistic affirmations were seen as limiting the usefulness of the document in circles where those involved either espoused non-theistic religions or operated in the public sphere as such. In such circumstances,

one would expect a consensus document to have a different and more modest profile at the ultimate level.

The immediate reply to the objection, however, was that inclusion of these affirmations in the present document was an in-house recognition of how much this particular consortium of theistic partners had been able to achieve, even at the level of ultimate values. While negotiations amongst a more pluralistic group of participants would be unlikely to get as far in identifying common ultimate values, the effort would be worth making to affirm the importance of becoming aware of one's own ultimate commitments, whilst clarifying at the present time that the way forward is to see how much progress can be made at the level of identifying broad democratic and educational agreements. One does not have to agree on everything before agreeing—and acting—on something.

A second implication of what has been said, reinforcing an earlier comment, is that the value of such an exercise lies in the *process* at least as much as in the product. For this reason, one might almost welcome loose ends as proving that the process must go on. To aim for a perfect, and therefore static, document would be to mistake the nature of the exercise. Certainly, participants in any such exercise should aim for as clear and coherent a statement as they are capable of producing, but it would be contrary to the spirit of the enterprise to close off the possibility of on-going revision.

Indeed, if later generations of participants are to have a sense of attachment to, and ownership of, a democratic charter, it is essential that they be invited from time to time to review and refine what has previously been formulated. In saying this, it is not necessary to assume that the changes would be radical. The basic requirements for justice and caring in a pluralistic democracy are unlikely to change greatly. Neither relativism nor universalism are required axioms for this exercise, only a willingness to negotiate in search of the common good. It is more likely that the result of such reviews would be some fine-tuning of a document basically similar to its predecessors. The important thing is that the revisers would gain in their turn a sense of owning the result.

What is the future of such attempts?

As was mentioned in the Introduction, it has not been uncommon in Western countries for officials involved with education in the government sector to be reluctant to associate it with specific values, other than academic or vocational ones. At the same time such countries, like all countries undergoing modernization, are becoming increasingly more pluralistic in their ethnic and religious compositions, creating an urgent need for reappraisal of their public values base. Some societies, less habituated to democratic forms of government, often exhibit a greater willingness to use education in the government sector for the promotion of hegemonic values, but for that reason are equally hesitant about engaging in values reappraisal.

Two related questions therefore arise from our Australian case study: (1) can

a revised value base be negotiated that is acceptable to all parties? and (2) can a revised strategy for values education be developed that avoids lapsing into indoctrination?

THE SEARCH FOR THE COMMON GOOD

With regard to the first question, there is a need to revive a concept which pluralistic discourse has rendered unfashionable: that of the 'common good'. Despite the resurgence of nationalism and religious fundamentalism in many parts of the world, the global trend is towards open, pluralistic societies. People of many faiths and ethnicities have to learn to live together. In societies serviced by high technology, the lives of their citizens are too interwoven to allow them to settle for a lean notion of society which portrays it as a collection of exclusivist enclaves interacting, when they are forced to, at a purely economic and technical level.

A concept of the common good is needed which pitches such interaction at a more communitarian level, and encourages both joint enterprises and uncoercive dialogue about the things one values. In the experiments that have been described, particularly the Western Australian values project, a way forward has been outlined which seeks to extend the areas of practical agreement without privatizing, or posing a threat to, the respective ultimate beliefs that hold many of its sub-groups together.

At this stage, the Western Australian project can only be described as an experiment that has not failed. It has also attracted considerable interest from other states, and has continued to develop onwards from the Agreed Minimum Values Framework. A number of values outcome statements have been framed to supplement (at least for the non-government sector) the outcome statements associated with the new curriculum. And detailed teachers' kits have been developed to help practitioners in the classroom. To this extent, the common good is being operationalized.

THE EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGE

In such a context, what does it mean to talk about values education? The historic approach to values education has been by authoritative, teacher-dominated transmission, on the assumption that the school existed to promote an official belief system to which all citizens were subject. The era of purportedly value-neutral instruction in many Western State school systems did not greatly alter the essential features of this approach, since certain values were always implicit in the curriculum, and there was little encouragement to students to become aware of them or question them.

In the new mood, there is talk about promoting a values consensus representing a negotiated view of the common good, but what is new? The mandate could still be interpreted as validating authoritarian transmission. I have sought elsewhere to argue for two teaching strategies that offer a more educative view of the matter.

First, I have argued (Hill, 1992) that one value in particular must always be included in a *democratic* charter for values education. It is the development of a critical consciousness enabling learners to interrogate even the democratic values which are being presented to them for adoption. It is the key safeguard against education lapsing into indoctrination.

This is not a sufficient condition for democratic education to occur, but it is a necessary one. The other necessary condition which provides balance is that the prevailing consensus regarding the common good *should* be presented to students, giving them some insight into the most widely held world-views in their community, so that they are not left to 'reinvent the wheel' (see Hill, 1996b). In a book on the teaching of social studies (Hill, 1994b), I contended that, together, these two conditions constitute an intent to encourage 'critical affiliation', in contrast to more limited agendas of the kind aimed solely at values transmission, cognitive initiation or values clarification.

The second strategy I have argued for (e.g. with particular reference to the contentious area of religious studies; see Hill, 1995) is to base formal assessment on the evaluation of capacities, not commitments. Attempting to pre-empt the students' right to make informed choices about the values they will live by is more likely to produce either rebels or moral cripples than responsible citizens. Our task is to provide the knowledge base, and nurture the capacities of value clarification and justification, which will enable those choices to be made on the best and most humane grounds. The school can do no more; nor, ethically, should it attempt to.

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OPEN FILE

LEARNING
TO LIVE TOGETHER
THROUGH THE TEACHING
OF HISTORY
AND GEOGRAPHY

PART ONE:
THE DUTY, ABILITY AND DESIRE
FOR PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

THE DUTY, ABILITY AND DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

EDUCATION FOR NEW FORMS OF CITIZENSHIP THROUGH HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY: A THEORETICAL APPROACH

Antoine Bailly

School and society

School is an institution that puts knowledge into order so that it can be transmitted to future generations on the basis of values that are acknowledged to be legitimate. The legitimacy of any subject taught, such as history or geography, will be all the greater if it is rooted in a particular vision of society, which is conveyed through school. But such visions are not fixed once and for all, and evolve constantly according to dominant ideologies. Priorities in the scale of values change and some suffer a loss of legitimacy with the passage of time. Such changes are often seen as a crisis and a breakdown of the old order. But they also reflect the emergence of new values that redefine the role of legitimate disciplines in society.

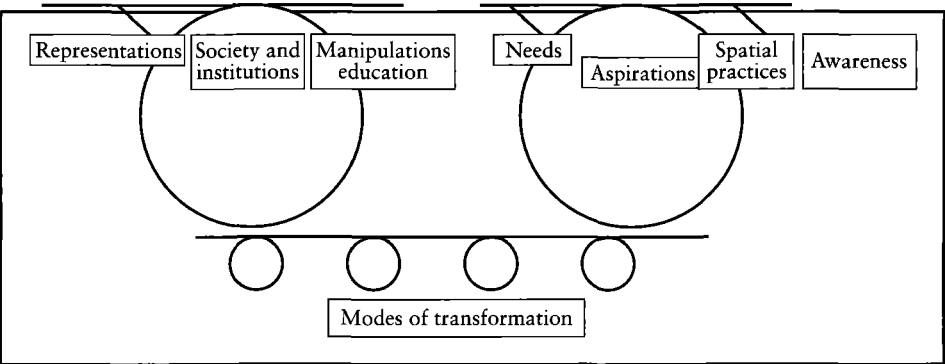
History and geography evolve like any other discipline. In geography, for instance, values go through an 'institutionalization-de-institutionalization' process.

Original language: French

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FIGURE 1. Institutionalization-de-institutionalization process



Three dimensions:

1. Society and its institutions:	environment	
	• history	
	• population	education t1
	• economy	
	knowledge	
	• cultures	
	• dominant ideologies	
	• institutions	
	• living space	
2. Space as experienced:	spatial practices	
	• ways of life	representations t2
	• values	
	aspirations	
	• representations	
	• needs	
3. Transformation:	awareness of	
	• contradictions	
	• oppositions-conflicts	education t3
	transformations and actions	

During the 'institutional' phase, society establishes types of education that inevitably contradict pupils' everyday experience of life. At certain periods, evidence of discrepancies between 'education' and 'pupils' representations' will appear. Awareness of these discrepancies between knowledge acquired through education and experiential knowledge brings with it the realization that education no longer meets pupils' expectations or needs. A transitional phase may result in the introduction of new educational and institutional approaches.

The circular transformation model shown in Figure 1 illustrates how education is created through a series of scientific and professional manipulations, how it has to contend with pupils' own spatial experience and representations, and also with the demands of society and its institutions. Depending on students' spatial practices, aspirations and needs, awareness of the relevance of education or alternatively of a discrepancy between 'scholarly knowledge' and 'experiential knowledge' will emerge between time 1 (t_1) and time 2 (t_2). Where there are perceived contradictions, oppositions and potential conflicts, the education system will be transformed and educational goals modified; this will occur at time 3 (t_3).

History and geography are subjects that have been particularly affected by changing values. Having started out as the custodians of world knowledge (cosmography, cartography) and its evolution, they then became the sciences that recorded geographical data (population, resources, etc.) and historical data (reference points in time, symbolic dates, etc.). In the nineteenth century, they were subsumed into the movement of scientific thought known as the Age of Enlightenment. The great ages of exploration of the world and naturalism were later replaced by those of nation and region, and later still by those based on differentiated local to global spatial patterns in response to new economic, social and cultural goals. It is therefore important, when defining the purposes of history and geography, to understand the role of these disciplines in new visions of society and how their relevance has evolved over time.

Overview of changes in thinking on history and geography since the end of the nineteenth century

The fundamental importance of naturalist models in the emergence of history and geography at the end of the nineteenth century under the influence of Darwinian thought is generally recognized. Stoddart (1966) sees a threefold influence:

- change over time;
- the concept of societal organization;
- the struggle for life.

To these may logically be added the notion of progress, to be found in Darwin's core work *On the origin of species* (1859). An entire cosmology of dynamic balance, an organic vision of history and geography were to mark the predominant works and textbooks in the two disciplines, which portrayed the evolution of societies in their natural environment and the difficulties caused by human practices.

In Ratzel's work, which exerted a great influence on the teaching of history and geography, the notion of natural environment was of paramount importance in understanding how peoples could organize their own habitat, activities and even culture. The state was rooted in its physical environment and its vital components depended on the potentialities of that environment. This conception of the two disciplines, which was caricatured in the twentieth century to serve as a vehicle for the ideas of Pan-Germanism, led to the teaching of natural history and the legitimacy of the State. It is therefore not surprising to find that societies that were organized as nation-States encouraged the teaching of these two disciplines. When education became compulsory, history and geography became crucially important subjects and when countries suffered defeat, as France did in 1871, shortcomings in the teaching of these two subjects were blamed.

The end of the nineteenth century consequently saw a strengthening of the new patriotic paradigm. The omnipresence of colonialism and nationalism was reflected in the patriotism found in textbooks on these subjects. The community's emotional heritage, which served as its conscience and, indeed, as its superego, was marked by the twin concept of nationhood and colonization. Official history and geography were based on this school of thought, fascinated by the emergence of nation-States and the progress of civilization throughout the world through colonialism. The two disciplines were anchored to this social context and proposed perspectives based on the role of the nation.

Whether in Germany, where the nation was founded on an ethnic culture, or in France, where, as propounded by Vidal de la Blache, it was founded on the diversity of regions sharing a national ideal, education served as a vehicle for the primacy of the State with its own identity and boundaries. The two disciplines gave pride of place to the new State within its territorial confines in order to enhance its credibility and legitimacy. The nation-State, central to the blueprint for citizenship, was rooted in the concept of *jus soli*, under which citizens born in that State had a common destiny. Colonial expansion made it possible to transmit that blueprint to the newly colonized territories so as to bring them under the influence of the nation-State and thus strengthen its economic and political power worldwide.

These changes in the conception of history and geography teaching did not call their naturalist foundations into question but gave rise to new approaches. 'It is because of invention that knowledge has a history' (Schlanger, 1983). For example, the studies produced by the *Ecole française d'histoire et de géographie* [French school of history and geography] resulted in new definitions of French regions within the French State which influenced the objectives assigned to these disciplines.

It was within each State that the social order was regulated. In the event of crisis, the State introduced economic and monetary policies to protect its citizens. And what was taught was the way in which the new set of precepts (the Keynesian model, for example) conferred legitimacy on the great powers and on each State according to the ideological bloc to which it belonged. The history and geography taught were those of a world of big nations dominating smaller ones and colonies.

Never had the map of the world expressed so clearly the processes of social production and awareness of identity! The Second World War, the outcome of tensions between groups of major powers, was to be the climax of that school of thought, which survived, with the Cold War, until the 1950s.

But alongside the emerging vision of a world dominated by two superpowers, the United States of America and the USSR, two other concepts came to light: that of antagonist blocs, and, conversely, that of networks conducive to exchanges of information, persons and goods in the world system. The development of such networks has changed interactions with time and space: history and geography are now in an era of accelerated movement, of mobility of persons, services and goods. This change has prompted some authors to predict the demise of geography and history, and the establishment of a new world order in a planet without frontiers; as if 'territories' could be erased along with their history, culture and borders.

Many institutions, including States, regions and even supranational or local communities, need, in order to maintain their structure and power, to rely on space and distinctive spatial patterns. What distinguishes the modern State is its hegemony over a territory: each citizen, wielding part of this power, may vote and be elected in that space. And the rule of law can only be exercised if the State knows who its citizens are and they, in turn, enable it to function by paying rates and taxes. Modern citizenship has to do with clearly defined spatial patterns that are recorded by history and geography; but with the establishment of new networks, area-network interfaces are proliferating in territories of variable geographical size, a fact that the two disciplines cannot ignore. That being said, the linkages between networks and areas are still largely unknown. Are they conducive to the maintenance of the nation-State, out of a concern for self-protection, or do they, on the contrary, lead to the broader conception of belonging to entities that cut across national boundaries? Do networks establish connections between the various levels of the region, the State and the world system? These are all important questions if we are going to understand how new forms of citizenship emerge and how national actors use the institutional machinery that they have developed and codified to safeguard their territories. All these factors reveal tensions between networks and spatial patterns which history and geography will have to record. At another level, we may wonder whether the 'return to local perspectives' and to community values is not antithetical to worldwide networks; on the one hand, we have a fluid world system, and on the other, a spatial system rooted in a particular territory and based on local values.

From local to global perspectives

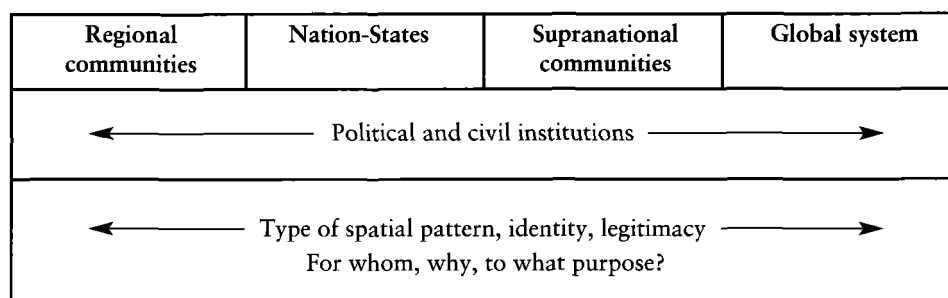
As Michel Serres has written, 'our relationship with the world has changed. Before it was local-local; now it is local-global'. Globalization has made us discover another form of citizenship: that of a world that can be viewed through satellite pictures, a world of rapidity and movement, a world united to address the problems of sustainable development.

By contrast, the local perspective is often epitomized by egocentrism and individuality, whence the difficulty of maintaining regional forms of citizenship as values. Globalization and fragmentation are terms of a new dialectic between the general and the specific. We can no longer be content with a locally oriented vision because the world is all around us, but nor can we use globalism as a pretext for blindly simplifying our conception of the world. Citizenship, conveyed through history and geography, can no longer be exclusively that of the nation-State. Besides, the welfare State is running out of steam and it is often free trade in the context of economic liberalism that serves as the reference for State policy. The gradual opening up of free trade, following a series of international agreements (Bretton-Woods, establishment of the International Monetary Fund, the 'G7', 'G8' and WTO agreements, etc.), is illustrative of a new vision of the world system with its new forms of interdependence and new operational rules. New institutions, presented and validated by education, are making their appearance in a world increasingly driven by economic rationales. But just as this world system has earned a place for itself in curricula, demands are being made for the world to be carved up anew on the basis of regionalist ideologies, often drawing inspiration from the history of peoples. The forging of regional structures has coincided with the establishment of the world system. There is talk of new citizenship systems based on local advantages and of new governance at the local level. Is this a passing idea or is it a perception heralding the shape of things to come? The question of infranational spatial divisions and of their geopolitical implications is at the centre of debates in many countries, and these debates are already finding their way into education.

Mobility is the order of the day—mobility of people, information, goods and services. Hence the idea of globalization, detached from any territorial associations: hence, too, the flexible concept of citizenship linked to residence, not birth. And yet even in this changing world, residence still has significant implications: living environments are more likely to vary, but in these changing locations, people acquire new knowledge. In each environment, the migrant will again discover a past, a collective memory. Awareness through discovery of a place will supplant the sense of place itself, generating new forms of citizenship that must gradually be incorporated into history and geography.

This, then, is how the world's values and spatial distributions have changed. Which spatial pattern should be taught at school and for what reasons? Which forms of citizenship should be given precedence and on what scale? New modes of global regulation show how reference systems and institutions have been superseded by others. The architecture of the world has undergone radical change—from the natural State to the nation-State, to supranational communities, to the world system and to new regional structures. So has the teaching of history and geography. The following major questions may therefore be asked: what kind of history and geography should be taught in the twenty-first century? How can we build citizenship today and on which scale?

FIGURE 2. Building citizenship for the twenty-first century - On which scale?

Regional communities	Nation-States	Supranational communities	Global system
 <p>Political and civil institutions</p> <p>Type of spatial pattern, identity, legitimacy</p> <p>For whom, why, to what purpose?</p>			

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THE DUTY, ABILITY AND DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

WORLD AND TERRITORY:

HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY FOR

LEARNING TO LIVE TOGETHER

Yves André

Present to varying degrees in the different compulsory education systems, the learning of history and geography responds to three successive, interlocking or overlapping objectives, depending on the period and the country. The first of these is to forge a national or community identity. Another is to foster integration into wider spatial contexts and to position oneself in relation to neighbouring countries and the rest of the world. The third is to transmit both explicit and implicit ethical and civic values. These three functions underpin the legitimacy of history and geography at school.

Speculating about history and geography teaching's potential for helping people to live together in an increasingly interdependent world implies asking what such teaching means to the nations, States and social groups practising it. Against a background of globalization and the simultaneous emergence of new forms of regionalism, what does the teaching of history and geography mean? How can different societies meet and how can they live together?

To respond to this challenge, history and geography must now look beyond their original objectives so as to facilitate such an encounter and give it meaning, based on understanding of others and respect for other cultures.

Original language: French

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What do we mean by history and geography teaching?

The meaning of history and geography teaching is neither constant in time nor fixed in space. There are constant adjustments to changes in political and social contexts and the requirements of each country so as to respond to what are perceived as new needs and thereby re-establish the legitimacy of such education. But despite these variations in meaning, the teaching of history and geography seems to fulfil three functions: to forge identity, to foster integration and to transmit values.

Forging identity

School is where representations of national territory are forged:

There are constant complaints that our children do not know enough about their country. If they knew it better, it is rightly said, they would love it even more and could serve it even better. But our teachers know how difficult it is to convey a clear idea of their country to children, or even simply of its land and resources. To schoolchildren, their country merely represents something abstract which, more often than we might think, remains alien to them for quite a long period of their lives. To capture their imagination, we must make their country visible and bring it to life (Bruno, 1877, p. 4).

Reading *Le tour de la France par deux enfants* [The tour of France by two children], published in 1877, and learning to decipher the map on the wall have symbolized the kind of geography taught for the purpose of legitimizing a finite space. This approach to geography teaching thus conveys, implicitly rather than explicitly, the idea of substantive identification between a territory and the people living in it (Guérin, 1991). This spatial legitimization has a historical dimension (heritage), a geographical one (natural boundaries) and also an economic one (territorial features are translated into statistics, classifications and records of achievement). Geography thus produces the kind of egocentric discourse that evokes love for one's country, stresses geopolitical aspects (as reflected in warlike or sporting metaphors) and engenders a collective culture.

History accomplishes the same function. Understanding the past helps in controlling the present and justifying domination and changes of course. History has repeatedly been put at the service of political objectives and social demands. The dominant structures (States, churches, private interests) control and finance education, publishing and reproduction, thereby continually conveying the impression of an official or 'politically correct' version of history.

Marc Ferro (1981) shows, however, that there are several layers of history in every nation. First of all, there is history that is taught at school, i.e. institutional history that speaks for, or justifies, a policy, ideology or regime and may, to a greater or lesser extent according to the time and place, be subjected to scientific criticism. This is, as it were, history seen and projected 'from the top'. Alongside it there may at times be an 'institutional counter-history'—a repressed history that sur-

faces wherever a social group feels dominated, exploited and repudiated (Chicanos, *Quebecois*, colonized peoples, etc.). Both of these kinds of history look outwards, beyond the community's borders and define the community in its relation to others.

Then there is a third kind of history, that which conveys history 'from below', the history told at home, which constitutes the memory of societies and sometimes overlaps with institutional counter-history. This inward-looking history is constructed orally. It has no historians and is recorded neither in textbooks nor in official works. It has to be compiled from 'ordinary' texts, pronouncements and stories. This informal history is one of the components of social representations. It is consequently not subjected to criticism and derives its sources variously from myth and history, stories and representations.

Marc Ferro goes on to point out that history, irrespective of its scientific purpose, thus exercises a dual function that is at once therapeutic and militant. Accordingly, history and geography teaching at school seems torn between a scientific approach and the satisfaction of social and political needs. However that may be, their contribution to the representation of others is crucial: 'Let us make no mistake: the image that we have of other peoples, or of ourselves, is associated with the history that was related to us when we were children. It leaves its mark on us throughout our lives' (Ferro, 1981, p. 7).

Fostering integration

Teaching also aims to broaden the mind and invites knowledge of others. It strives to be universal, and in so doing reaches beyond the confines of its role in forging identity. But this exposure to others soon comes up against the difficulty of remaining oneself while practising tolerance towards other civilizations. Discovering cultural plurality is never a harmless exercise. It entails the risk of becoming merely one among many others or, even worse, of being subsumed into the culture of others. The danger is that, in the end, there are only the others left (Ricoeur, 1955). Responsiveness to others is based on a paradox because it is to the extent that people visualize themselves as being at the centre of the world that they want to know more about others.

Such integration, i.e. knowledge of others, becomes even more difficult to achieve if we go outside the model of 'finite' spatial entities to which history and geography teaching has hitherto been confined. Europe is a case in point:

Europe in the spatial sense does not exist. It is not a land-based entity Europe is a geographical notion without any frontiers with Asia and a historical notion with changing frontiers To think European is to think in terms of the identity of non-identity (Morin, 1987, p. 26–27).

The same can be said of globalization: 'Humanity, taken as a single body, is entering a single planet-wide civilization that represents a gigantic step forward for everyone and at the same time faces us with the overwhelming task of ensuring the sur-

vival of the cultural heritage and its adaptation to this new environment' (Ricoeur, 1955, p. 286). These new, informal spatial entities raise the problem of the existence and survival of cultures and social identities. Does this mean that to take our place in the world we have to relinquish what constitutes the *raison d'être* of a people?

Transmitting values

History and geography teaching also has the function of transmitting values. But do we have the right to teach values? It could justifiably be argued that this is a subjective, private matter, that it means interfering with personal choices, whereas the role of the school is above all to impart knowledge and know-how. Nevertheless the answer is yes, because history and geography must help shape individuals' moral consciousness and consign to memory the social contract binding them to society. Schools are also about learning to be (Delors, 1997). Values education is acquiring ever-greater prominence and is the subject of wide-ranging public and scientific debate on the subject of 'education for citizenship'.

History and geography must also awaken pupils to the ethical dimension of things. Not all values are of equal value and, where there is some doubt, an attitude of indifference or neutrality is untenable. This does not mean indoctrinating pupils, but enlightening them. Among these values, we are particularly attached to those of democracy, i.e. the recognition of individual rights, which take precedence over *raison d'Etat*, freedom, secularism (freedom of conscience, of religion) and solidarity. The school territory thus becomes a protected world in the service of democracy. Yet knowledge of others, and hence the respect for and acceptance of otherness that it requires, may destabilize or challenge these values: 'What will happen to my values when I understand those of other peoples? Understanding is a formidable adventure in which all cultural heritages are in danger of being swallowed up in a vague syncretism' (Ricoeur, 1955, p. 299).

History, geography and globalization

Clearly, therefore, the three functions of history and geography teaching are being seriously and durably disrupted by the changes under way. How is globalization affecting the meaning of this teaching? Must we relinquish the idea of the nation and the community, and promote instead a 'liberal', economic form of citizenship in response to the technology-based organization of the world? With the emergence of new forms of regionalism, how can different cultures be brought together and how can they learn to live together?

What, then, are the conditions for a society to continue to exist, and how can history and geography teaching contribute to its continued survival? P. Ricoeur informs us that 'Only a living culture, both true to its origins and in a state of creativity [...], is able to cope with the encounter with other cultures—not only to cope with it but also to give it meaning' (Ricoeur, 1955, p. 299). A society can only remain alive if it re-creates itself constantly by putting its roots down into the very core of its cultural

heritage. But a society's cultural heritage is not something that is to be seen merely in terms of its intellectual accomplishments, like literature or philosophical inquiry. The values that are specific to a people must be sought deeper down—they are 'those that reflect people's concrete expectations of life, as a system' (Ricoeur, 1955, p. 294). What needs to be done, therefore, is to ascertain and interpret the images and symbols of a society and a territory, i.e. the social and spatial representations that are conveyed within a group and that all inhabitants identify with.

This, then, gives us an idea about what the new function of history and geography should be—to transmit a culture capable of integrating the rational scientific thinking that comes with world civilization (of course, since there is no question of being cut off from it), but also to foster the encounter with other cultures, give it meaning and thus help people to learn to live together. Achieving these goals implies, however, a rethinking of history and geography teaching. We will need to make it clear that any territory and the world as a whole are worlds of representations and that there is no objective reality outside our own intellectual constructions: 'Geography is a knowledge (a representation elaborated by geographers) of knowledge (ways in which societies and people transcribe in images their experience of the environment)' (Bailly et al., 1991, p. 21).

Pupils, and all actors, must be induced to view the familiar universe as a construct charged with subjectivity and symbols. Human beings' awareness of their representations of the world and their territory enables them to gain a better understanding of the complex world they live in. The role of teaching will be to give scientific shape to representations of territory and everyday life and their relevance to globality. In a spirit of critical inquiry and approaching the subject at all levels, it will give meaning to the spatial contexts that surround us (André, 1998). In so doing it will educate people about the world in such a way as to prepare the ground for continuity between territory-based contexts and the world system, and make them more receptive to outsiders who, although different, are yet so close.

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THE DUTY, ABILITY AND DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

FROM THE DUTY TO THE NEED TO LIVE TOGETHER IN LEBANON

Abdelkrim Mouzoune

Introduction

Many national, regional and international wars have marked the recent history of the now weakened, fragmented and segmented Lebanese society. Despite the still uneven relations between its various components, Lebanese society is endeavouring to rebuild itself and to forget the sixteen years of inter- and intra-community war. The social reconstruction effort falls into a twofold context: first, the national context marked by the quest for identification with a community or territory with roots, a quest made more acute by the 'communitarian' phenomenon, or administrative control by religious communities; second, the extra-national context, where tendencies towards regionalization and globalization are accompanied by the phenomena of exclusion and growing inequality to be found in developing countries where tribal, ethnic and religious conflicts persist.

This twofold context of tension raises the question of the young Lebanese of today: are they citizens of their community and its territorial counterpart, be this a neighbourhood, town or region, and therefore citizens with a strong, spatially defined community identification and multiple loyalties (religious, political and ethnic)? Are they merely citizens of Lebanon unmarked by the seal of community identity? Do we find in each case a desire to live together at a distance from, or in proximity to,

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the 'Other'? Does the teaching of history and geography disseminate values based on the principles of knowledge, recognition, tolerance, understanding and openness to diversity?

Our theme will be based on three basic concepts—duty, ability and desire—all structured around the idea of 'living together'. Through a study of history and geography textbooks, we shall try to understand the way in which the State acts as a vehicle for the idea of 'the duty to live together' as distinct from that of 'the ability and desire to live together' expressed first by teachers and then by their pupils.

The duty to live together: towards the creation of a *Homo libanicus*

History and geography textbooks remain the media whereby a country's social, economic, political, institutional, cultural, religious and geographical reality is transmitted. In the case of Lebanon, these textbooks are both numerous and diversified. This is due to the education system which, under Article X of the Constitution, is made up of State and private schools. Educational responsibility is therefore shared between the Ministry of Education and the religious communities. The former lays down national educational standards and decides on the curricula, timetables and 'national character' of the examinations. The latter are responsible for setting up and running their schools; they are also empowered to recruit and pay their staff. In addition, the religious communities decide on teaching methods, the training of their teachers and the choice of textbooks or the preparation of their content.

The content of history and geography textbooks meets two requirements: one, a community requirement, which teaches the diversity of Lebanese society, inward-looking identity and the asymmetrical relations between its various social components; the other, a State requirement, whose goal is the reproduction, through a compulsory education system, of a non-community society where the collective project has primacy over the development of the individual (Durkheim, 1992). This diversity in the textbooks made it difficult to choose media for analysis that would be 'neutral' from the community viewpoint. After much research, we therefore opted for three official textbooks in Arabic: *History* (Salem & Kachmar, 1995) for third-year primary classes, *Geography* (Albaba Châabane et al., 1996) for fifth-year primary classes and *The clear method in history and geography* (Haoui & Khalil, 1996) for fourth-year secondary pupils.

Using these three media, we have endeavoured to study the knowledge that is supposed to be shared by all Lebanese, i.e. linked by their very nature to 'education in citizenship', the purpose of which is to form pupils in the same mould, since it is necessary for them to feel that they are full citizens of Lebanon and not separate Lebanese citizens. However, will forming them in the same mould merge community identities into a single, more 'citizen-like' identity capable of promoting living together and, if so, how? Is this living together an ideal to be attained only among the Lebanese, or does it extend to the populations of other countries?

THE NATIONAL VALUES OF LIVING TOGETHER

The teaching of history and geography has roots in two dimensions: one in time and the other in space. Both give expression to a Statist theme designed to exalt the feeling of belonging to the space constituted by the national territory. However, the two disciplines have different but not opposing goals. History follows a logic and direction embodying the principle of selecting facts and events. For Lebanon it starts with the break-up of the Ottoman Empire and the founding of a State under French mandate, and then takes on fresh life when the Lebanese embarked on the struggle for emancipation, resulting in the independence and birth of a Lebanese nation with well-defined frontiers.

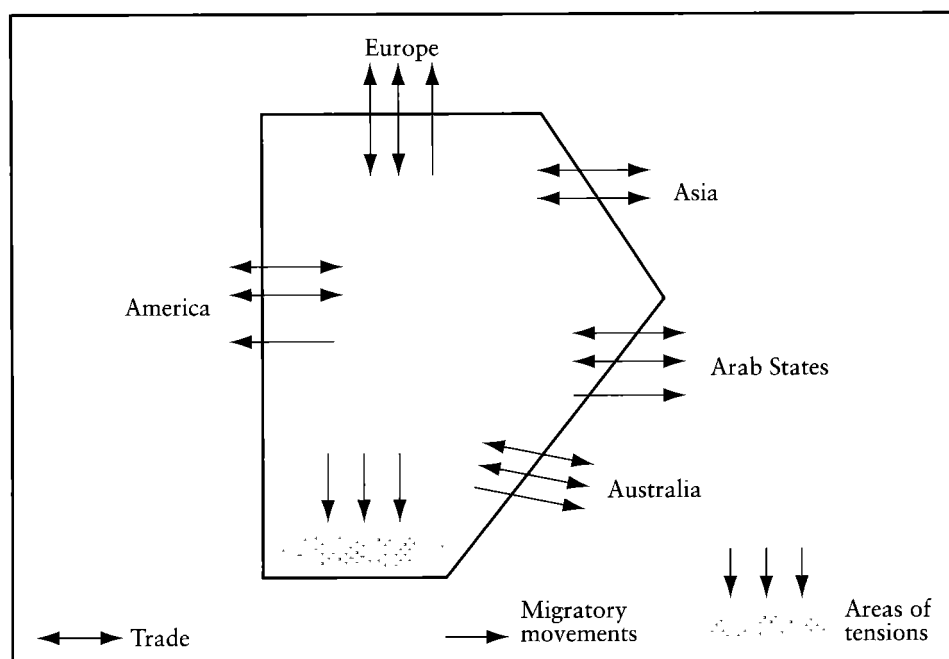
This nation is a country whose official language is Arabic and where all Lebanese co-exist in freedom and equality. We witness here a living together based on language, a powerful vehicle of unification and identification and a guarantor of the country's cultural specificity. The other principles—liberty, equality, fraternity, co-existence—serve to show that the nation embodies an 'ideal' of diversity and tolerance put into practice within the national territory where the sovereignty of the State is exercised. This territory is divided up into living spaces—into spaces of living together—in many cases with distinctive ways of life and being, particularly in rural localities where areas of relationship are marked by very close links of interdependence, both primary (blood relations) and secondary (neighbours, fellow villagers and clans).

Lebanon is thus portrayed as a single, indivisible nation composed of spaces of living together in proximity, where differences between local customs are not unwelcome, because they enrich the country's social mosaic. Each space of living together is a structured link organized both by the State from the capital, Beirut, and by networks of family or clan authorities that ensure that it is made fast to the national territory. The geographical scale of these spaces differs as one moves from small villages to large towns and districts.

Lebanon is a nation with very clearly marked frontiers. These frontiers constitute places of transition or transgression, and of aggression. In the former case, they promote the movement of persons (emigration and immigration) and goods (trade). In the latter case, they are synonymous with conflicts, particularly with Israel. Demarcating the frontiers of Lebanon means giving a territorial dimension to the promotion of national feeling and developing patriotism. It also means that there is a living together within its finite space, which is portrayed as having attributes that can make it loved like a person, to employ words borrowed from Guérin (1991). To the finite nature of space is added cultural homogeneity, the basis for the feeling of belonging to the nation. This is a way of asserting the existence of an identity of substance between the finite space and its inhabitants (Vidal de la Blache, 1927–48). The nation then serves as a pretext for justifying the 'duty to live together' desired by the State. Consequently it takes legitimacy away from any regionalist hankerings, which are synonymous with the manifestation of community identities and the establishment of their socially closed territorial referents (villages, towns or regions), and which would signify the anti-nation.

Beyond the national frontiers the rest of the world is regarded as a vast, heterogeneous, structured and conflictual space with which Lebanon maintains cultural relations as regards neighbouring Arab countries; economic relations as regards the European Union, North America, the Arab countries and eastern Asia; and migratory relations as regards the countries of the Gulf, North America and Europe. However, whereas geography textbooks lay stress on trade and contacts with foreign countries, history textbooks give prominence to the conflicts between Lebanon and Israel.

FIGURE 1. Representations of contacts in history and geography textbooks



In a chapter on the Palestinian question, the textbook by Haoui and Khalil (p. 99–108) begins by presenting Zionism as a ‘racist political movement with globalizing tendencies masquerading as religious concerns’ and that ‘uses historical claims to justify its expansionist goals’. According to the authors, Theodore Herzl unified the ranks of the Zionist movement, attracted the Jews and organized their ‘return to and settlement of the promised land (Palestine)’. He also established ‘farming settlements in order to ensure their survival’. These settlements have been extended by various means, in particular by ‘massive expulsions of the Palestinians, who thereby became a people of refugees’.

The textbook also portrays Zionists as seeking to weaken the Lebanese economy, destroy its basic infrastructure, seize its chief sources of water flowing towards Israel (e.g. Lake Hasbani), occupy the Litani region in order to exploit the lake’s water, and destroy its distinctiveness as a community based on co-existence between

Muslims and Christians. 'Zionist sights have also been set on other Arab countries', such as Jordan (occupation of the West Bank), Syria (occupation followed by annexation of the Golan) and Egypt (occupation of Sinai, now handed back). Arab-Israeli history, as narrated in this textbook, is marred by conflict, war, conquest and domination in which the individual is identified with the 'hallowed ground'. Resistance with a view to emancipation and independence is the essential theme that gives meaning to each problem in the region while at the same time defining it.

Over and above the knowledge that they convey, history and geography yield a covert or overt meaning that has to be grasped if the 'duty to live together' projected on to a complex and divided Lebanese society is to be properly understood.

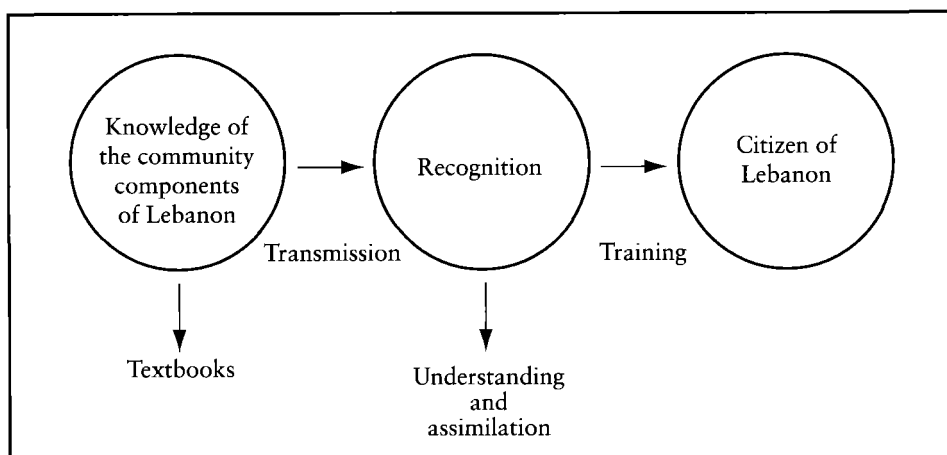
THE HIDDEN MEANING OF LEBANESE CITIZENSHIP

The content of the official history and geography textbooks is the vehicle for an unvarying argument about composite Lebanon. In meeting the demands of the State, this argument relies on its system of centralized references and sources for 'creating a Lebanese citizen without a community memory'. The latter is replaced by an institutional memory set in historical/geographical discourse conflating two faces of the past: one the myth of the history of the unsegmented Lebanese nation and the other the real history of a plural and warring Lebanon.

The official textbooks set out to be factors of national unity. In doing so, they transmit a 'duty to live together' that eliminates all reference to the religious communities that make up Lebanon (the adjectives 'Muslim' or 'Christian' are mentioned twice in the textbook *The clear method in history and geography*). A *Homo libanicus* is created by a smooth training in being identical, which results in this 'well-polished' citizen of the Lebanese nation. However, the elimination of what constitutes essence, or even sense, in Lebanon—namely, the communities—is no accident; it is consciously desired so that the territory of Lebanon may be the basis of the 'duty to live together' of a population possessing a single identity: Lebanese.

Through such elimination, the textbooks convey the idea that there is only one globalizing social system in the country, whereas in fact there are several segmented systems, the sum of which constitutes Lebanon. This means that Lebanese citizenship, as it emerges from the textbooks, is an artificial one manufactured according to the model of collective representations of the territory as cementing the bond to the nation, and not as a symbol of difference. All feeling of belonging to a community is destroyed, and with it the affects that make the territory into a meaningful living space. Does being a Lebanese citizen not involve a recognition of the different community components of Lebanon and thus a 'desire to live together' while continuing to be different? If so, this is possible only if history and geography textbooks convey the appropriate knowledge about Lebanese society.

FIGURE 2. Process of transition to Lebanese citizenship



The transition to 'real citizen' certainly does not mean 'communities against the State'; rather, it means an alliance between interactions and heterogeneities that abolishes the system of generalized equivalents in the field of values, meanings and affects.

As regards the frontier, this is represented first of all in the geography textbooks as a place of transgressions, that is, of crossing by persons (migrations) and goods (trade), and then as a place of aggression in the tense relationship between Lebanon and Israel. The latter is mentioned by name only when an account has to be given of the violence it commits on Lebanese soil. In other circumstances, the word 'Israel' is replaced by Palestine. The southern boundary of Lebanon isolates; it does not separate from proximity, it alienates it. This frontier has been shifted so much that it ought to be described as a 'pioneer frontier' to the benefit of Israel (Guichonnet & Raffestin, 1974), which pushes it back whenever its 'security' is threatened. Elimination of the other side's capacity to harm, built as it is on the idea of domination and power, thus ends up killing fruitful trade and contacts. Besides its twofold function as a place of trade and tension, the frontier distinguishes the brothers and sisters (neighbouring Arab countries), the friends (Western countries) and the enemy (Israel). This role organizes relations along hierarchical lines, ranging from interaction to avoidance; it also structures economic and migratory networks.

The desire to live together is not based on the elimination of diversity and heterogeneity but, quite the reverse, on the knowledge and recognition of these qualities. The task of transparency to be fulfilled by history and geography textbooks concerning what gives Lebanon its identity (territory, sovereignty of the State, population with a diversified community component) is replaced by generalization of the image of a country apparently homogeneous, united and uniform. Even the sixteen-year war between and within the communities is glossed over. In this case, one can only wonder about this artificial citizenship, which was created in a rush in order to counter the community identifications that create territorial units in

Lebanon. In the absence of genuine transparency concerning living together while preserving differences, those teachers who can do so will try to fill in the gaps left by the textbooks and their pupils will try to rely on the knowledge acquired through social interaction. What type of living together will result from this knowledge conveyed by the teachers and from this interaction between pupils?

Living together: from the meaning of what is taught to the meaning of what is learnt

History and geography teachers try to instil values in their pupils that will enable them to live together while cultivating difference but not indifference. To do this, do they take into account both the contents of the textbooks and the knowledge acquired by the pupils in their daily lives? How do teachers teach these values, and how are the latter absorbed and reproduced by those who learn them? Answering these questions involves viewing the act of learning from both sides: as objective teaching, i.e. 'making known', and as subjective learning, i.e. 'acquiring knowledge of' (Gouzien, 1991, p. 26).

TOWARDS AN 'ABILITY TO LIVE TOGETHER' AMONG HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY TEACHERS

We have carried out a survey of history and geography teachers in order to identify the values of living together contained in the textbooks and the way in which they are communicated to the pupils, with or without being adapted to present world trends. The teacher's role is to impart meaning to what the pupil has to learn. In the case examined, the meaning concerned is the one attributed to the values of living together contained in the textbooks.

Regarded by teachers as basic teaching tools, and often the pupils' sole sources of guidance, history and geography textbooks stress the concept of Lebanon's cultural identity, which lies firmly in the Arab world. The culture is fixed by the language in which the areas of relationship are expressed, thus shaping identity and the way it is lived in the national space, also called 'country'. The latter is defined by teachers as:

- a centre of concentration of inhabitants considered to be smaller than a town but larger than a village; it is often larger in area than both town and village;
- a concentration of inhabitants, each of whom has his or her own way of life and social position. These inhabitants construct among themselves primary relations (of kinship) that are very close because of the small area of the territory in which they live. In addition, they have multiple links (community, ethnic) and a distinctive social and cultural life;
- a department, district or tourist centre; and
- a group of territories forming the country or land of one's ancestors.

The country—*al-balad* in Arabic—is defined in different ways by teachers, being a term with many meanings. To the Lebanese, it can mean town centre, urban district,

administrative district, tourist centre or a place where one has one's roots such as a village, where individuals having very close ties of kinship live. It may also denote a concentration of inhabitants who have multiple memberships, with a specific social and cultural life. One teacher adopted a more comprehensive approach to the idea of country by defining it as the land of one's ancestors. Through this conceptual diversity, history and geography teachers show that their problem of scale with respect to the country is due to the way they perceive it. The country may thus be one or more living spaces, simply a place where one has roots, or an aggregate of interlocking places of living together, which also accounts for the tendency of history and geography curricula to stress the idea of cultural identity and for the focusing of pupils' interest on the region and its corollary, the community.

Is it possible, then, to talk of a region that is homogeneous on the community level and of a plural, compartmentalized society? While the textbooks make only very scant reference to the breakdown of Lebanese society into groups with different religions and cultures, teachers are nevertheless united in their views about the presence of these different groups in Lebanon. Yet only a third of them recognize the existence of groups speaking languages other than Arabic or having different nationalities, except the Armenians and the Kurds, who have been naturalized and have therefore merged into the heterogeneous Lebanese mass, albeit with groupings in specific neighbourhoods. Despite this social heterogeneity, history and geography curricula lay stress on national identity only in order that the pupils may feel themselves to be citizens of the one and indivisible Lebanese nation. However, teachers include in their courses what the textbooks omit, namely, the identities characteristic of Lebanese society; hence the transition from a national identity, to which all pupils must belong even if they do not identify with it, to segmented identities serving as a landmark, a refuge or an outward sign of difference.

Meaning of the concepts and values taught in history and geography

History and geography curricula also deal with the ideas of frontier, conflict, cultural identity and migration. In geography, the frontier concept is omnipresent. Each country is first demarcated before being put before the pupils. In history, on the other hand, the frontier is an instrument. It is regarded as the 'peripheral organ of the State', determining the area in which its sovereignty is exercised, and as a factor of tensions and even wars between countries. Inter-Arab conflicts are thus explained in terms of territorial demands and hence of challenges to the principle of the inviolability of the frontiers inherited from colonial days. The war in southern Lebanon is considered to be the consequence of Israel's encroachment on Lebanese territory through transgression. In short, frontiers and conflicts are concepts that are linked but treated in different ways in the textbooks. While frontiers explain conflicts, they do not determine them. In addition, they represent areas of friction in living together

with neighbouring countries. Cultural identity is mentioned both in history and in geography. History explains how certain peoples claim special characteristics for their language, religion and traditions in order either to acquire their right to autonomy or independence or to claim greater freedom in the political field and religious practice. Geography curricula often stress the ethnic/community pattern of the countries and its foundations: languages, religions, traditions and ways of life. The approach adopted in the study of cultural identities has anthropological, ethnological and ethnographic characteristics that highlight the variety of situations (e.g. the status of minorities). It helps to give pupils an understanding of the cultural wealth of certain populations and thus to show them that they live in a multicultural world where inequality between cultures is glossed over and becomes straightforward diversity.

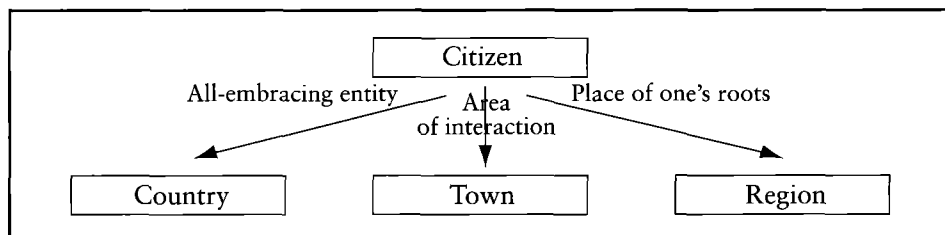
The notion of migration conjures up the idea of seeking work, higher wages and knowledge and is assessed in different ways. When it means flight from the countryside, it is perceived negatively, rural migrants being presented as difficult or even impossible to integrate into the host society. The reasons for this are given in the stereotypes attributed to these migrants: poverty, illiteracy, practice of a rural way of life in an urban setting, predominance of primary and secondary solidarities, numerous extended families, and difficulty in adjusting to the individualism and mercantile social relations that characterize city life. Emigration, however, is valued, concerning as it does people, generally young, seeking knowledge and enhanced well-being. No mention is made of their poor living and working conditions or of their difficulties in fitting into the host society. It is thus presented as a factor that promotes living together in a spirit of friendliness, tolerance and mutual respect.

The ideas of frontier, conflict, cultural identity and migration implicitly convey values such as power, the defence of territory and identity, progress, cultural wealth, enrichment; they seldom suggest living together in peace. We are therefore prompted to ask about the content of history and geography curricula: does it correspond to precise aims? Is it respected by the teachers, and, if not, what improvements do they propose should be made to it?

A look by teachers at the content of history and geography teaching

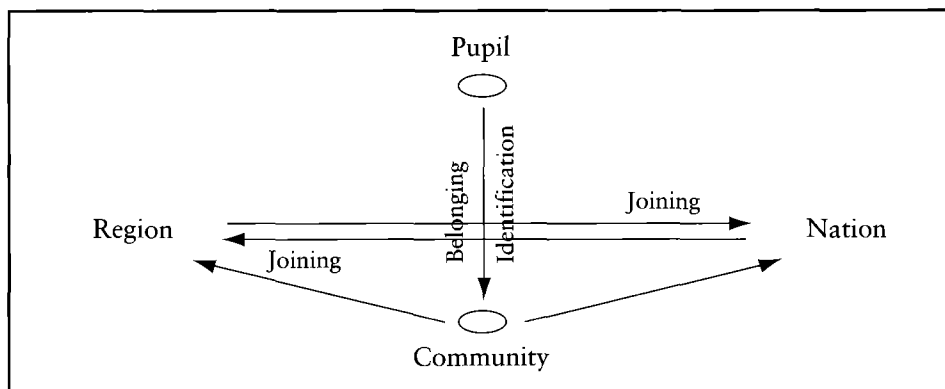
According to the teachers, history and geography prepare pupils to be citizens of their country, town and region. This triple identification of a citizen expresses a hierarchy in the feeling of being and of belonging to living spaces that signify places of both roots and attachment. But what is an identity that is not defined by a territory? A territorial anchor is essential; with it one can structure, in space, the elements of identity (collective memory, culture, common founding myths, etc.); it becomes their referent, albeit with a risk of founding a conventional territorial unit ill-suited for awakening a true national awareness.

FIGURE 3. Process of citizenship in pupils according to the teachers



Such identification can be explained, on the one hand, by the content of these disciplines, which enables pupils to learn more about these places despite the flow of information concerning their continent and the world. On the other hand, the interest of pupils mainly focuses on the concepts of region and community.

FIGURE 4. Direction and degree of belonging in pupil



The region (*al-mantakat*) is of greater interest to the pupils; it constitutes a living space for them, signifying the area where they live, the neighbourhoods of their town that they frequent regularly and a rural area where they were born. The region is synonymous with having roots, bringing out clearly the 'local' feeling composed of opposition, separation and singularity. The region is succeeded by the community, with which two-thirds of pupils identify much more than with the nation. The community structures and organizes the individuals who join it and the space-region in which they live. It therefore imprints them with an identity based on the feeling of belonging to a homogeneous group.

History and geography curricula teach a duty to live together in Lebanon, which glosses over everything that refers to the distinguishing features and heterogeneity which characterize Lebanese society. According to the teachers, it is important to instil in pupils an ability to live together while accepting difference: an ability to live together, as pupils are aware of the diversity of communities in their country and of the tensions existing between its communities. As long as the textbooks,

backed up by the teachers, do not teach them the reasons for the wars that have rocked Lebanon or for the persistent dissymmetry of relations, they will not feel ready to want to live together with other people, which accounts for the lack of interest in everything connected with multiculturalism or cosmopolitanism. What, then, must be taught in order to encourage living together? How and why should it be done? These would seem to be the questions that teachers must put to their pupils before drawing up a catalogue of the concepts and topics to be taught. In order to give an outline reply to these questions, we carried out a survey among pupils.

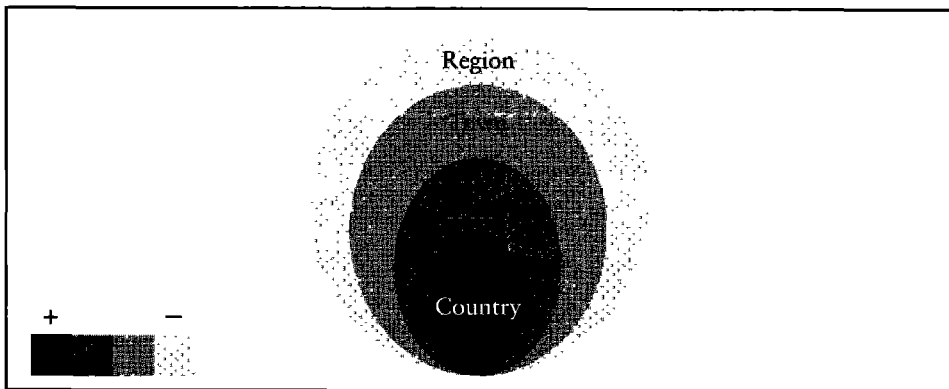
ACQUIRED KNOWLEDGE AND SPECIFIC FEATURES OF THE DESIRE TO LIVE TOGETHER AMONG PUPILS

Our survey concerned lower secondary pupils between the ages of 12–14 who replied to a sealed questionnaire. The results were analysed on the basis of two main categories: the first concerns the knowledge possessed by the pupil of the different geographical scales ranging from the town to the world; the second category stresses his or her feeling of belonging, both geographical and social.

Geographical scale of knowledge of the world

The pupils believe that the history and geography curricula have enabled them to acquire a knowledge first of their country and then of the world, before a knowledge of the town and region.

FIGURE 5. Geographical scale of territorial knowledge among pupils



The country is studied from the point of view of its geographical frontiers, specific climatic characteristics, geological structure, natural resources, production system, economic model, relations with the rest of the world and history, particularly from the time of the French mandate to the present conflict with Israel. The field in which pupils showed themselves to have reached a satisfactory level was the Lebanese economy. They all gave an account of the capitalist system and liber-

alism, which characterize the spheres of production and trade in Lebanon, in particular the services sector, together with examples of commercial and banking activities regarded by them as 'generating wealth, progress and prosperity'.

The history of Lebanon—so-called modern history in the textbooks—is very familiar to pupils despite the civil war between 1975–90. Thus pupils easily retrace the events that have marked their country: the struggle for independence and its leaders, the establishment of a democratic parliamentary regime (in the pupils' own terms), the relationship between Lebanon and the Arab countries and the major world powers and its regional trend against the background of the Israeli-Arab conflict. No mention is made of the different communities making up Lebanese society. Overall knowledge of Lebanon cannot eclipse knowledge of the town and region. The former is clearly grasped on the economic level, particularly the city of Beirut, owing to the importance of the activities that take place there. The latter is geographically defined and economically classified on the basis of the type of agricultural or industrial production. The qualities of its climate and the virtues of its places of interest are clearly brought out.

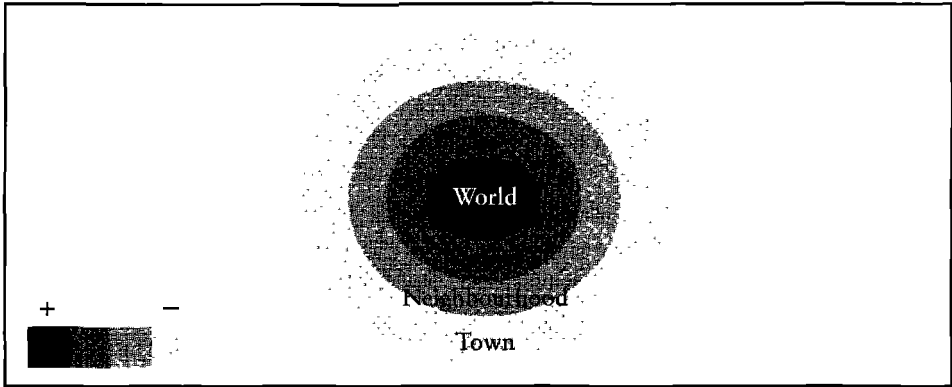
More than half the pupils claim to know the world. This consists, however, of three different worlds: the Arab world (Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Palestine), the Western world (the United States, France and Canada) and the communist world (the Russian Federation—still called the USSR, and China). It follows from this classification that the concept of world is based on the paradigm of cultural and economic proximity. The Arab and Western worlds seem close to the pupils, the former on a cultural level, the latter on a trade level, while the communist world is seen as distant and conflictual, particularly the former USSR. In addition, the factors explaining the knowledge of the countries composing these worlds are economic as regards Saudi Arabia, the United States, Canada and France; historical and colonial as regards Syria, Turkey and France; migratory as regards countries that welcome Lebanese migrants (Saudi Arabia, the United States, Canada and France) or from which Lebanon welcomes immigrants, e.g. Syria and Palestine; these factors are also cultural, being linked to certain Arab countries such as Egypt, Jordan, Palestine and Syria, and finally religious, which explains the study of a number of Arab countries such as Algeria, Morocco, Sudan, etc. However, does a knowledge of one's town, region, country and the world mean that one belongs to them?

The hierarchy of spatial membership

The majority of pupils say that they belong to a Lebanon characterized by religious diversity and the practice of a common language, Arabic, a true vehicle for unification at the country level. While only one nationality, Lebanese, exists, this refers to several communities, each endowed with an identity based on its cultural specificity, its collective memory, its way of life and its distinctive traditions. These are the ingredients of a plural and fragmented nation, easy prey to the intercommunity tensions and splits that threaten its permanence. Among pupils, being Lebanese has a meaning only if an attachment exists to specific living spaces such as the

country, region, neighbourhood and town, coming before the world, membership of which remains virtual, i.e. produced through books and the media.

FIGURE 6. Hierarchy of spatial membership among pupils



This spatial hierarchy of membership reflects the close relationship between community identity and territory. It encloses the individual in concentric circles with highly visible boundaries, which are above all symbolic. The first circle, represented by the country, an all-embracing entity, is succeeded by the region. For both pupils and teachers, this remains a concept linked to a sector of the town, a locality or a village. It is a space of both living and having roots, which marks the correlation between belonging to a group with the same religion and its location. It should be noted that certain pupils who were born in Beirut but whose parents came from the countryside referred, when mentioning the region, to having roots in two spaces: the space of the parents, i.e. the village of origin, and their own, in other words the place of residence in the town where community homogeneity exists. The third circle represents the neighbourhood. The pupils feel they belong to it because it constitutes an additional space of homogeneity and even of community singularity. The pupils also link their membership in a group having the same religion as themselves to the urban space in which they reside. This relationship generates a new neighbourhood identity where links between families, clans and neighbours organized by a traditional, local political-religious force interlock. A relatively large degree of belonging is to be found in the fourth circle. This concerns the town, the place where community identities based on shared memory, both religious and secular, are expressed. The importance of memory is considerable, as it is not simply a sharing in the memory of exceptional events, whether favourable or disastrous, but also the basis for claiming the community's political rights. For the pupils, belonging to the town implicitly means a feeling of common membership in that space and of a common distance with respect to the other communities living there. The pupils also feel they belong to groups that speak the same language, and have the same religion and nationality. To each level of membership there corresponds a territorial referent that geography works to imprint on the spirit.

In the transmission of knowledge in history and geography, the school, through its teachers, has enabled pupils to get to know about their towns, regions, Lebanon and certain countries of the world. However, out-of-school values like community membership are grafted on to the information conveyed. These values come from parents, neighbours and all those persons who are in contact with the pupils. The latter accordingly enter school with a body of knowledge about their society and the world, which accounts for increasingly obvious gradations in identity reflecting the shift of Lebanese society towards communitarianism and rejection of the heterogeneous.

Conclusion

Our analysis of history and geography textbooks and of the surveys completed by Lebanese teachers and pupils shows that living together is not to be decreed from above. A duty to live together in uniformity imposed through coercion by the State in order to create citizens with no community memory will clash with pupils' desire to live together while respecting the identities that constitute Lebanese society. The pupils are not blank slates to be written upon by the teaching provided. They come to school with implicit, so-called spontaneous, knowledge, i.e. knowledge acquired by daily social interaction, which they complement by the explicit knowledge they receive at school.

Through their implicit knowledge, they realize that their country is not homogeneous and peaceful on the community level. Quite the contrary, it is composed of a social architectonic that is both complex and conflictual. The 'Other', the heterogeneous, is often rejected and banished. The wanting to live together of the pupils is built in concentric circles in which the innermost shell represents their community (the homogeneous). As they move away from it, the unknown world begins. They tend to reject it. Each shell has a territorial counterpart, which may be the neighbourhood, village, locality, town or region. It therefore corresponds to one or more links organized by networks actuated by very close relations: 'sociality'.

Meanwhile, the teachers are at grips with processes involving choices between transmitting unchanged the content of the history and geography curricula and making the necessary improvements to them, adapting them in this way to the expectations of their pupils regarding their feeling of belonging to a neighbourhood, region, town, country and the world. They advocate an ability to live together based on friendliness, tolerance and respect for difference. To do this, they believe that explicit knowledge must be updated in order to enable them, and the pupils, to identify the basic essentials of social objects, whether these are ideas, beliefs or needs for belonging or identification. Implicit knowledge, on the other hand, must be corrected so as to become the vehicle of a culture of peace and of openness to the 'Other'. This design for a multicultural and humanist education would seem to come under the heading of projection and to be difficult to bring about in a plural Lebanese society, which organic unity exalts but does not achieve, and which diversity torments but does not control. In this design, implicit knowledge permeates learners much

more than explicit knowledge. How, then, should we act to restore a certain balance between the two? This is a difficult role in a country where State and private schools are free to transmit the content of the curricula that they desire, or rather that the political/religious authorities that have created them would like them to transmit. This represents a dilemma for or challenge to the official education system in Lebanon, which still has reservations about the teaching of an open, multiple and polymorphous Lebanese citizenship.

In the light of such reservations, the unofficial—or in other words, the community—systems of education have already, since the outbreak of the wars in Lebanon in 1975, begun to inculcate values that express a communitarian Lebanese citizenship meeting the demands of a society where the logic of community links rests on networks of mechanical interdependence. Lebanon has thus gradually become an entity in which people live together in a context of distance, difference and indifference.

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THE DUTY, ABILITY AND DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

CENTRAL AMERICAN IDENTITY AND THE TEACHING OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY¹

Mario Lungo

Introduction

Central American identity can be said to be a common historical and cultural heritage on which an awareness of the similarities and differences between the peoples of the region has been built.

This awareness represents a reality that is perceived and experienced in a variety of ways. For some people, the underlying idea is one of a medium- and long-term socio-economic plan for integration. For others, the concept draws unsuspected strength from contact with other social and cultural realities in which they recognize themselves as citizens of one of the world's regions; it fosters forms of solidarity and loyalty in which differences become relative and start to lose their significance.

In this sense, Central American identity, in a constant interchange with national identities, is a key factor enabling the peoples of Central America to live together and one which gives impetus to socially sustainable development for a region that has known long periods of conflict.

In the ongoing process of constructing this identity, education, and especially history and geography teaching, has a fundamental role to play. By conveying certain views on the Central American region as a whole and on each of the countries

Original version: Spanish

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individually, this process contributes to forging the perceptions and aspirations of tomorrow's adults.

This article examines the role of history and geography teaching in shaping Central American identity in three countries of the region: El Salvador, Guatemala and Costa Rica. It is based on the findings of the research project 'Learning to live together' co-ordinated by IBE/UNESCO and the Department of Geography of the University of Geneva.

Central American identity

In everyday speech and in school textbooks, Central America is treated in different ways. In some cases, it refers to a socio-political unity that includes the five countries having a common history: Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica. In others, Panama and Belize are added to the list. This takes on wider significance in the field of economics and international policy.

The formation of a Central American identity is beset by three conflicting questions: the thwarted attempts to create a single nation composed of the countries of the Central American isthmus; its geographical position that confers on it a particular geopolitical status; and the ethnic diversity of its population.

The historical facts

The countries of the isthmus have roots in common, since it was chiefly populated by Mayan and Aztec groups before the coming of the Spanish (Carmack, 1993); in addition, with the creation of the Captaincy-General of Guatemala, Spanish colonization was instrumental in spreading the same institutional, economic and social pattern throughout the region.

The independence of Central America was a corollary to that of Mexico, achieved in 1821. Before that time, the movements that took place in the region were no more than struggles for local interests. The Federation of Central American States was established in June 1823. Between 1826 and 1839, there were three unsuccessful wars in defence of the Federation under the leadership of General Francisco Morazán. The Federation project was doomed to failure because it was based on a highly fragmented society and economy. From 1839 onwards, there was a period of anarchy, which ended only with the formation of nation-states, a process that basically took place in the last fifty years of the nineteenth century. The integration of the region into the world economy through coffee and banana production gave impetus to these national plans. El Salvador and Costa Rica were the first countries to succeed in consolidating their nation-states (Fonseca, 1996).

Subsequently, there were two unsuccessful attempts to rebuild the unity of Central America. The first, in 1898, was a co-operative endeavour by Nicaragua, Honduras and El Salvador, when the United States of Central America was formed. The second was launched in 1920 by the Central American Unionist Party. Neither of them had sound foundations, and it was not until the 1970s that a further attempt at unity was made, this time confined to economic integration.

There thus emerged the Central American Common Market, MERCOMUN. The process started in 1961, with the support of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) for a project designed to give prominence to international trade. MERCOMUN gradually revealed its limitations until it was for all practical purposes dissolved in 1969 (Guerra-Borges, 1993). The economic crisis of the subsequent decade and the wars in Central America in the 1980s virtually spelt the disappearance of integrationist moves. However, in the last decade of the century—this time under the pressure of present-day globalizing trends—the integration process was resumed and now forms part of the Central American Integration System (SICA). Periodic meetings of the presidents of the individual countries are beginning to put forward a Central American strategy for sustainable development (SICA, 1994).

Geopolitics

Over and above their common history, the geographical situation of the Central American countries is such that it confers on the region a geopolitical role that has given rise to constant foreign intervention. The first such intervention was the creation of the British protectorates, Bluefields in Nicaragua and Belize in the Caribbean, dating back to the dispute between the colonial powers over supremacy in the region in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At the end of the nineteenth century, Great Britain forced Guatemala to recognize its sovereignty over Belize, which became independent in the late 1970s. Bluefields was recovered by Nicaragua at the end of the nineteenth century, although it still continues to be an area giving rise to problems of social and political integration.

Subsequently, the search for an overland passage between the Pacific and the Caribbean sparked off a series of interventions, such as the invasion of Nicaragua and Central America by William Walker in 1856; the occupation of Nicaragua by the United States, on the pretext of defending North American interests against a Nicaraguan nationalist policy, from the end of the nineteenth century to the 1930s; and the invasion of Panama in 1989.

Since the second half of the present century, intervention by the United States, apart from that in Panama, has changed in character and taken less direct forms. One instance was the intervention in Guatemala against President Jacobo Arbenz in 1954. Thereafter, in the 1980s in both Nicaragua and El Salvador, interference was a gradual process and in both cases involved long, drawn-out and bloody domestic conflicts. In Nicaragua, there was an economic blockade and war against the Sandinista regime, while in El Salvador a counterinsurgency war was fomented, which ended in a negotiated settlement (Figueroa Ibarra, 1993).

Population

The idea of the nation in Central America was founded on the predominance of a Creole and mixed-descent culture from which Indian cultures were excluded. This triggered off conflicts in countries such as Guatemala and Nicaragua.

In Guatemala, notwithstanding the fact that the country is predominantly Indian, there have been no policies specifically addressed to the Indian population, a majority of which is manifestly in a subordinate position. This accounts for the fact that at the end of the 1960s, the guerrillas succeeded in recruiting part of the Indian population into their ranks, and that they included ethnic issues among their demands. Since that time, repression against the Indians and mass emigration to Mexico have come to represent a new threat to the cultural integration of the country.

The people of Guatemala are beginning to mobilize, and are aware of the forces on which they can count in building themselves a decent future. They are preparing to sow the seeds of the future, free themselves from their atavistic past and by the same token rediscover themselves; in short, to build a country with a genuine national identity.

In blending all the Creole, mixed-descent *garífuna* [tribes of African origin living on the Atlantic coast] and Indian shadings of the ethnic mosaic of Guatemala, we must weave together a spectrum of colours which will mix harmoniously, which will not clash or be incongruous, and we must heighten their effect and impart a superior quality, as our skilled weavers know how to do. We must produce a garment woven with inspiration, an offering to humanity (Rigoberta Menchú, in the address she delivered on being presented with the Nobel Peace Prize).

Nicaragua, our other example, has a whole range of ethnic minorities. On the Caribbean seaboard, the diversity of ethnic groups includes Indians, Blacks, mulattos and mixed-descent *garífuna* peoples. In 1983, the counter-revolutionaries secured the political support of the communities in this region. The Sandinista government tried to put an end to the ethnic origins of the conflict by recognizing the autonomy of the Atlantic region in 1987.

Lastly, the 1990s saw the wholesale emergence of the phenomenon of international migration, which was to have a profound impact on national and Central American identities from then onwards. The scale and complexity of this phenomenon are in fact giving rise to new perceptions and aspirations that go beyond national frontiers and local demographic, economic and social circumstances and penetrate deep into the culture of the Central American peoples (Lungo & Castillo, 1996).

In this context, the issue of Central American identity is dealt with in different ways in history and geography textbooks. Before analysing their content, we shall examine their coverage and the way in which use is made of them in the three countries studied.

History and geography textbooks

The textbooks analysed are used at primary and secondary school levels, which are the same in the countries selected. In the case of Guatemala, the education system is divided into three cycles: fundamental (from nursery school to Grade 3), primary (Grades 4–6) and basic (Grades 1–3). In El Salvador, basic education consists of nine grades, broken into primary and secondary cycles (Grades 1–6), and a

third cycle (Grades 7–9). In Costa Rica, primary school consists of Grades 1–6, and secondary of Grades 1–3.

EL SALVADOR

In studying this case we refer to the CIPOTES collection of official textbooks that was a product of the educational reform of the 1990s. This collection covers the whole country at levels I and II of primary education, in which State education is predominant (accounting for 89% of enrolments). The textbooks used in basic education up to the time of the educational reform did not succeed in giving a systematic picture of the country's history. This was a reflection of the lack of social integration and of the polarization, which have been features of Salvadorian society over the past forty years.

In the past, textbooks were compiled by teachers without any support from other sources, since history, geography and anthropology were not then taught in the country's universities. In the 1980s, World Bank funding was used to set up the National Book Plan, which was designed to compile textbooks for such basic subjects as language, mathematics, social studies and natural sciences for the first and second primary school levels. During this period, a team of teachers specialized in publishing by means of courses, consultancies and training periods abroad. The team produced the textbooks in the collection *Plana libre* [Free workbook], and was directed by an office that was answerable for this project to the Ministry of Education. The material sources used did not develop a historical view of the country, though they contained explanations on poverty and citizens' rights and duties. Distribution of the textbooks was suspended in 1991. There were a number of substantive reasons for this decision.

The structural adjustment programme for the economy was adopted during this period and the reform of the State was set in motion. As a result, the difficulties hitherto affecting the education system increased: quality was poor and coverage inadequate, at a time when education was beginning to be regarded as a solution to the problems of poverty in the country.

The signature of the peace agreements and the challenges raised by the reconstruction and modernization of the country likewise contributed to a growing consensus on the need for changes in the education system. Various international organizations supported investment in this sector, and this was the dominant trend given the modernization of the State in the next few years and the 'Culture of Peace' programmes in the years after 1992.

The CIPOTES collection was compiled with United States support (US\$33 million for the period 1990–97) under the programme for the strengthening of fundamental primary education (SABE), which covered the revision of the curriculum of the first two cycles of basic education. International consultants worked in the social sciences, their work being co-ordinated by a commission composed of national technical personnel. Since little part was played by the institutions of civil society, the textbooks used in some teaching sectors are adapted from the experience gained in other countries.

Private education is required to follow the official programmes, yet enjoys the freedom to use the official textbooks or others obtainable on the book market. The great value of the materials used in the educational reform, the CIPOTES collection and *Historia de El Salvador* [History of El Salvador], lies in the fact that they give an official picture of the country's history. This is a new departure, since such an attempt has never been made before.

The teaching materials contribute to the recognition of and respect for diversity and tolerance and the co-existence side-by-side of different social groups. This is the strong point of the CIPOTES collection; but there are other, weak points in the areas of culture and national and regional identity, as was confirmed by interviews with a number of technical personnel who had taken part in the preparation and revision of the materials.

GUATEMALA

In Guatemala, the public sector has no textbooks. Over the past twenty years, education has been in the hands of private publishing houses, both national and foreign.

The country has a significant academic tradition in the fields of history and geography, and this has made it possible for these disciplines to contribute to the preparation of school textbooks. For instance, educational and linguistic studies have been conducted in the School of Anthropology of the San Carlos de Guatemala University and at the private Rafael Landívar University. Since the 1940s, Guatemala has also been studied more or less systematically by a number of foreign specialists in history, archaeology and anthropology.

As in most Central American countries during the 1970s, the preparation of school textbooks in the public sector was promoted with funds from the ODECA-ROCAP programme (Organization of Central American States; United States Agency for International Development's Regional Office for Central America and Panama). A further effort was subsequently made in collaboration with the World Bank and a series of primary school textbooks was produced and distributed to urban and rural schools.

Teachers have to make use of textbooks supplied by private publishing houses, which revise them from time to time, so that these are up-to-date as far as educational programme policies are concerned. Most government schools have no libraries or other resources. However, the main problem in Guatemala is that it is a multi-ethnic and multilingual country in which the majority of the population does not speak Spanish as its mother tongue.

Rafael Landívar University has carried out an interesting project for the preparation of bilingual teaching materials in various Indian towns. Despite the value of these materials for analysing issues of ethnicity and inter-ethnic relations, they have not been analysed because it is not possible to obtain indigenous-language textbooks translated into Spanish. This means that there is no exchange of contents between textbooks for Indians and those for people of mixed descent. A project to produce textbooks for use in State education is currently being prepared with

funding from the World Bank and UNESCO. These are expected to be distributed by the end of 1998.

For the analysis, the 'Piedrasanta' collection was chosen in order to study the content of primary school textbooks and examine secondary school teaching. The textbooks *Sociedad y yo: estudios sociales* [Society and I: social studies] in this collection are intended to provide training in history and civics. Each textbook forms a unit and has a structure in which the information is set out in chronological order and in modules and extends from prehistory right up to the twentieth century. Geographical information is presented at different levels. At the first level, the 'world' is synonymous with the nation; at the next two levels, Guatemala is studied in the context of the Central American region and that of the American continent; and at the last level, the country is situated in the world system.

As regards history, the events described bring out the main problems confronting present-day societies, with particular emphasis on subjects such as human rights, democracy, the co-operative movement and the environment.

The textbooks promote the formation of associations and groups on the basis of common interests. They also promote national and regional identity and provide information on the efforts that various American institutions, such as the Organization of American States, are making to strengthen peace and resolve conflicts in the Americas and the world.

COSTA RICA

Costa Rica has a long-standing tradition in respect of the development of school textbooks, partly because education has been one of the main national strategies for social and political development since the late 1940s.

The country's two main universities, the University of Costa Rica and the Universidad Nacional de Heredia, offer courses in history, geography and anthropology, and the first two of these subjects continue to the post-graduate level. Also, the Institute of Social Research includes research in these subjects in its permanent programmes.

The analysis was conducted on the basis of the official textbooks of the 'Towards the 21st century' series and the teaching materials published by the international publishing house Norma. The official textbooks were compiled by a team of distinguished researchers in history and geography from the University of Costa Rica and were funded by a loan from the Inter-American Development Bank.

There is a contrast between the two sets of teaching materials in both presentation and content. The 'Towards the 21st century' textbooks have more depth, especially in the way in which the materials are set out and how symbols and images with a historical and social content are used.

A closer look at the materials reveals a marked difference in the way in which historical, cultural, identity-related and civic issues are treated. For primary schools, these are presented in outline, and there is greater emphasis on, and more careful treatment of, civic issues. Stress is laid on conviviality in everyday life, tolerance,

the acceptance of diversity and the development of citizenship. Democratic values are considered of great importance in Costa Rican identity.

The secondary school textbooks go more widely and deeply into historical and cultural content, though they also cover the civic content of training in citizenship. The history, culture and civics triad represents the main thrust of the information provided on the country. Emphasis is placed on the democratic character of the achievements of Costa Rican society, nation-building processes, and the way in which nation-building is reflected in the political, economic and social environment and in the fundamental human rights accorded to the first, second and third generations. This attests to the deep respect in which human rights are held and recognizes the social achievements of both Costa Rica and the world at large. The aim is to instil a firm belief in the defence of social safeguards and human rights.

Textbook content

It is possible to analyse the textbooks from the two angles of Central America and the nation. The symbols of identity, tolerance and conviviality in the everyday community life of Central Americans are embodied and take on meaning in these two concepts.

EL SALVADOR

The concept of Central America is not clearly articulated in the textbooks examined. With geographical subjects, the unit of study consists of the seven countries forming the isthmus; but where subjects are historical or deal with cultural identity, they relate to the five countries with the same historical roots.

More than 30 million people live in Central America. The vast majority of them practise various forms of Christianity. The official language of the Central Americans is Spanish, with the exception of Belize, where the official language is English. The way they live and their staple diet are very similar, and their customs and traditions come from the same roots and are enriched by local variations.

In the interests of the Central American peoples, the day will come when frontiers will disappear and, with the endeavours of all concerned, we shall be a powerful nation with a high degree of economic and social development.

Belize and Panama form part of our region and are currently taking part in the Central American integration movement (El Salvador, 1996, CIPOTES no. 5).

The textbooks consider that Salvadorians have always played an outstanding role in both the winning of independence and the struggle for Central American unity. The Honduran general Francisco Morazán, the hero of the wars to bring about the Central American Federation, asked for his remains to be buried in El Salvador, in recognition of the support he received from that country.

The textbooks note that the defence of Central American sovereignty has contributed to the strengthening of cultural identity. The conflicts and wars in recent decades are regarded as a response to a crisis situation caused by poverty and the inability of governments to tackle the problem. There is no acknowledgement of the structural causes of the social problems or of the involvement of the United States in the conflicts in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

The outstanding figures to emerge from the battles with Walker were the Salvadorian general Ramón Belloso, the Costa Rican Joaquín Mora, the Guatemalan Mariano Paredes and the Honduran general Santos Guardiola (El Salvador, 1996, CIPOTES no. 5).

Fresh endeavours to bring about the union of Central America were made from the 1950s onwards through the Central American Common Market. Developments did not proceed smoothly, however, and the union was finally dissolved because of the war between El Salvador and Honduras in 1969. No other information is given on this question, or on the territorial dispute between Guatemala and Belize, or the conflicts between Nicaragua and Honduras as a result of the counter-revolutionary war in Sandinista Nicaragua. Note is made of the importance of the growth of new forms of integration, such as the steps taken to set up the Central American Integration System in 1993.

The origins of the nation are to be found in the final decades of the nineteenth century and are associated with the development of the coffee-based economy. The culture and population of El Salvador are predominantly *mestizo*, and close family links are acknowledged with the Hondurans. Salvadorian society is riddled with inequality, and the dissatisfaction of the social groups has given rise to an atmosphere of conflict and agitation and vigorous protest movements. The civil war in the 1980s revealed the existence of a society that is highly polarized and splintered. The textbooks underscore the role played by international influences in bringing about a negotiated settlement to the conflict, and consider that the peace agreements of 1992 set an example for the world. There were neither winners nor losers.

The war turned into a bloody contest and there were no signs of its ending. Yet, from the time the war began, some groups were in favour of dialogue. The opposing forces and other mediating parties accordingly embarked on a process of dialogue for peace (El Salvador, 1996, CIPOTES no. 6).

GUATEMALA

In the Guatemalan textbooks, Central America is shown as being a region composed of seven nations forming independent countries that have had shared cultures, conflicts, geography and political processes throughout their history—from their very beginnings to the present day. 'In pre-Hispanic times, it was a territory which acted as a communication link for migrations from both north and south and was a cultural transition zone in which various cultures settled' (*La sociedad y yo*, no. 4).

Independence from Spain is treated as a regional process pioneered by the movement in San Salvador. Right from independence, Central America faced invasion by the filibuster William Walker in pursuit of his project to choose Nicaragua for the construction of a canal linking the two oceans.

Laying aside their feelings of resentment and their bickering, the other Central American countries banded together in a splendid gesture of fellowship and declared war on Walker. Each country sent a strong army to back up the Nicaraguan patriots. This movement was known as the National War of Central America. When the war came to an end, it had demonstrated that, in spite of its political differences, the region was capable of uniting and combating invaders (*La sociedad y yo*, no. 4).

In some national conflicts, the other Central American countries supported the cessation of hostilities. The efforts they made were recognized by the international community, which awarded Nobel Peace Prizes to the former President of Costa Rica Oscar Arias and the Indian leader Rigoberta Menchú.

Central America is regarded as being the world's fifth 'lung'. It is therefore considered that the Central Americans bear a great responsibility for preserving their environment from further deterioration and ensuring that it contributes to the survival of the world. 'The physical geography of the isthmus, coupled with the work and endeavours of its inhabitants, can provide the basis for the greatness of this region of the Americas. We are seven countries, with one destiny!' (*La sociedad y yo*, no. 4). The idea is also promoted that the future of Central America could come to be that of a single nation. Guatemalan textbooks clearly develop the argument setting out the idea of a united Central America with a common history and future.

Guatemala is seen as a multi-ethnic and multilingual nation with several cultures. There are twenty-four languages deriving from a common stem and existing side-by-side in the wide-ranging natural and cultural diversity that is a feature of the country. The meeting of two cultures gave rise to a *mestizo* culture. It is admitted that there is discrimination against the Indians; yet the value of their culture is also recognized.

The cultures of the Indian peoples do not disappear, they are only transformed. The Mayas did not disappear, their culture was only transformed. The present-day Guatemalan Indians are the descendants of the Mayas (*La sociedad y yo*, no. 5).

COSTA RICA

Central America is covered in broad terms in the textbooks for primary education and in more detail in those for secondary education. The concept of Central America is regarded as having various connotations. One of these is historical and includes the republics that gained independence from Spain in 1821, while another is geographical and covers two subject areas: Middle America, stretching from southern

Mexico to the Rio Atrato depression in Colombia and the West Indies, and the Central American isthmus, which includes the seven countries of the region. The textbooks situate Costa Rica in the latter region.

The historical events shared by the Central Americans include colonization by Spain, independence and the war against the filibusters, in which Costa Rica played an outstanding role. The war united the country with Central America, but it also made internal union possible, thereby adding to other processes involved in the forging of the nation.

It should be noted that one of the country's most important monuments is dedicated to the epic war against Walker and shows the filibuster being defeated by five young people (the five Central American republics). The monument was unveiled in 1895. This episode, which is of regional significance, has been a factor in strengthening national identity.

In 1856 and 1857, Costa Rica was faced with the conflict in Central America created by Walker. Walker's plan was to set up a slave-owning regime modelled on that in the southern United States, firstly in Nicaragua and then in Central America as a whole (the slogan was 'five or none') (Norma, no. 7).

Costa Rica is seen as a nation with an abundance of natural resources as a result of the country's variety of micro-climates, and much has been made of this factor in agriculture and tourism. It has a significant natural heritage and is committed to the conservation of the environment. Some 21% of the national territory is part of the conservation areas. The country is associated with coffee cultivation and banana production.

The latter crop has been responsible for a host of changes in Costa Rican society, including notable changes in population. Immigrants of Chinese origin and Blacks from Jamaica settled in the country. This was at the root of the multicultural character of Costa Rica. At the same time, there is no attempt to play down the history of discrimination against these minorities, and the contribution that these groups have made to the shaping of national identity is highlighted.

Social conflicts emerged in Costa Rica as early as the first quarter of the twentieth century: the strikes of workers on banana plantations, the battle for women's suffrage and the right of Blacks to take Costa Rican nationality are all key factors in the shaping of national identity. Another essential factor in this identity is the tradition of civilian rule in Costa Rica, which is also bound up with social entitlements. The country went through a civil war that ended in victory for social democracy, and the army was disbanded in 1948.

In an emotional ceremony, José Figueres Ferrer took a sledgehammer to demolish some of the stones of a tower at the Bellavista barracks, thus symbolizing the fact that the military era had come to an end and that another era was beginning in which social welfare and education would be the priorities of the Costa Rican Government (Civic education, no. 5).

The textbooks succeed in bringing together at least three threads: history, national and cultural identity and training in citizenship. Care is taken to impart education in civics by providing wide-ranging information on symbols of the nation and parliamentary and electoral culture.

Conclusions: the issue of Central American identity

The textbooks represent a sample of the different countries' responses to the need for social integration, which they face as they contend with globalization. Experiences and work dynamics can be seen to differ in the three countries. In the case of the Costa Ricans, who have a long-standing democratic tradition, civics education is an essential consideration and a carefully constructed historical discourse is used for this purpose. Minorities are recognized in the textbooks, and differences are absorbed into a national project that is guaranteed through the exercise of democracy. This is the main instrument for fostering co-existence and tolerance.

The Salvadorian textbooks reveal a deep interest in history, in explaining the whys and wherefores of the war and the peace agreements, and in the way those agreements refer back to rights and obligations whose fulfilment makes it possible to renew agreements for peaceful co-existence. This seems to be the route taken by the Salvadorians to launch an era of tolerance that will put an end to traditional political polarization. As the conflicts in this country have been rooted in class consciousness (Dunkerley, 1988), respect for the diversity of political expression and the search for new forms of participation are considered essential.

In Guatemala, all our information is taken from the private sector, since official textbooks are only now being produced. The end of the war led to recognition of the state of exclusion in which the country's Indian-majority population lives. In the textbooks examined, which were produced before the end of the war, a start has been made on tackling the ethnic problem, human rights are recognized and a more pressing appeal is made for environmental conservation than in the other two countries. It will be necessary to wait for the official textbooks to be issued in order to see how the government deals with the values of co-existence and the struggle for lasting peace.

Some of the basic content of the textbooks analysed shows that Central American geography is dealt with only partly. The subject is developed only in terms of the variety and complexity of the relief and climate and their impact on the environment and natural resources; there is no discussion of the region from the geopolitical standpoint, even though the history of the Central American countries cannot be understood without an analysis of this aspect.

Environmental preservation is a subject that is dealt with in all three sets of textbooks. In El Salvador, this is confined to soil-conservation measures and reforestation: these represent immediate solutions to an acute, basic problem in a country that otherwise has no preservation or protection policies. Guatemala and Costa Rica lay stress on the importance of their environmental policies, which are regarded as being a responsibility they have towards the world at large.

Population is discussed as being a problem in all three countries. In Guatemala and El Salvador this issue looms large, since both countries have low human development indices and high population growth rates. This is not the case in Costa Rica, owing to its policies that have been instrumental in promoting wide-ranging education and health coverage since the 1950s.

The different problems faced by El Salvador (conflicts, wars, migration, etc.) obviously stem from overpopulation, which is exacerbated by the country's limited size. This masks the country's key structural problems: if these were discussed, it would be possible to find grounds for negotiation and forms of co-existence and tolerance. Population problems in El Salvador have to be tackled wholesale, by engaging in a more far-reaching analysis so as to find real ways of solving them.

Although El Salvador is typically *mestizo*, the social contrasts between classes and types are manifest. The textbooks touch on the question of population types, but do not go into it in any depth.

Migration is another issue that El Salvadorian textbooks have adopted for in-depth treatment, on account of both its economic and socio-political significance (Zilbert, 1997). Salvadorian culture is changing drastically and transnationalization is giving rise to hitherto unknown processes affecting both migrant groups and the communities that expel them. These processes involve the creation and re-creation of new identities, which have succeeded in breaking down traditional culture in El Salvador's cities and country areas alike. However, migration is only touched on superficially in the textbooks. This comes as something of a surprise in the case of rural areas, where everyday life clearly illustrates the changes brought about by migration. Rural communities have no response to these changes that would make it possible to contain their negative results, such as the breakdown of the family and youth gangs, while at the same time emphasizing the benefits derived from migration, for example improved living standards, the emergence of new types of organization, and so on.

In the Guatemalan textbooks, population as a subject does not adequately deal with what is meant by a multi-ethnic and multicultural country. While it is recognized that this is the case, it is also claimed that the country is *mestizo*. Language of this kind perpetuates ambiguity as to the way in which the country is characterized.

An effort is made in the textbooks to account for cultural diversity in terms of nationality. The analysis is limited, however, since the tendency is to discuss diversity in the abstract, rather than deal with the social issues involved or the oppressed state of the Indian majority, which calls for a government social policy that is more committed to these social groups. There is an attempt at classifying groups, but only on the surface.

As in the case of El Salvador, the Guatemalan textbooks do not deal with the problems of migration and of the borders with Mexico. Migration to the United States is considered to be an issue, in that it creates a problem of discrimination for Guatemalan nationals in the United States, but the changes being brought about in Guatemala's national and regional socio-cultural dynamics are not analysed. It is possible that, in the future, the textbooks might cover the peace agreements and once

an official view has been adopted, the problem of ethnicity will be given comprehensive treatment.

In Costa Rica, the subject of population is dealt with by accepting the existence of racial and cultural diversity, united in a democratic culture that presupposes equality of opportunity as between types, ethnic groups and classes. In spite of this, the social problems of some subordinate minorities, such as the Indians and the Black population on the Atlantic coast, are not raised. Similarly, Nicaraguan migration in the north of Costa Rica is not broached. Since this population has had a marked social and political impact since the 1980s, it is a relevant subject for analysing and identifying factors of co-existence and social tolerance.

Central American identity appears to be a concept that is generally recognized and covers the seven countries of the isthmus: Belize, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama. Yet the textbooks recount the history of the five Central American countries, with little reference to Belize and Panama. The number of pages devoted to these two countries is insignificant, so that students continue to receive an education devoid of any comprehensive view of the concept presented to them as being strategic from the economic, social and political standpoints.

In both Costa Rica and El Salvador, history is treated systematically. In Costa Rica, it is linked with other civic and cultural contents arising naturally from the long-standing tradition of investment in educational policy from the 1950s onwards. Costa Rica has founded its supremacy on a blueprint for democracy that gives priority to education as the basis for social and economic development.

In El Salvador, while the historical background is clearly explained, no consideration is given to the links with culture or identity. This missing link weakens the impact of the historical presentation, since it is difficult to produce an overall picture or reassessment of events, or to discover the diversity and unity expressed in historical phenomena. There is a reference to the rights and duties of citizens.

Guatemala also makes an effort to present history systematically. Although recent conflicts are not extensively covered, there is an emphasis on information concerning the rights and duties of citizens as a fundamental factor in co-existence.

None of the three countries offers a vision of the significance of United States interventionism in their own situations or of events in the regional sphere, except when they refer to the defeat of the filibuster William Walker in the last century. The textbooks do not cover the constant struggles for sovereignty or the impact of this interventionism on their present and future as nations or as a region.

The analysis shows the important role that Central American identity plays in enabling the peoples of this region to live together and to put into practice ideas such as those set out in the Central American Alliance for Sustainable Development. Here history and geography make an uncontested contribution towards progress in the long road towards the construction of Central America (Granados, 1985).

Notes

1. This article was written in collaboration with América Rodríguez.

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THE DUTY, ABILITY AND DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

TEACHING GEOGRAPHY

IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS AS

A MEANS OF SOCIAL

INTEGRATION:

THE CASE OF GENEVA

Bernard Huber

A perennial concern

In a study on much the same theme published by UNESCO in 1950, the authors wrote:

The vigorous imagination, curiosity and enthusiasm natural to most young children make them highly receptive to learning about other countries and peoples. To teach the child to think in terms of geography is to teach him to visualize places, people, societies, activities and ways of life other than his own, leading him beyond his limited local horizon to see his country and himself in relation to the world (UNESCO, 1950, p. 16).

In this study, the authors refer to inculcating a 'world sense' in the child, shaping the future 'citizen of the world'. They want the child to understand that he or she is a

Original: French

Bernard Huber (Switzerland)

A Swiss teacher, defended a doctoral thesis on the history of geography teaching at the primary level in French-speaking Switzerland at the University of Geneva in 1994. Lectures in the teaching of geography at the Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences at the same university. His most recent articles deal chiefly with the history of geography teaching (in *Geographica helvetica*, April 1997; and in *Mappemonde*, forthcoming). A book collector and the owner of a considerable collection of early children's books (from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, mainly of a geographical nature), he is also researching the history of geographical literature for children.

member of the great human community, a role that carries with it duties and responsibilities. In what follows, the authors would like to draw attention to the fact that this very topical concern, alien though it may have been to some people,¹ at various times and in different countries, has a long history. Geography teaching has from time immemorial been linked to the old concept of the homeland. With the sole exception of Comenius, only in more recent times has it been linked to 'internationalism'. Historically speaking, the author of *The great didactic* signed the first work suggesting that geography should be taught to very young children of both sexes. As a victim of the sufferings occasioned by the Thirty Years War, he considered that education in general (and the teaching of geography in particular) should be regarded 'as a suitable means of uplifting humanity, of making people nobler and happier, of bringing peoples closer and reconciling them by elevating them above partisan, denominational and national struggles' (Guex, 1906, p. 169).

Rousseau, on the contrary, in his considerations on *The Government of Poland* and its projected reform, was quite clear that education, on the whole, should assume a national character. In his opinion, the subject matter, the order and the form of studies should under no circumstances be left to the discretion of the individual teacher; they should be governed by national law. As for the teachers, he would have no priests or foreigners! Polish children 'should have only Poles as teachers', Rousseau said. With regard to geography teaching, he had this to say:²

A child on opening its eyes must see the homeland and until death must see nothing else. Every true republican imbibed a love of his country, that is, of laws and freedom, with his mother's milk. This love fills his whole existence; he sees only the homeland, lives solely for it; as soon as he is alone, he is of no account: as soon as he no longer has a homeland, he no longer exists and if he is not dead, he is worse than dead.

Concerning the Polish child, he went on to say 'I want him to read things about his country when learning to read, to know when he is 10 all its products, and when he is 12 all the provinces, all the roads, all the towns.' Turning out good, obedient citizens: such was the role Rousseau assigned to geography teaching in this work. Candaux (1930) wrote that this nationalistic purpose was in the air at the time. The eighteenth century introduced a value, in education as in politics: that of the nation. The extent to which the concept of the 'homeland' is associated with geography teaching has varied as time has gone by. The variations are closely linked to political, economic and social circumstances. As a corollary, the extent to which the concept of 'internationalism' is associated with it has also fluctuated. It should be pointed out, however, that close association with the former concept does not mean *ipso facto* that its links with the latter are weak. The converse is, of course, equally true.

School curricula and textbooks in the past

Preceding any school textbook there is a curriculum. The curriculum itself stems from successive education acts reflecting the demands of society. In Geneva, how-

ever, society is composite. For various reasons (political, economic, bound up with its status as an international centre, in particular), Geneva has given a home to many foreigners for a very long time. Its public educational institutions are accordingly cosmopolitan. In Genevan curricula of the nineteenth century, the idea of geography teaching as a means of social integration was not yet apparent. Although official documents say nothing on this subject, theoretical writings—chiefly published in the educational press of French-speaking Switzerland—and the geography textbooks of the Genevan W. Rosier give it ample treatment as far back as the end of the nineteenth century.

W. ROSIER

Characteristic of the progressive Genevan politician of the period, in charge of the Département de l'instruction publique (Department of Education) and a university professor, Rosier was one of the leading educationists in French-speaking Switzerland at the time. His ideals are very clearly apparent in his many writings on education: 'The school must teach collaboration and solidarity, and develop tolerance ...; it must place the interest of the community above that of the individual' (Rosier, quoted by Terrier, 1930, p. 6).

Many of his articles refer to the moral role assigned to geography teaching. It should aspire, in his view, to inculcate in the child a well-considered patriotism. While he was attached to this idea of patriotism, that of chauvinism was abhorrent to him. Modern education, he wrote, 'should contribute to the shaping of the true citizen, the convinced patriot, with a broad intellectual horizon and enlightened judgement' (Rosier, 1894, p. 119).

The citizens that this author wanted to form were to love their country without the obtuseness characteristic of the chauvinist. They were to be open-minded in their approach to the world and to other peoples. These citizens and their country had a role to play on the international scene. Similarly, every individual, other peoples and different States had their own roles to play. These mutual influences (political, economic, scientific, cultural, etc.) were favourable to humanity in general. These influences were at the origin of progress. This great open-mindedness should therefore lead to a proportionate spirit of tolerance. Geography teaching was precisely a means of enabling people to acquire that spirit through a knowledge of other customs, beliefs and forms of political organization. In this way, prejudices would be broken down.

While this educationist refers to the interdependence of human beings in terms of space (as shown by the foregoing lines), he lays even greater stress on their interdependence in time. When he alludes to the chain of generations he is, after all, emphasizing the links connecting them. On the subject of these links, he said, with reference to the pupil: 'He must be convinced of the close interdependence uniting all thinking beings, of the obligation under which he places himself to the human community everyday when drawing on the capital accumulated by a long series of generations, and which is termed civilization' (Rosier, 1897, p. 479).

The obligation to which this author refers might be illustrated for the pupil of our day by the serious problems, often refractory to current science and technology, posed by pollution, the disposal of radioactive waste, deforestation, etc. Do not problems of this magnitude, the solving of which is put off until later for the reason already noted, create bonds between generations?

Repeatedly republished and revised, Rosier's textbooks were considered obsolete and withdrawn in the early 1950s. They were replaced by those of Uldry and of Rebeaud.

EMERGENCE OF THE CONCEPT OF INTERDEPENDENCE IN THE CURRICULA

It was only in the 1942 curriculum that implicit acknowledgement of the importance of geography teaching as a means of social integration first made itself felt. In this document it is stated: 'Finally, it is desirable to develop inter-communal correspondence at the lower level, inter-cantonal at the middle level, and international at the higher level' (Département de l'instruction publique, 1942, p. 49).

In 1957, the Département de l'instruction publique brought out a new curriculum. It is interesting to read in connection with the problem with which we are concerned here. What do we find? In the part devoted to the aims and methods of primary education, it refers to the understanding and interdependence that should be the rule among citizens and among peoples (Département de l'instruction publique, 1957, p. 10). The chapter on geography teaching is headed by an epigraph borrowed from the French geographer Sorre:

The great advantage of geographical studies is that they incline the student to acquire three qualities: a sense of the complexity of the world, an appreciation of life perpetually evolving, and a deep sense of human unity (Sorre, quoted by the Département de l'instruction publique, 1957, p. 95).

Further on, it is stated that geography teaching:

brings out the interdependence and common interests of our communes and of our cantons. Through the knowledge it provides of the countries and peoples of the whole Earth, it helps to create a spirit of international understanding (*ibid.*, p. 95).

Whereas Rosier, on account of his writings, enjoyed a fame that extended far beyond the Canton of Geneva, and even Switzerland (he was personally in touch with the French geographer Reclus), the influence of Uldry and of Rebeaud was more local. As they were less prolific authors, it is hard to know what their opinions were on the subject at hand. That being said, I have had many discussions with Uldry, to whom we are indebted for the local geography textbook, *Au pays genevoix* [In Genevan country]. This educationist, who has had important responsibilities in the Genevan education system, was imbued with the ideas defended by UNESCO. In UNESCO's view, thinking geographically means thinking universally, that is, moving out of

the local scene to which the child is confined, or, in other words, making children aware that they and the community to which they belong are but a small fragment of a wider community. Geography teaching has precisely to contribute to the rejection of the narrow nationalism that has sometimes inspired it.

Geography teaching should bring out what unites people rather than what differentiates them. This discipline should contribute to a realization of the close interaction of peoples and of nations. This interdependence is, in particular, political (the role of a country such as Switzerland in the Europe under construction, in the field of transport policy, for instance), economic (displacement of firms from the developed world to the developing world) and cultural (young Europeans borrowing from non-European customs and cultures—fast food, fashion, music, etc.).

Isolation or reaching out?

It is never a promising sign when individuals or nations withdraw into themselves. Generally speaking, apart from some unique lives, human beings are not made to live as hermits. They are made to live in society. Similarly, a nation that lives without contact with other nations declines.

In the past, some geographers, determinists, went so far as to ascribe the slower development of certain regions or continents to their form as great land masses (Africa). Conversely, in their opinion, regions with more tentacular outlines, such as Europe, had developed precisely because their indented coastlines had facilitated exchanges between peoples. It was for this reason, they claimed, that the Mediterranean basin, whose convoluted outline is striking, had always known great development in all fields. The same was held to be true of the Hanseatic cities around the Baltic Sea.

Current or recent examples illustrating this idea of 'isolation' and its disastrous effects abound. The dictatorial regimes that presided for decades over the destinies of Albania, Portugal and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for instance, sealed off these countries, hermetically in some cases. In varying degrees they were screened from foreign influences. We know what has become of these States. Albania is in a state of chaos. Portugal is still one of the poorest countries in Europe. As for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, it has been hit by a famine that it cannot handle without foreign aid—reluctantly accepted, moreover.

People are rooted in their native soil and they are attached to it. After a long absence, they are happy to return to it. This attachment, which is basically healthy and which some call patriotism, does not conflict with an appreciation of other places, of otherness. A Swiss politician has said that 'One cannot go towards somebody else without knowing who one is' (Biéler, quoted by Ricci Lempen, 1998, p. 22). Knowing another person, confronting that person's ideas with one's own, comparing different habits and customs, are enriching experiences. Here, too, examples abound. Did not the Huguenots, forced to emigrate from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, bring to Geneva all their skills in the field of clock- and watch-making? In more recent times, have not some of the Italian immigrants of the 1950s

and 1960s left their mark on Geneva by setting up the main civil engineering firms? The long and the short of it is that, in the view of the authors perused, geography teaching should lead children to respect those who, for whatever reason, are different from themselves.

Influence of the new media on geography teaching

Unlike the situation that prevailed in earlier times, when children were almost exclusively concerned with matters connected with their immediate surroundings, young users of the new media cannot escape news of events occurring in faraway places. Geography teaching at the primary level must inevitably take this new reality into account. The analysis of a geographical feature will thus have to be undertaken simultaneously on many different scales, from the largest to the smallest.

Current events of outstanding importance of which the children are aware through the media do not remain abstract. They assume a tangible form in the children's daily lives. The chaotic situation in the Balkans, for instance, has direct implications, owing to the presence of classmates from Bosnia or Kosovo.

XENOPHOBIA, A CONCEPT UNKNOWN TO CHILDREN

My long experience with primary education in Geneva has taught me that children pay very little, if any, attention to differences of origin or culture. To them, a school-mate is a schoolmate. Whether he or she is a local or comes from somewhere else is of no concern. Xenophobia is unknown to them. Only later is it likely to appear. It is therefore advisable to anticipate this phenomenon. Though constricted by the curriculum, the Genevan primary schoolteacher can find opportunities, sometimes of an informal nature, to bring up this subject with the pupils. This is encouraged in the curriculum. Moreover I have in mind, for instance, the organizing of school fêtes with an underlying unifying geographical theme—the special dishes of the various nationalities represented in the school. Many subjects for discussion may emerge from an event of this kind.

Recent school curricula and textbooks

While Uldry's and Rebeaud's textbooks remained in use until the early 1980s, the curricula changed more quickly. Indeed, a new curriculum for the first four years of primary education was adopted in 1972. On the subject of geography, it was stated that the aim of geography teaching was, in particular, 'to arouse a keen interest in the ways of life and living conditions of other communities and thus contribute to an ever-better understanding among peoples' (Office romand des services cantonaux des éditions et du matériel scolaires, 1972, p. CE 7).³

In 1979, a new curriculum was introduced for the fifth and sixth years of the primary course (Office romand des services cantonaux des éditions et du matériel scolaires, 1979). This stipulates that, generally speaking, environmental studies, of

which geography is a part, should enable the child: to qualify his or her opinions by listening to other points of view; to establish a system of values in which a sense of responsibility leads to respect for the natural and human environment, and its protection if need be; and to gain a better understanding of the problems and behaviour of other communities.

Current school curricula and textbooks

The current geography curriculum for Genevan primary schools is a series entitled 'Environmental education. Curriculum'. The textbooks are by G. Primatesta. Perusal of these official documents tells us that the concept of learning, broadly speaking, has three aspects. Two of them, knowledge proper and skills, figure explicitly in the current curriculum. The third, which corresponds more or less to what some call 'learning to be', is only implicit.

G. PRIMATESTA

The great many discussions I have had with Primatesta indicate that this author much prefers the idea of 'education in tolerance' to that of 'learning to be'. In fact, he considers that he has no authority to tell anyone how they should 'be' in society, or how they should behave. He sets great store in 'education in tolerance' as a purpose of geography teaching. The idea is to be found, *inter alia*, in *Alpes et Jura, livret du maître* [The Alps and the Jura: teacher's handbook] (Primatesta, 1988, p. 3). This triple-faceted context for geography teaching is formulated by Primatesta as follows: 'The mastery of these intellectual tools and the knowledge acquired in environmental education contribute to the education of the future citizen' (Département de l'instruction publique, 1991, p. 1). In other words, skills ('the mastery of these intellectual tools') added to knowledge strictly so-called, correspond to 'learning to be' or to 'education in tolerance' ('the education of the future citizen'), this being the 'ultimate purpose of education' (Mérenne-Schoumaker, 1986, p. 187). Geography, according to Primatesta, should 'help children to fit into communities, to place themselves in relation to the surrounding environment, to have a better understanding of the behaviour of the various communities living in their country and elsewhere in the world' (Primatesta, 1985, p. 3).

This quotation is important. Indeed, it means that geography teaching, while encouraging children to be tolerant towards others and to understand the difficulties some foreign schoolmates have in becoming assimilated, must at the same time give children an opportunity of fitting harmoniously into their own physical and human setting. Only individuals who are themselves well integrated can be tolerant towards others. As integration takes place, in particular, through learning about that setting, 'children must gradually learn to know and understand their environment, to respect it and to find their place in it' (Département de l'instruction publique, 1991, p. 1).

MANY VIEWPOINTS, ONE OBJECT

We all have our own perception of space. In an experiment conducted in a nursery school on the way some pupils represent the classroom, a teacher found that for one little girl it was summed up in a rag doll sitting on top of a cupboard. No walls, no windows, no door—a doll! For another pupil, the same classroom consisted solely of the ‘language corner’, where the instructor assembled the children for class activities. One little boy did have a more objective view of the classroom. He drew walls, windows and a door. When the pupils had finished their drawings, highly subjective ones in the eyes of an adult, they were given structuring exercises that sharpened and objectified their initial perception. In the course of such exercises the teacher had to bring out the fact that there are no wrong points of view. There are only different ways of seeing things. Such an approach relativizes each individual perspective.

It is precisely the comparison of points of view that should lead to intellectual enrichment. This is the educational outcome of such a method. The moral outcome is the gradual acquisition of a spirit of tolerance. Now, as has been said earlier, that is precisely one of the avowed aims of environmental education as it is conceived in the Canton of Geneva. Does not the development of a responsible citizen follow precisely from this kind of education? Faced with opinions different from their own, young children, on reaching adolescence and then adulthood, should be well equipped to adopt a critical approach to anything. This diversity of points of view will be clearly apparent when the adolescent, in geography studies, is faced with maps based on different projection techniques. Here the subjectivity of the map maker is blatant:

The problems involved in projection, that is, the geometric system of correspondences that make it possible to convert the terrestrial ellipsoid into a plane map are particularly interesting in this connection. For the author, it is a question of selecting the projection that best expresses his ideas, that best serves his purpose. Almost invisible when the scale is large, the selection of a projection becomes highly significant on a small scale. One should be aware, for instance, of the distortions introduced by the traditional maps of the world, centred on the Greenwich meridian and drawn up in accordance with the famous ‘Mercator projection’, which lead us to forget the fact that the Pacific Ocean is five times as large as the Atlantic, and which swell the Polar regions to the point of disguising the fact that Greenland is actually smaller than Arabia. Cartographers play on these distortions, of course. By this means they adroitly bring into relief a particular aspect of the region represented. Thus, by a fairly simple metaphor, a cartographer can show schoolchildren that France is ‘at the heart’ of the solid part of the Earth’s surface (i.e. at the centre of a circle ... drawn around France) (Caron, 1987–88, p. 110).

Monmonier has studied this interesting question of the ‘lies’ conveyed by certain maps (Monmonier, 1993). He shows clearly the bases of these mystifications. He dissects the methods employed to deceive the user. The cartographer who wants to stress the importance of France in the world will place that country at the centre of the map. In China, the Chinese State will obviously occupy this ‘privileged’ position.

Every country, in short, can legitimately lay claim to this position in the middle of the page.

It follows that it is desirable to adopt a critical approach to things, to grasp the different aspects of a problem—in other words, to strive towards objectivity. These are essential elements of that ‘education in tolerance’ to which Primatesta so often refers. Educated in that spirit, anyone should be able to bring out clearly the different aspects of a problem such as the one, geographical to a high degree, related by the *Journal de Genève*:

Nickel mine excavation works began last weekend on a site claimed by Aborigines in the Western Australian desert before the Aborigines, who were hostile to the project, could oppose it on legal grounds. Dominion Mining, Perth, confirmed on Monday that seven exploratory excavations had been carried out on Saturday and Sunday by way of feasibility studies. The lawyers of the Aborigines concerned, members of the Ngalia Heritage Group, announced that they would submit a plea to the Supreme Court of Western Australia on Tuesday to obtain the suspension of the works on the Yakabinaie site 700 km north-east of Perth. According to the Aborigines, the works would damage places of great importance bound up with their ancient culture, based on a spiritual attachment to the land of their ancestors (Unsigned, 1991, p. 44).

If an adult reading a newsbrief of this type manages to grasp the point of view of the Australian Aborigines, that is, the reasons for the bonds attaching them to the land, geography teaching will have achieved one of its noblest aims—mutual understanding of peoples.

In *Le Moyen-Pays, livret du maître* [The Swiss plateau: teacher's handbook] (1985b, p. 3), Primatesta refined his view of things, saying that geography makes it possible: to give the relative position of objects in a spatio-temporally structured area; to move off-centre by putting oneself in the place of another observer to describe and situate the elements in such an area; to arrange certain elements according to an overall plan; to learn to take into account the axes of natural horizontal and vertical co-ordinates as well as the arbitrary or reference axes (road, stream, etc.); and, in particular, to distinguish between the different planes of one and the same landscape. Clearly, with this educational standpoint (moving off-centre and putting oneself in the place of another observer), geography teaching will certainly enable children to ‘understand and accept differences between living areas, whether on a world scale or on that of their country or their region [...], to manage their living area or areas and [...] to respect those of others’ (Mérenne-Schoumaker, 1986, p. 187) and, perhaps, to induce children to exert a favourable influence on their environment, however modest.

Relativizing

The child must therefore learn little by little to relativize. Geography teaching is precisely something that can contribute to this. In other words, and in conclusion, the young child must understand that ‘home’ is not the centre of the world, and that the Earth is made up of different ‘homes’ (Primatesta, 1985a, p. 2).

Notes

1. Geography teaching has assumed a jingoistic and even revanchist character. Two examples from French textbooks for geography will bear this out: Eysséric, in a textbook published in 1898, states that 'in the universities, attended by many students, there are teachers who are first-rate scholars, but most of them are arrogant, fanatical and very hostile to France. So we have formidable opponents; but it is essential to observe that, while recognizing their scientific value, we can put forward, to match their great figures, names just as illustrious and discoveries of greater significance' (Eysséric, 1898, p. 135). Baudrillard and Le Léap, in 1923, state that 'Germany had grandiose ambitious designs, and its imperialism was alarming before the war. It dreamt of a pan-Germanism that would bring under its domination all the countries it alleged to be of Germanic race—Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria [...] Germany resembled a huge workshop and a great barracks: by holding in one hand the tool that creates and in the other the weapon that threatens and kills, it aspired to dominate Europe and the world. All those ambitions were overthrown by the war which Germany started in order to achieve them' (Baudrillard & Le Léap, 1923, p. 89).
2. Although translations of Rousseau's published works exist in English, this paragraph has been translated anew from the French.
3. The place of publication is not mentioned in this curriculum, or in that of 1979. What is more, the pagination does not conform to customary practices.

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THE DUTY, ABILITY AND DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

FOR LIVING TOGETHER

IN SOUTH AFRICA

Bernard Ducret

History, geography and *apartheid* policy

In embarking on the study of concepts conveyed by the history and geography textbooks used in South Africa, some points regarding their role under the former *apartheid* regime should be borne in mind. Such a policy first appeared in legislative texts in 1908, and was being implemented in a rigorous, clear and ordered manner by 1948 (Davenport, 1987; Marks & Trapido, 1987). The different branches of science were required to help lend respectability to the racism practised by the State. To history fell the role of proving that the Afrikaners were the first occupants of southern Africa, which afforded them the right to defend themselves against the Black invaders.

The history of the region is, first and foremost, that of the different ethnic groups which inhabited it in turn. The first arrivals were the Khoisans, who were not related to the Blacks, who had lived in eastern and southern Africa for some ten or twenty thousand years. Between 400 and 800, the first Blacks, who were farmers, settled in the north of the Transvaal. They were overrun between 1,000 and 1,400 by the livestock-rearing population groups who were the direct ancestors of the present-day Blacks of South Africa. South of the Orange and Kei rivers, the Whites preceded the Blacks, although the two pastoral groups did not come into contact until the seventeenth century, several hundred kilometres north of the Cape. In

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1835, the Boers crossed the Orange River and settled on lands that had for the most part been unoccupied since the massacres by Mzilikazi and his Ndebele-Matabele between 1824 and 1835. As their wagon trains crossed the immense spaces shorn of all human habitation, the pioneers believed they had reached the Promised Land that God had set aside for the Afrikaners because they were the Chosen People (Lugan, 1986).

This is not the place to discuss the contradictions inherent in the claim that the Dutch were the first to reach the Cape when, in fact, the Khoisans had been there for 20,000 years (Riglet, 1987); it is enough to note the consecration of the Great Trek as an additional founding myth of the Afrikaner nation. The migration of the pioneers, or *Voortrekkers*, who left Natal to settle on the bleak upland plateau of the Veld, lies at the heart of the beliefs, myths and dogmas that make up the ideological framework of *apartheid*. It also lies at the root of a dual territorial conflict between, on the one hand, the native populations and the Afrikaners and, on the other, between the latter and the British who sought to take over the gold mines during the Boer War. Thus, the question of the control of space, and hence of the role of geography, arose very early on in South Africa. The problem was exacerbated by the racial segregation policy, and by the attendant land tenure legislation. Between 1960 and 1983, more than three million people were displaced under the residential zoning laws. The creation of the homelands and so-called independent States, such as Bophuthatswana, the Venda and the Transkei, constituted the most blatant manifestation of *apartheid* in terms of space (Soppelsa, 1981). Hence, history and geography teaching played a central role in the former social segregation policy.

Schools in South Africa

The situation of schools has already been admirably described (Fraser et al., 1996). We will merely recall a few points. The struggle against *apartheid* was waged in the schools, since they were considered to be the breeding ground of colonialism. The debate revolved primarily around the languages of instruction, which concentrated on Afrikaans and ignored the local languages, and around the excessively European focus of the syllabus, which neglected African history. Eventually, young people could no longer tolerate the school's authority and resorted to violence, boycott, arson and hostage-taking to force schools to accede to their demands (Green, 1991). They formed gangs that, being hostile to the Western system and indifferent to their own culture, represented an immense socialization problem. It should be added that the school infrastructure for Black pupils was unsuitable and inadequate. Many young people were prompted by the lack of textbooks, classrooms and qualified teachers, combined with deplorable physical conditions, to reject not only the syllabuses and the schools, but the entire education system (Gilbert, 1982).

The grave deterioration of the school system and of the educational level of the pupils prompted the political leaders among the Black population to draw up reports (*Discussion paper for the ANC on education policy*, 1991), which led to a political aspiration (African National Congress, 1994; South Africa, 1995) upon their accession to power. Specifically, a new educational policy was launched by the

Minister for Education, Sibusiso Bengu (South Africa, 1997b). It was extensively publicized under the name of 'Curriculum 2005' (South Africa, 1997a), and centred on the ambitious objective of raising the level of the entire population by developing ongoing training, validating skills through the accumulation of credits, introducing continuous assessment, overhauling teaching methods, granting autonomy to schools and making school administration democratic. Curriculum 2005 linked the teaching of history and geography with:

the human and social sciences [which] contribute to developing responsible citizens in a culturally diverse, democratic society within an interdependent world. They equip learners to make sound judgements and take appropriate action that will contribute to sustainable development of human society and the physical environment. Human and social sciences comprise the relationships between people, and between people and the environment. These interactions are contextualized in space and time and have social, political, economic, environmental and spiritual dimensions. They develop distinctive skills and a critical awareness of social and environmental patterns, process and events based on appropriate investigations and reflection within and across related focuses (South Africa, 1997a, p. 27).

The justification for this approach to teaching was clearly political: 'Critical thinking, rational thought and deeper understanding—central principles of the new education system—will soon begin to break down class, race and gender stereotypes' (South Africa, 1997a, p. 2). The intention was to:

[act] as a conduit and [play] a facilitative role in generating a sense of South African nationhood and solidarity within a pan-African and international dynamic; individuating the person within learning collectives and releasing the person's potential. Education and training should therefore serve in a pre-figurative and strategic way in releasing human resources potential in South Africa, in order to redress the imbalances created by the *apartheid* system (South Africa, 1997a, p. 33).

The final objective laid down by the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) was not defined in terms of knowledge but of 'understanding that the world is a set of related systems. This means that problem-solving contexts do not exist in isolation.' This new educational policy was rooted in the *ubuntu*—a local concept that might be defined as a sense of humanity combined with a keen awareness of social responsibility—and bore some similarities to the work on relationships between ethnic groups carried out in the United States (Klineberg, 1969).

Although, with the end of *apartheid*, the government of national unity totally redefined the key concepts of teaching in South Africa, it made very few recommendations regarding the syllabus content. In the area relevant to our study, it was recommended that textbooks should devote less attention to the history of the white colonists and in the future include that of the pre-colonial indigenous peoples, the San and the Khoikhoi. Chapters were to be added on African nationalism, *apartheid* and the new constitution. One or more religions might be studied, provided that convictions were respected and that analysis and discussion had their place in such teaching.

Concepts conveyed by South African history and geography textbooks

This study is based on two books (Morrisson, 1995; Berens et al., 1995). The history book (Berens et al.) deals with ancient Egypt, religions, trade, travel and the Cape region. The geography textbook (Morrisson) studies the continents, associations of countries, rural and urban life, population, trade and transport, and attempts to define what a country is. The two objectives of building the future and of settling the accounts of the past become apparent when one analyses the concepts conveyed through these two texts intended for Grade 7 pupils (10–11-year-old children).

Building the future

With a view to closing the door on the *apartheid* period and instilling an awareness of the desirability of returning to democratic values, history and geography teaching in South Africa focus on the four concepts of community, mobility, territory and nation that are the basis of these disciplines. Frequently, they are approached through their antithesis. The territory that the pupil is encouraged to adopt is not finite; it is defined not so much as a surface but rather as a network of flows at the world level; it is a system-world. Community does not reside in ethnicity, identity or membership in a group; it is founded on individuals. Its prime value lies in the singularity of individuals who, by comparing and contrasting their views, become citizens.

SINGULARITY

This appears to be the concept that is most frequently conveyed by the works studied. Each individual is recognized as being unique, and group judgement must be discarded.

Things are not always the way they seem to be to us now. Not all the colonists were in favour of slavery (some sought to end it); not all the Khoikhoi fought against the colonists (some fought on their side); and the Xhosa didn't all fight against the colonists all the time (sometimes Xhosa and colonists worked together) (Berens et al., 1995, p. 77).

The concern with acknowledging the specificity of each individual prevails over the cognitive objective of the text. Thus, the chapter devoted to religions entertains no real scientific pretensions in this regard, but takes the opportunity to concentrate only on the major religions practised in South Africa: Christianity, Islam and Hinduism.

COMPARING AND CONTRASTING

This sub-concept is part and parcel of the concept of mobility. It seeks to juxtapose differences, as opposed to mere contact or indeed conflict. The authors are aware that undue emphasis on the individual's singularity could ultimately exacer-

bate differences. 'Remember that nobody is exactly the same as anybody else. Hence, it is dangerous to think that we can know everything by studying only one case' (Morrisson, 1995). The textbooks make extensive use of the study of representations and associations for the purpose of comparing points of view and of taking the implicit into account. To the question 'What do you know about France?', a small sketch offers a list including cognac, the Concorde, the TGV (high-speed train), rugby, bread, Renault, Peugeot, Paris, perfume, fashion, etc. The same process is used in connection with South Africa, this time using British students' drawings. 'What is "inaccurate" here? Where does this information come from?' Returning to the French case, the pupils are asked to think about the relevance of the selection made. 'You should be aware that information is produced for different reasons. Thus, tourist brochures are designed to attract visitors. They don't show the bad aspects. In turn, newspapers are interested in what is wrong.' Similarly, when studying the United Kingdom, Taiwan and Germany, the South African case is in each instance placed in parallel so that the pupil can compare the two situations.

This two-pronged approach is used systematically in history. In the study of the Crusades, Saladin is considered in the light of a Frankish text and of a Fatimid text; a picture of Franks being decapitated by Muslims follows another where Muslims are being decapitated by Franks. An exercise on Vasco da Gama's seizure of Mombasa asks what 'looting', 'sacking' and 'destruction' mean to a Portuguese soldier, and then to an inhabitant of the city. When studying the discovery of America, the pupil is asked to invent two slogans, one pro- and another anti-Christopher Columbus. The juxtaposition and comparison of points of view is by no means random, and is clearly explained to the child: 'Here are two pictures (Moses found in his basket on the Nile, Moses and the burning bush). Show their importance from a religious point of view. [...] Now talk about them from the historical point of view.' Finally, a commendation of the contact between civilizations, of the controlled counterpoise of differences is conveyed through an illustration of Krotoa, a Khoikhoi girl brought up by the Dutch on the Cape and who acted as an interpreter, clad in Vermeer-style costume.

THE SYSTEM-WORLD

In spatial terms, this commendation of difference, this comparison of points of view, triggers an interest in a broader world and in formulating the components of a system-world. This intention is explicit; the following text was not taken from an official directive or teacher-training manual, but is the introduction to a geography chapter for 10-year-old pupils.

A child born today will be faced as an adult, almost daily, with problems of a global interdependent nature (where each thing depends in some way on another), be it peace, food, quality of life or scarcity of natural resources. They will be both an actor and a beneficiary, or a victim in the total world fabric and they may ask: Why was I not warned? Why was I not better educated about the world? Why did my teachers not tell me about these problems and tell me how to act as a member of the human race? (Morrisson, 1995, p. 72).

This emphatically systemic approach is almost invariably employed. A series of sketches show the impact of a drought in Kenya on the price of coffee in South Africa; a cartoon shows the links between acid rain, German legislation on packaging and the impact on South African fruit exports; the importance of the sea route around Africa by way of the Cape is examined in terms of the construction of a canal several thousand kilometres away, the political conflicts of the Near East and the size of ships. This approach on different scales also allows diverging points of view to be incorporated. For example, the expansion of the world ivory trade reduces the size of elephant herds on the continent, but the ivory trade ban causes the country's reservations to become overpopulated and results in a loss of earnings. Finally, pupils are invited to construct a system involving aid from the United States to promote cattle rearing in Botswana, the consumption of hamburgers in Europe, the dependence of the cattle-raising communities of Botswana on world meat prices and the deterioration of the country's self-sufficiency in food.

CITIZENSHIP

The history and, more particularly, the geography that result from this respect for and knowledge of individual singularities, and from placing their reciprocal relationships in perspective, give authors a very high profile and are somewhat short on facts. The concept of the nation is built up around that of citizenship. The objective is to make pupils responsible, to mould future citizens. The various exercises rarely consist of closed questions with answers to which pupils are directed by the text. On the contrary, they serve as points of discussion and are often linked to the experience of pupils who are encouraged to carry out research and demonstrate independent thinking. Role-playing is frequently employed and requires pupils to speak before the whole class. 'Imagine that you are What would your view be on ...?' This method is used in connection with agrarian reform, the city, nuclear power stations and sanctions against South Africa during the days of *apartheid*. 'Despite United Nations sanctions, some countries (especially our neighbouring States) did trade with South Africa. Why do you think these countries did this?'

Free trade is discussed on the basis of two contradictory texts. The study of the United Kingdom includes a debate on electoral manifestos illustrated by a constitutional reform bill (*Charter 88*) and a publication of the Anti-Nazi League. The fact that the two political documents are in themselves of only marginal importance demonstrates that the priority is not so much to convey knowledge as to encourage the pupil to participate and act as a responsible being, and to demonstrate that even in the country that gave birth to the parliamentary system, the battle against racism and for democracy must be fought.

Settling the accounts of the past

This concern is clearly to the fore in the two textbooks studied; the endeavour may be slightly less ambitious, but it continues, for the most part, to be explicit. Once the

nation has been defined in terms of the individuality of its citizens, it is then viewed from the alternative angle of the consecration of the founding myth of permanent resistance to colonialism. Territory, which was initially approached as a system of trade at the world level, subsequently concentrates on land appropriation. The community is no longer merely the juxtaposition of individual cases, but also the clear assertion of belonging to Africa and to the developing world.

BELONGING TO AFRICA

With *apartheid* a thing of the past, South Africa must be clearly shown to be an African country. In geography, most examples are taken from the English-speaking countries such as Nigeria, Namibia, Botswana and Lesotho. The history book devotes 20% of its space to the ancient 'African kingdom' of Egypt. 'It is important to study the civilization of Egypt because it is a part of Africa, the continent in which we live.' Eight pages are devoted to the Khoikhoi and a further two to the Xhosa. The textbook also examines the lives of several famous people. Some are of universal renown, such as Magellan, the man who put southern Africa on the world map, Abraham, Paul of Tarsus, Muhammad and Gandhi in deference to the cultural and religious diversity of South Africa. Two much lesser-known African personalities also feature: Sheikh Yusuf, the first Muslim missionary in the Cape, and Mansa Musa, a great Malian traveller. A large, striking photograph of an elderly San woman is followed by an exercise: 'Before the White people came Write the end of the story.' This claim to an African identity is apparent in the importance attributed to local archaeology. The sites of Mapungubwe and of Zimbabwe are extensively discussed:

These cities had been growing for more than 200 years before da Gama saw them, they were wealthy cities [...]. When explorers and travellers from Europe first saw Great Zimbabwe in the early 1900s, they did not believe that it had been built by the local people. They found bowls from China and imported glass beads in the ruins. So they said that Great Zimbabwe had been built by Chinese or Arab or Egyptian conquerors. They believed that other people had colonized the area in earlier times. This made them feel better about conquering and colonizing the country themselves (Berens et al., 1995, p. 67).

On occasion, the need to exalt its origins acquires an anti-Western tinge. One exercise requires a comparison to be made between the lively, warm welcome extended by Mombasa to Ibn Battuta, a Muslim traveller, and the manner in which the Portuguese d'Almeida sacked the city. This also provides an opportunity to exalt African resistance to colonization by turning it into one of the founding myths of the new South Africa. The study of the introduction of slavery occupies the same amount of space as accounts of slave escapes and uprisings, and Xhosa attacks against the British. Robben Island prison is evoked in connection with the incarceration of the first Muslims: 'Who were the first prisoners? Do you know of any political prisoners confined on Robben Island recently?'

BELONGING TO THE DEVELOPING WORLD

After concentrating on the African continent, pupils are subsequently invited to broaden their horizons by becoming part of the developing world. On the one hand, the United States is attributed a marginal place, while the extensive use of the Peters cartographic projection focuses attention on the intertropical regions. On the other, pupils are invited to analyse a diagram demonstrating trade imbalances. This new sense of belonging is clearly encouraged, in preference to the idea of the Third World with its excessively pejorative connotations.

Repeatedly, almost obsessively, South Africa is shown to be a country that is not underdeveloped, but one that also has features of the developed world. Pupils are required to compare the account given by Diane (urban, White, employed) of her daily life, and what Selina (rural, Black, peasant) has to say. Two drawings of a tropical landscape, side by side, the first during the rainy season and the second in the middle of the dry season, accompany the question 'Do you think it makes sense to separate dry countries and wet countries?' The exercise comes immediately after the previously mentioned discourse analysis and is a good example of the commendation of singularity, of complexity and of the establishment of relationships to which Curriculum 2005 aspires.

LAND APPROPRIATION

This concept does not relate to territory or to appropriated space in the sense dear to geographers, but rather to the act of appropriating space. The history syllabus is concerned primarily with medieval trade and with the major religions; it is therefore justifiable that cartography should give pride of place to the Mediterranean basin, and the Near and Middle East. Maps concentrate largely on the Cape region. In effect, location is not very important, since it is the act whereby land is occupied that counts. After all the sufferings of *apartheid*, 'an important theme of the textbook is the way in which people lose or appropriate land, and the consequent impact on their lives.' This aspect is also dealt with in geography in the form of discussion of agrarian reform and reference to the results of the Bloemenfontein Conference on land in 1994. This matter of the territorialization of a society reoccurs almost obsessively. 'Imagine that you are an Israeli and you have just moved to Canaan. Give two or three reasons why you are so happy to be there [...]. Imagine that you live in Canaan. Give two or three reasons why you are unhappy to see new Israeli settlers in your country.' Obviously, the arrival of the Europeans in the Cape and their penetration into the interior provide an opportunity to dwell on the dispossession of the Khoikhois and the conflicts with the Xhosas. At the end of the textbook, a strategy game pits three players against one another: Dutch, British and Xhosa. In turn, they must place their pawns on a map of the Cape province. The object of the game is to secure the region by surrounding the opposing pawns. The scale imposed and the role of chance (the players toss heads or tails for each of the six rounds of the game) give the Xhosa player a much better chance than he or she would have

had in the reality of the past (the British pawn has a 38% chance of winning, the Dutch and Xhosa pawns 31% each). Hence, a cunning Xhosa can demonstrate to a class that defeat by the White invader is not necessarily a foregone conclusion.

Conclusion

It is, of course, too early to judge the practical impact of these textbooks. The principles of the Curriculum 2005 project have been widely approved. 'In a radical break from the past, the new school's curriculum will strive to prepare pupils for life in the real world instead of just teaching the alphabet, how to add and subtract, and giving bland textbook-driven lessons in geography and history' (Naidu, 1997).

Nonetheless, the success of such a radical change depends on the desire and ability of teachers to bring it about. But the principal obstacle continues to be of a technical and financial nature: the somewhat disorganized provincial administration is responsible for introducing the curriculum, teachers have scant qualifications, the most experienced of them leave the system, some classes are overcrowded, although others do not suffer from confined premises since they are held out in the veld, and there is a shortage of textbooks. 'Unfortunately, the problems bedevilling education are larger than the Department of Education would like us to believe, and there can be few clearer examples than Curriculum 2005 for rearranging the deckchairs on the Titanic as the icebergs approach' (Ellis, 1997). These are just some of the serious problems, although they could be easily resolved if funding were available.

We consider that the greatest difficulty lies elsewhere. The success of this reform depends also (and perhaps primarily) on its acceptance by the different sectors of the population. This project could well clash with deeply rooted social perceptions. Immediately after the project was announced, a compilation was made of the obstacles raised by the attitudes of pupils and teachers (Ramogale, 1997). To return to the initial subject of concern regarding the matter of 'learning to live together': the textbooks have done their duty; everything now depends on the ability of teachers and the desire of pupils.

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THE DUTY, ABILITY AND DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

GEOGRAPHICAL EDUCATION

AND IDEOLOGY

IN ENGLAND AND WALES

Norman Graves

Introduction

Paul Claval ended his book *Les mythes fondateurs des sciences sociales* with the phrase 'it is not up to the social sciences to pontificate on the principles that ought to guide human behaviour. That is the task of moral philosophers. It is time that researchers discarded the burden that ideologies impose upon them and concentrated on exploring the things of our world' (author's translation from Claval, 1980, p. 241).

If I understand him, by ideology he means the representation of a social system within which are integrated certain values and a particular explanation of the way the system works. Researchers, he feels, should go beyond ideologies. Claval does not, however, deny the influence of ideologies in society. In a previous paragraph, he wrote: 'Society is built by men [and I add by women as well] and reflects the principles they believe in' (p. 241). It is in this sense that I would like to analyse geographical education in England and Wales and attempt to show that sometimes overtly, but more often covertly, it has reflected ideologies which have changed over the years as a result of changes in society or certain sections of society. It has also reflected changes in geography as a research or university discipline.

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Brief historical survey

The teaching of geography in British secondary schools largely dates from the beginning of the twentieth century. It developed during the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, and flourished from 1960 to the mid-1980s. In the nineteenth century, geography was essentially a subject taught in primary schools and as such was considered unworthy of inclusion in the curriculum of the elite 'public schools', almost the only secondary schools in existence at that time. But Local Education Authority secondary schools, founded after the 1902 Education Act, adopted geography as one of the subjects of their curriculum, in the form of regional geography as expounded by the French geographer Vidal de la Blache and re-interpreted by Halford Mackinder and Andrew Herbertson (Graves, 1984). The influence of contemporary ideas is manifest in:

- a choice of countries and regions studied in which the British Empire loomed large;
- an acceptance that the relations between the United Kingdom and its colonies were hierarchical with Britain dominating. The civilizing mission of the British was tacitly but more often openly expressed, trade being but an accidental product of this mission. In any case, the benefit of such trade was considered to be mutual; and
- the use of geography (as well as other subjects) as a means of developing a patriotic feeling among pupils. Maps of the British Empire were often placed on the walls of classrooms.

Even in the 1940s, geography tended to consider economic systems as given, not something to be discussed. I remember my own geography teacher's embarrassment when dealing with the then Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, when he was posed a question by a 16-year-old student on the political and economic system of that country. He seemed to be worried about where such a question might lead.

Given that there was, at that time, no national curriculum determined by the central authorities, there was a wide variety of syllabi that were decided by each school's geography teachers. However, the existence of examinations tended to impose a certain uniformity, especially for students from the age of 14 to 18. Examination syllabi were based on what was taught in schools and for many years these remained unchanged. For example, between 1950 and 1970, the examination syllabi and the questions posed in geography examinations for 16-year-old candidates for the General Certificate of Education, were based mainly on regional geography and hardly changed. This stagnation was not beneficial for the image of geography as a means of educating young people for a world that was changing rapidly. It was the influence of certain young geographers (Chorley & Haggett, 1965) and the establishment of the Schools Council for the Curriculum and Examinations in the 1960s, which resulted in the development of experiments in new curricula in geography such as 'geography for the young school leaver' and 'geography 16-19'

as well as new textbooks (Everson & FitzGerald, 1969), which espoused the conceptual revolution (Davies, 1972) of those years.

One could blame the conservatism of teachers for the twenty years of stagnation in the geography curriculum, but this would be only a superficial explanation. It is necessary to look for the roots of this inertia in a society that has had great difficulties in accommodating itself to the economic, social and political realities of the second half of the twentieth century. Whether one uses the example of the adoption of the metric system, or that of obsolete industrial practices, or the attitude to participating fully in the European Community, there was a manifest reluctance (not to say refusal) to adopt practices and attitudes that other States had long ago seen fit to espouse. Even today, though many changes have occurred in the late 1980s and 1990s, the British hesitation over joining the European Monetary Union is symptomatic of a society that finds it difficult to rethink its position in the world.

To what extent can this be ascribed to an ideological position? I am unsure. With some politicians, this may be the case, but with society as a whole I believe the profound conservatism has psychological roots to which I shall return later.

From 1970 onwards, geography in schools was gradually transformed. There was a progressive abandonment of regional geography and an adoption of thematic geography following the conceptual revolution that took place at the research level. This transformation of geography became manifest in school and in examination syllabi, with a net increase in the importance of human geography and a relative decline in physical geography. In effect, this meant a growth in urban geography, social geography, the problems of developing countries, and a considerable development of a geographical consideration of environmental problems.

It must be stressed that, at that time, the Department of Education and Science (the central governmental body responsible for education) had no powers over the school curriculum, except for religious education. Thus the creation of new syllabi for examining bodies, the various School Examinations Boards, was the prerogative of syllabus committees. In the 1970s, these committees began to be peopled by relatively young teachers and lecturers who were favourable to what was then called the 'new geography' and put into place new syllabi which reflected their views. The changes that occurred reflected a particular ideological position.

University teachers at that time had read the works of: David Harvey (1973), *Social justice and the city*; Yi-Fu Tuan (1974), *Topophilia*; Edward Relph (1976), *Place and placelessness*; David Smith (1977), *Human geography: a welfare approach*; Brian Coates, Ronald Johnston and Paul Knox (1977), *Geography and inequality*; and Richard Peet (1977), *Radical geography*. Not all students graduating from university during the 1970s were adherents to the ideologies manifest in these books, but a good number felt that geography ought to contribute to the struggle against social and spatial inequalities. Thus, without necessarily adopting a strictly Marxist approach, many teachers of geography sympathized with left-wing ideas.

How were these ideological positions translated into classroom teaching? From 1975 onwards, school geography syllabi began to incorporate a critical look at urban

planning and social segregation; at the differences which existed between the north and south of England in terms of employment and income; at the differing life chances and qualities of life of peoples in different parts of a country or indeed between those in the developed world and those in the developing world. The term neo-colonialism made an appearance in geography syllabi. The Schools Council 'Geography 16–19' curriculum development project, aimed at those in their last two years at school or in further education, did much to stimulate a 'critical geography'. Its syllabus for the General Certificate of Education, Advanced Level ('A'-level) examination was based on four themes:

- the challenge of natural environments;
- use and misuse of natural resources;
- issues of global concern; and
- managing human environments (Naish, Rawling & Hart, 1987).

It was clearly in harmony with teachers' and students' thinking as the adoption of this project has increased exponentially since its inception.

Revolution or retrogression: the advent of the national curriculum

When the Conservative Party came to power under Margaret Thatcher in 1979, a power which it kept until 1997, the Government started a process of transforming the English education system. These proved to be the most far-reaching changes since the 1944 Education Act which had ushered in the post-Second World War system of education. Strangely enough, for a party which supports private enterprise and individualism, the Conservative Government decided that the freedom of schools to devise their own curricula would be replaced by a standard national curriculum centrally controlled by the then Department of Education and Science. The original plan was that schools financed by the State (private schools were exempt) would have, for the years of compulsory schooling (5–16), a ten-subject curriculum including geography, and that pupils would be tested for their progress in each subject at the end of each Key Stage, that is at age 7 (Key Stage 1), at 11 (Key Stage 2), at 14 (Key Stage 3) and at 16 (Key Stage 4). The idea behind this rather rigid control process was that schools were thought to be failing the nation, particularly in respect to those pupils who did not form part of the intellectual elite. This failure of schools was attributed to teachers not insisting on sufficiently high standards of work from their pupils, which could be blamed on the 'progressive ideology' of those who educated the teachers, who were said to stress child development rather than the need to inculcate basic skills (Graves, 1988). The 'radical right' politicians accused teachers of being imbued with Marxist ideas which had been inculcated into them by educational sociologists during their teacher-training courses.

It would take too long to describe the various stages through which the planning of the national curriculum in geography proceeded. Suffice it to state that the original 1990 curriculum (which in some ways represented a retrogression back to the description of places) proved, because of the way it prescribed in detail what

teachers should do, to be too loaded with content and impossible to teach in its entirety in the time available. A new committee was set up to re-examine the whole national curriculum and, in 1994, the Dearing Report stipulated that:

- the total content required to be taught by law should be substantially reduced; and
- the programmes of study (PoS) should be simplified and allow teachers more scope to exercise their professional judgement (Dearing, 1994).

A new Geography Working Group was set up to draft a modified geography curriculum and this group reported in 1995. One of the important changes which had occurred as a result of the overloaded curriculum was that geography was no longer compulsory in Key Stage 4. Consequently the new national curriculum in geography only stipulates PoS for Key Stages 1, 2 and 3. Each PoS is divided into three parts (Department for Education, 1995):

- *Geographical skills*: the use of appropriate terminology, undertaking field work, map reading and map making, using secondary sources including those accessed through information technology, etc.;
- *Places*: for example, in Key Stage 1 the locality of the school and a contrasting locality in the United Kingdom or overseas; in Key Stage 2, the locality of the school, two contrasting localities in the United Kingdom and one in Africa, Asia (except Japan), or South and Central America including the Caribbean; and in Key Stage 3, two countries other than the United Kingdom which should be in significantly different states of development, one from each of the following lists: Australia and New Zealand, Europe, Japan, North America, and the Russian Federation, and one from Africa, Asia (except Japan), South and Central America including the Caribbean;
- *Thematic studies*: these become more detailed and more numerous as pupils move from Key Stage 1 to Key Stage 3. For example, in Key Stage 3 the themes covered include tectonic processes, geomorphological processes, weather and climate, ecosystems, population, settlement, economic activities, development and environmental issues.

Ideology and the national curriculum in geography

At first glance, the 1995 national curriculum in geography appears to be neutral in respect to the ideology behind it. It contains no statement as to the overall aims of geographical education in schools. These have to be inferred from the PoS and from the 1988 Education Act and those that followed it. Each Key Stage begins with statements of what 'pupils should be given the opportunity to learn'. These may be summarized as (Department for Education, 1995):

- the investigation of places and themes at a variety of scales;
- the posing of such questions as 'What is it?', 'What is it like?', 'How did it get like this?', 'What are the implications?';
- the development of fieldwork skills and the ability to find out relevant information from documentary and map sources, and from data stored in computer files and disks;

- the understanding of and ability to explain physical and human processes and the interaction between them;
- the consideration of issues arising from peoples' interaction with their environment; and
- the understanding of how places are set in a global context and how different areas have become interdependent and are therefore affected by processes in other parts of the world.

There is no indication as to why such medium-term objectives are worth pursuing. To do so would be entering the realm of values. But one of the underlying aims of the British education system reforms undertaken since 1979 is that of making the process of education much more relevant to the economic needs of the nation. There are a series of markers that indicate this: the development of the Technical and Vocational Initiatives from 1982 onwards; the setting up of City Technology Colleges (the first one opened its doors in 1988); the development of vocational education qualifications under the National Council for Vocational Education; and the decision in the Dearing Report of 1994 that in secondary schools there should be a vocational as well as an academic path in the last two years of compulsory education. In higher education there has been the encouragement of Enterprise in Higher Education—the development of management techniques in the running of universities; the attempt to make universities more self-financing than they have been in the past and to make their income dependent on performance indicators. In geography in particular, the Geography, Schools and Industry Project was developed to encourage links between schools and industry. In teacher education, another project, Economic and Industrial Understanding in Teacher Training, aimed at getting teachers to introduce notions of economics and knowledge of industrial practices into schools. Further, the decision to make individual schools manage their own affairs, and the encouragement given to many to become financially independent of Local Education Authorities, was another indication that creating an enterprise culture was the underlying ideology. Confirmation of this view can be found in Rex Walford's description of the deliberations of the first Geography Working Group (Walford, 1992).

One may also make inferences from what the geography curriculum does not contain. For example, in the document *National curriculum in geography* there are but two references to the European Union. In both cases this consists of a laconic sentence in the thematic studies section for Key Stage 2 and Key Stage 3 which states: 'Contexts should include the United Kingdom and the European Union.' It would be difficult to infer from this that the construction of the European Union was of momentous importance or that its development was a worthwhile enterprise.

How far is this lacuna with respect to the European Union a reflection of some ideological objection to the concept of an integrated Europe? It is clear that the conservative governments of Margaret Thatcher and John Major had an ambivalent attitude to the concept of the European Union. They wanted to benefit from the advantages of a single market, but were unwilling to accept the constitutional

changes that such a single market implied through a pooling of sovereignty. Thus, on the one hand, these governments did much to sweep away some of the antiquated industrial practices which were holding up the technological modernization of British industry and commerce, but, on the other, they remained attached to a concept of the sovereign State with its own currency, which was inappropriate for a large European market with no internal barriers. Attempting to hold such contradictory positions is hardly ideologically pure. Consequently, those charged with drafting the national curriculum in geography had to tread carefully between what teachers ideally would have liked to see and what would be acceptable to the Secretary of State for Education. Hence, the neutral and uncommitted mention of the European Union.

However, this is not to imply that the population as a whole is wholly committed to the concept of the European Union. As psychologists have found out, attitudes change relatively slowly, and a population which has had limited contacts with the European mainland for centuries finds it difficult to move from its isolationist position to a more open one—hence, my statement earlier that the problem is not entirely one of ideology but of psychological attitudes. These are changing slowly and I am prepared to advance the view that, granted there are no major problems with the ‘Euro’ as a currency, the United Kingdom will become a member of the European Union *à part entière*.

Conclusion

If ideology is a nexus of ideas which represent the values of a society and the way that society operates, then clearly such ideas, in so far as they are held by those who have power in society, are bound to affect what is taught within the system of education. This may not be openly avowed, though in totalitarian regimes the education system is determinedly used to enforce the only ideology—that of those in power. The saving grace in a democratic system is that those being educated have access ideologies other than the dominant one. In England and Wales and to some extent elsewhere in the United Kingdom, there is little doubt that the geography curriculum has tended to serve the dominant ideology during the heyday of the British Empire and even during its period of decline in the 1930s and 1940s. In the 1960s and 1970s, an alternative ideology stressing the rights of the underprivileged became manifest in a geography curriculum that was not controlled centrally. The 1980s saw a reversal of this trend by those who had political power, though the reason advanced for the greater control of the curriculum was couched in terms of the economic needs of the nation and the desire to raise standards. But clearly those in power considered that the *raison d'être* of education was to promote an enterprise culture. However, in practice no ideology is ever pure. When the enterprise culture came into contact with long-cherished ideas of national sovereignty, marrying the two proved difficult. This was reflected in the neutral (not to say negative) position of the national curriculum in geography with respect to the European Union.

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THE DUTY, ABILITY AND DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

GEOGRAPHY TEACHING AND ITS PROPAGATION IN PORTUGAL

Sérgio Claudino

Training for a new, liberal approach

It was the first liberal reforms of primary and secondary education in 1835 and 1836 that established the system of teaching geography and history together. In 1835, the government requested a well-known professor to prepare school textbooks on civic instruction, ethics and geography for primary education, the level that received the greatest attention. In the reform of 1837, a new discipline was created entitled 'Elementary knowledge of history, geography and the Constitution', in which geography was presented as a body of knowledge linked with the ideological education of the new liberal citizen. That ideological function was also reflected in the choice of textbook authors for the various levels of education. Bernardino da Silva Carneiro, the most widely known specialist during the 1840s, took it upon himself to inculcate new attitudes: professor of law at the University of Coimbra, member of Parliament and staunch supporter of the liberal cause, he wrote on general subjects, with a predilection for short essays on ethics.

The reform of upper secondary education in 1844 established a subject entitled 'History of chronology and geography'. It was 'commercial' in its approach, following economic progress on the European continent. The school textbooks were aimed at enabling young citizens to learn about: the political regime; the administrative, military and religious divisions of the country; and the main geographical features, places and Portuguese-speaking peoples—a very naturalistic type of geography.

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The victory of the 'African' cause and geography at its zenith

In 1860, the subject known as 'History of chronology and geography' was renamed 'history—geography' in the second year of lower secondary school, with special emphasis on Portugal and its colonies—thereby reflecting the increasing interest in the African dependencies. This emphasis was confirmed by the reform of 1863. Primary and secondary school teachers started to take a greater role in the preparation of textbooks. The reform of 1880 established teachers of 'geography and history, legislation and philosophy' as a specific category.

It was in 1872 that the first 'geography, chronology and history' curricula were printed for upper secondary schools. The geography texts were, however, inadequate: highlighting the difficulty of adapting textbooks to political and intellectual considerations. It is not surprising that in 1876 the writer Ramalho Ortigão criticized Portuguese geographers whose work was confined to producing curricula for geography teaching in secondary schools (Ortigão, 1876, p. 28), while the Lisbon Geographical Society (SGL) complained that geography teaching constituted only a very small part of the school curriculum (Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, 1876, p. 29).

Ortigão and his intellectual friends of the famous 'Generation of Coimbra', as well as the SGL, were asking questions about the role of the nation. The former, including the poet Antero de Quental, were in favour of geography covering the centre of Europe, following improvements in communications and information. They sought to integrate Portugal into a modern European project and attached importance to knowledge of the physical aspects of the Earth, covering scientific considerations and the Earth's creation and evolution. The 'Africanists' of the SGL, on the other hand, defended an approach to geography focused on the Portuguese colonial empire. Geography teaching was expected to provide information on the African territories for a population that still preferred to immigrate to Brazil.

During the same period, geography was consolidated at the institutional level. In 1876, a permanent Central Geography Commission was set up within the SGL for the purpose, *inter alia*, of promoting geography teaching, even though Portugal was excluded in 1884 from the Brussels Geographical Conference on Africa. A year later, after a number of important geographical expeditions had been organized on the African continent, Portugal participated in the Berlin Conference, at which the African continent was divided up among the colonial powers. Two years later, the government presented to the Portuguese parliament the 'rose-coloured map' indicating the Portuguese territories situated between Angola and Mozambique.

The geography curricula came to reflect the influence of those two points of view: pro-European and pro-African. Up to 1884, the European option predominated, with comparisons between Portugal and the other European States. Yet, with

the 1886 curriculum drawn up by the conciliator, Manuel Ferreira-Deusdado, references to Europe tended to decrease in favour of references to the overseas provinces. The reform of 1888 was a total victory for the 'Africanists': for the first time geography teaching became independent of history teaching, as the SGL had requested. The 1889 curriculum established a political approach to geography, making the geography of Portugal and its colonies the main focus upon which the examination questions were based. Geography teaching was at its zenith and eminent authors were mobilized to prepare geography textbooks.

A 'propagandist' definition of territory

The first geography curriculum, dating from 1872, confined its attention to Portugal. From 1880 onwards, the geography curriculum mentioned the colonies (in 1886 it spoke of *colonization*), but this term was used officially only in 1914, in a basic law on the financial administration of the overseas provinces. The first Colonial Act was published in 1930, replacing the chapter in the Constitution of 1911 relating to the overseas provinces. This progression in colonialist ideology, which is reflected in the Constitution of 1933, is embodied in the geography curriculum of 1931, which adopts the terms 'continental Portugal', 'insular Portugal' and 'overseas Portugal' with a clear political message, i.e. all the territories under national sovereignty are Portuguese. In 1963, when the colonial war in Africa had already broken out, an act was passed that legally established the term 'overseas Portugal', which is still commonly used in everyday speech in Portugal.

Geography in the service of the colonial cause

The Statute on Secondary Education of 1947, which sets out the educational agenda of a new State in its full political maturity, enhanced the role of geography—a move to be seen in the context of efforts to prevent the spread of anti-colonialist ideas after the war. The 1948 curricula placed greater emphasis on Portuguese geography, highlighting the economy of the colonies and emphasizing the potential value of the empire. The educational authorities imposed the continued use of a single textbook and adopted an interventionist tone in relation to teaching concerning the Portuguese empire:

Pupils must be obliged to take the initiative, to cope with difficulties, to approach problems through the training of their own minds and not through a lens provided by the teacher. They will not be given pre-prepared summaries; instead they will be provided with bibliographical details, statistics, maps, and all the material required to study and discuss the problems (Decree no. 37112 of 22 October 1948).

In the 1960s, which saw the beginning of the colonial wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, geography teaching was consolidated, with repercussions on the reform

of the preparatory cycle of secondary education in 1968. The decree on the history and geography of Portugal contains the following sentence:

The awareness of all Portuguese children should be stimulated and consolidated and their enthusiasm aroused for the history of their home country, giving them a clear understanding of the vast territory which it covers (Administrative order no. 23601 of 9 September 1968).

This new emphasis on geography teaching led to updating the curricula's content, which introduced for the first time references to rural and urban areas, industrial regions and tourist zones.

The re-identification of the Portuguese with their country and with teaching on Europe

With the revolution of 25 April 1974, the colonial aspect of geography teaching was called into question, with a view to replacing it by teaching on Portugal and its new national dimensions. The 1978 curriculum on Portugal (approved in 1980) avoided all topics that might give rise to controversy and contained no reference at all to the specific situations of Macao and Timor. It even omitted any reference to the status of the autonomous regions of the Azores and Madeira. The younger generations had difficulty identifying with the picture of rural Portugal that it presented. Only in 1987 was there a public debate on a proposed educational reform in keeping with the new situation of Portugal's membership of the European Community. The political authorities assigned geography a new objective: to enable young Portuguese to identify themselves with their great multinational European home, teaching Portuguese geography in the final year of secondary school.

This brief outline of the development of geography teaching shows that its role in the education system depended more on its utility to the political authorities than on its capacity to stand as a separate, full-fledged discipline for the education of young people. This should give all those who teach the subject food for thought, even if it seems now that geography might be able to move in new directions more independent of the political context.

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Administrative order: no. 23601 of 9 September 1968.

Dispatch: SEE, of 7 August 1980.

Administrative legislation

Laws: no. 278 of 15 August 1914; no. 2119 of 24 June 1963.

Decree no. 18570 of 8 July 1930.

PART TWO:
MENTAL IMAGES
OF TEACHERS AND PUPILS

MENTAL IMAGES OF TEACHERS AND PUPILS

SPATIAL REPRESENTATIONS

OF TERRITORIES

AND THE WORLD

Yves André and Antoine Bailly

What is the nature of relations between the inhabitant, the citizen, their country and the space of others? Are these relations to territory rational or do they stem from links that are unconscious or repressed in the memory of peoples? In short, how is knowledge about one's country and that of others built? History and geography teaching greatly contributes to this quest for identity by proposing, in rational terms, political, social and spatial frameworks. In Jodelet's view, 'We always need to know where we stand in relation to the world which surrounds us. We must adapt to it, live in it, master it physically or intellectually, and identify and resolve the problems that it poses. This is why we create representations' (1989, p. 31).

A knowledge of these social and individual constructs, these blueprints of the real world, is clearly of great concern to historians and geographers. These constructs provide a better understanding of the concepts, images, symbols and values that a society attaches to its territory and uses in its relationship with others. Learning to live together is, above all, learning to understand others and their spatial representations.

The processes involved in constructing space

After concentrating for many years on models of society, history and geography are now taking an interest in models of *homo sapiens*. This new approach—based on actors (teachers, pupils and others), their experience, their behaviour and hence their subjectivity—involves a major epistemological change. It constitutes a break with an objectivist tradition which looked for classifications and structures, and

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A biographical note about the authors will be found on pages 195 and 203.

for which the individual was merely *homo economicus*, *homo rationalis* or *homo roboticus*—the classical models of *homo sapiens*.

It is to enhance understanding of spatial representations that geography grapples with the processes involved in constructing divisions in space and building identity. These processes are the outcome of a multitude of decisions taken by individuals (ranging from the politician to the consumer choosing where to live) on the basis of a system of representations. Such spatial constructs are to be interpreted as a dynamic balance in which representations constitute the driving force.

These spatial representations reveal space as it is experienced, used and felt by the inhabitants. It is a territory, shaped by human beings, and projecting images onto them. 'It is at this level that the concepts of 'place' and 'territory' take on their meaning—more than the material form of the social organization of space, a territory is a vector of ideologies, symbolic representations and also the unconscious' (Bailly et al., 1991, p. 21). To confuse these two kinds of space—namely that which emanates from legal and economic concepts, and territory which originates in the sense of belonging to a group—is tantamount to introducing functionalist models that present a reductionist image of society. In fact, space becomes territory when it is charged with meaning, not in the 'top-down' but in the 'bottom-up' sense created by the societies and people who organize and live in it. Understanding territories is to find the meaning or rather the different meanings which can overlap or confront one another.

Four founding principles

This actor-based approach is built on four founding principles:

1. It consists in 'delving' beneath the divisions of the traditional world. Assuming that what matters is not merely a knowledge of the structure of the territory but also of the way in which it was formed, it analyses the processes that led to the spatial decisions taken by the different groups and individuals making up society.
2. Space is not regarded as a mere setting upon which the life of society is inscribed; it is both a product of that society and an integral part of it—space cannot be conceived independently of the people who use it, develop it and live in it.
3. Human beings, whether as simple individuals or as individuals in society, are regarded as spatial actors: by their feelings, decisions and actions, they are constantly engaged in shaping the environment. In this way men and women enter into the scientific analysis.
4. Spatial practices are only very rarely the expression of perfect economic rationality and complete information, because knowledge of space, whether implicit or explicit, is fundamentally subjective—the mediation of cognitive processes intervenes between individuals and their surroundings. In short, what counts is the world as it is perceived, judged, valued, interiorized and reformulated by the actors and not the world as it is institutionalized.

A knowledge of knowledge

We still have to understand precisely what spatial representations are and the way in which they circulate in a society. Representations are treated as both a process and a product. As a process, representations make it possible to understand the way of thinking of the actors, to grasp the interplay of individual aspirations and the value systems of social groups and, ultimately, to reveal the life of territories. As a product, representations provide keys to the way in which evolutions and social and spatial transformations operate. These spatial representations are not the bare facts of which 'reality' is composed, but a four-tiered mental construct.

- They are to be understood as constructs of (spatial) reality formulated by the actors. These representations can bring into being what they postulate, and produce the objective reality to which some thinkers oppose them, or, as P. Bourdieu neatly expresses it: 'the representations that social agents form of the divisions of reality contribute to the reality of the divisions' (Bourdieu, 1982, p. 145). Hence a knowledge of representations can become a key factor in that we can influence the social world by influencing the knowledge that agents have of this world.
- They are not true or false (in the positivist sense); they are relevant to varying degrees and are either transformed into practices or acts, or not. 'We have chosen to study 'objectively' the 'subjectivity' of the actors. What they say and what they repeat, and the judgements that they pass, do not indicate that their remarks are 'true', i.e. fair, accurate and well-founded. They are merely constructs of reality formulated by the actors; they become 'true' because they are transformed into practices' (Dubet, 1991, p. 16).
- These representations are to be found in the productions, documents and utterances (whether spontaneous or solicited, e.g. questionnaires, interviews, drawings) of the actors. But we discover only part of them, inevitably truncated, or their complexity and their contradictions.
- These spatial representations are produced by those who analyse the way of thinking of individuals. It is researchers, and researchers alone, who create and formulate the product that the representation becomes. We must therefore dispense with the naive but still widespread notion that spatial representations are carefully stored away in the minds of individuals, ready for use, and can be consulted like an archive. Hence, geography is 'a knowledge (a representation formulated by geographers) of knowledge (the way in which societies and people transcribe in images their experience of the environment)' (Bailly et al., 1991, p. 21). History, according to this approach, is also a knowledge of knowledge of the practices of societies at different times, these practices evolving in the same way as the divisions of the world.

To adopt this approach is not without difficulty; the study of subjectivity, as noted by P. Bourdieu, gives rise to misunderstandings and resistance:

The reasons for the spontaneous hostility of 'scholars' to 'subjective' criteria would merit lengthy analysis: there is naive realism that tends to discount everything that cannot be seen or touched; there is economism that tends to recognize no other determinants of social action than those visibly inscribed in the material conditions of existence [...]; finally and above all, there is the scientific point of honour that impels observers to multiply the signs of their rejection of common-sense representations, thereby condemning themselves to a reductionist objectivism totally incapable of incorporating the realities of everyday representations in the scientific representation of reality (Bourdieu, 1982, p. 145).

From personal representations to cultural representations

Within a given space and a given group, there are three categories of representations which are characterized by their mode of production, the number of users and their life span (Sperber, 1989). *Personal representations* are produced by an individual, who is also their user, and are therefore mental representations. They reflect a process of acquiring knowledge, since knowing something means assimilating it, i.e. going through a process of interpretation and construction of reality. This is a constantly functioning process, sometimes active, sometimes dormant, providing a real link with the outside world. If the mental representation is communicated, it becomes a *public representation* which has reached a certain level of conceptualization. These representations circulate within the social group and may be adopted by several users. Production and use are separate processes. Some representations are ephemeral and soon disappear, whereas others are preserved for a long time and become part of the social 'know-how' which other authors call common sense.

Eventually, if the representations are widely distributed within a social group and establish themselves durably within it, they become *cultural representations* and are mentally assimilated by everyone. They are sometimes related to ideologies: 'the actors have an ideology. They form a representation of a situation, which is always a set of social relations, from their own point of view and reinterpret as the background to their intentions what is in fact a relation of which they are one of the terms' (Touraine, 1973, p. 332). Some actors may deliberately produce representations in order to influence existing representations—these are the pressure or action groups whose purpose is to bring into being what they postulate.

This state of permanent production of representations means that the social group has thousands of representations at its disposal, which circulate among individuals, enabling them to construct their own mental vision of the world. In his connection, Sperber uses the image of an epidemiology of representations, by analogy with the transmission of diseases. There are references to the endemic state of certain representations or the epidemic nature of others.

This analysis leads Sperber (1989, p. 128) to identify two fields of study:

- the psychological explanation: a genuine psychological study of the processes involved in the formulation of representations, prior to speech;
- the epidemiological study: analysis of the distribution of representations in the social group.

It is obviously the second approach to representations which is developed by history and geography. The facts which these disciplines explain are distributions of representations. Hence the concept of spatial representation involves 'analysis of the spatial images which pupils, teachers and researchers carry and transmit [...]. It also helps to make pupils and teachers more aware of the diversity of the spatial representations formulated by individuals and social groups sharing a single space' (Bailly and Debarbieux, 1991, p. 157).

New educational approaches

Acquiring one's own sense of belonging and becoming aware of that of others, lead us beyond the field of objective and rational knowledge. Historical, emotional and symbolic links explain people's attachment to their territories. History and geography, which play a key role in training, can no longer ignore knowledge of people's own representations and of those of others. These representations are everywhere: in textbooks, in the choices and discourse of teachers, in the minds of pupils and in the fabric of society. This is why our project centred on two main objectives:

- to understand the educational role of history and geography through study of the concepts transmitted by primary- and secondary-school textbooks;
- to identify educational needs through investigation (analysis of texts, mental maps, a survey) of the spatial representations of pupils and teachers in three countries: Lebanon, the Czech Republic and El Salvador.

The first results, outlined in the texts below, show that spatial representations are a powerful tool, a genuine heuristics, enabling us to understand human spatial thinking and to construct, beyond structural history and geography, a history and geography based on actors whose complex behaviour is made clear. Learning to live together is no easy task: the formulation of new educational approaches, whose purpose is to know one's own knowledge and that of others, may help us to meet the needs of the future society which we are all called upon to share.

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MENTAL IMAGES OF TEACHERS AND PUPILS

SOCIO-SPATIAL

REPRESENTATIONS

OF THE WORLD AMONG

LEBANESE AND SALVADORIANS

Abdelkrim Mouzoune and Nadia Mouzoune

Introduction

A representation is a pertinent schematization of reality either by individuals or by the community (Guérin & Gumuchian, 1985). In this way, spatial reality may give rise to the elaboration of numerous mental images that are immersed in the social world, and some of them are likely to be contradictory. The pertinence of such schematizations is not immutable, but is to be seen rather from a dynamic angle. Representations of reality are elaborated through a process involving one's own perceptions, memory, experience, conscious and unconscious choices, and membership in a social and cultural group. Memory here is to be understood in the sense attributed to it by Tiberghien (1991); in other words, it embraces not only the past, but also the cognitive present and future. These filtering mechanisms thus engender a mental map of space as the individual believes it to be. This map refers to the whole range of cognitive activities that enable each individual to select and manip-

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ulate information relating to the spatial environment. The distorted maps thus produced help us to visualize the under- and over-estimations of distances and positions both of familiar and frequented spaces, and of unfamiliar and hence unfrequented spaces.

Mental representations evoke an individual's specific experiences, experiences that are precisely locatable and datable. They are constructed, at a given moment in the individual's history, on the basis of information derived by the individual either directly from his or her perceived environment or from his or her imaginary world, in which dreams, desires and fantasies intermingle to form a spatial reality that is nonetheless not real. This demonstrates that there is no objective reality in the absolute sense of the term, just as there is no objectivity that is independent of our faculties of perception. In redefining the world around us we redefine ourselves and vice versa (Skilomowski, quoted by Gumuchian, 1989, p. 30).

Accepting an approach to space that adopts mental representations is to take account of spatial practices and knowledge. In this study, we look at the mental approach to the world taken by history and geography teachers and their pupils in Lebanon and El Salvador. We have tried to pinpoint the way in which both categories of elaborators represent this space, which is as vast as it is varied. Do they represent it as a space for living together or, on the contrary, as a conglomerate of contiguous spaces for living together that are clearly delimited and hermetically closed?

Representations of the world in Lebanon among teachers and pupils

After sixteen years of inter- and intra-sectarian warfare, Lebanese society is endeavouring to rebuild itself and to reconstitute an image of its immediate and more distant environment thanks to knowledge transmitted by school or acquired through social interaction. We asked both teachers and pupils to draw a mental map of the world, in order to see whether their mental images reflect acquired knowledge or a metamorphosis of that knowledge into constructions in which the aspirations and dreams of those who conceive them are intermingled.

THE WORLD: KNOWLEDGE AND MENTAL REPRESENTATIONS OF TEACHERS

The sketches produced are all legible. We have classified them according to the type of mental construction produced in order to identify those traits that are common to all the conceptualizers, those that relate to only some of them, and those that are specific to individuals. The maps reflect the knowledge of the world of each teacher, and analysis shows that they fall into three types of representation: Arab-centric maps, maps showing commercial exchanges and maps of the world subdivided into subsystems.

Arab-centric representations

In 60% of the sketches, the Arab world is placed at the centre of the world.

FIGURE 1. The Arab-centric mental construction



The Arab countries stand out. Their prominent positioning suggests that they are strong and dominant. In this way, the conceptualizer tries to show that the purpose of his or her sketch is to bring out what is visible and to suggest that there is something beyond what is visible. What is visible is naturally a perception of the world which is centred on the Arab countries (cultural proximity), with continents essentially represented by those countries which are taught in class, such as France for Europe, or the United States and Canada for North America. It should be noted that very often the term 'America' is used by teachers to mean the United States. What is suggested beyond the realm of the visible is:

- a miniaturization of the world;
- a reduction of the world to just a few countries, either belonging to the Arab cultural sphere or known primarily as a result of their rank as a world power (the United States, France);
- an extension of the territory of the Arab world to Turkey;
- non-indication of the borders separating the Arab countries; by getting rid of borders in this way, the elaborator is endeavouring to make the Arab world appear as a united entity that is culturally homogeneous and free from conflict, whereas those same borders in fact give rise to sharp tensions resulting either in open warfare or a freezing of relations; and
- an absence of non-Arab Muslim countries.

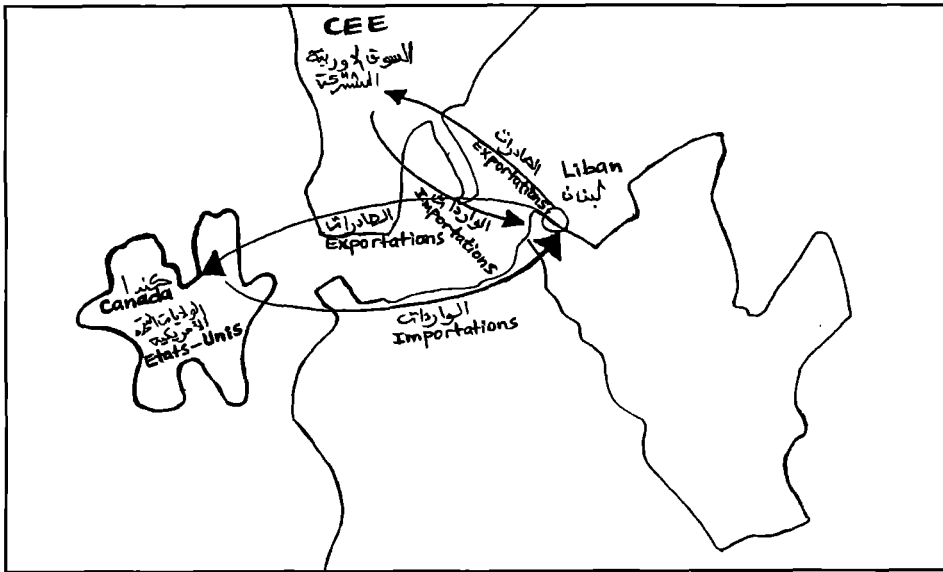
Making the Arab world the centre around which and out from which the world is structured and organized may indicate the ability of the conceptualizer to represent his or her sphere of cultural identification with components providing names

and references that appear to be dominant, relegating the rest of the world to the role of mere accessories that serve as a kind of iconographic filling. Representing oneself as the navel of the world would also appear to reflect the antiquity of the Arab world, one of the places whose earliest inhabitants built civilizations, cities and some of the most powerful States on Earth; this is to see oneself, as it were, as the cradle of history.

Representation of commercial exchanges

Some 25% of teachers drew maps showing trade flows from and towards Lebanon.

FIGURE 2. World trade patterns



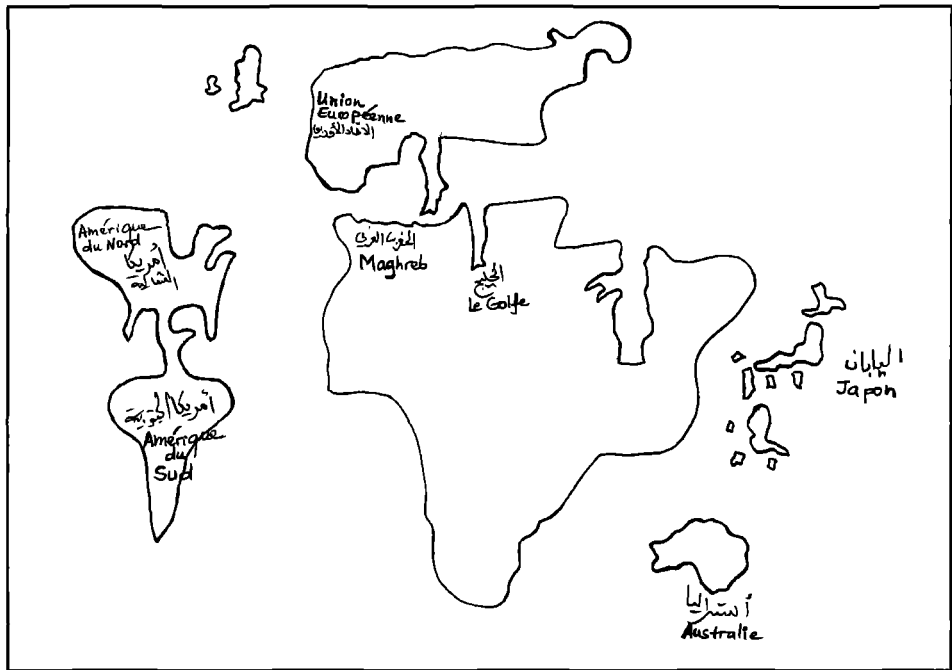
Those countries with strong economic ties to Lebanon are represented. Since the European Union occupies first place in that respect, the elaborator put it near his or her own country, a reflection of the shrinking of spatio-temporal distances resulting from the speed of communication and hence of shipping of Lebanese products to European Union countries and vice versa. Canada and the United States also seem very close to Lebanon, so much so that they seem to be next to the Maghreb countries, whose geographical position, shape and names are not indicated. Those countries may be considered to be non-existent because they are ignored, as are other African and Asian countries.

In this map, the conceptualizer is trying to illustrate the economic integration of Lebanon within two hard-core regional blocs: the regional space of the European Union (still called the European Economic Community) and that of North America. In reality, this is a partnership, a web of interlinked transport, marketing and distribution infrastructures that express Lebanon's admittance to these vast free-trade zones.

Maps of the world subdivided into subsystems

Some 15% of the teachers drew sketches of the world subdivided into open-ended subsystems with no indication of the countries comprising them.

FIGURE 3. Representation of the world in open-ended subsystems



Viewing the world through a grid of open-ended subsystems conjures up such traits as asymmetry, polarization, hierarchy, domination, dependence, interdependence, conflict, and an unequal distribution of both human and natural resources. This representation affords us a glimpse of the now systematic regionalism, whereby subsystems of regional blocs confront each other because of their extremely complex interweaving. Such a vision of the world as a set of open-ended subsystems assumes that these subsystems reflect the idea of an integration dynamic bringing together different national economies, the world-space continuum, and the values of living together while respecting each other's differences. We have here a globalization-oriented approach to the world, which disregards tensions, conflicts, heterogeneity and non-integration. Such a conception is a reflection more of what is hoped for and desired than of a real, perceptible experience.

The failure to name countries in no way implies ignorance of their geographical location, but quite simply a perception of the world as being subdivided into open-ended subsystems, without borders or gridlines. Naming countries, locating them and specifying their borders would be tantamount to confining them within closed territories, which are often synonymous with relations of separateness.

The teachers demonstrated their ability to represent the world on the basis of their knowledge and their own perceptions and aspirations. What, then, are their pupils' mental representations of the world?

MODES OF PICTORIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE WORLD BY CHILDREN

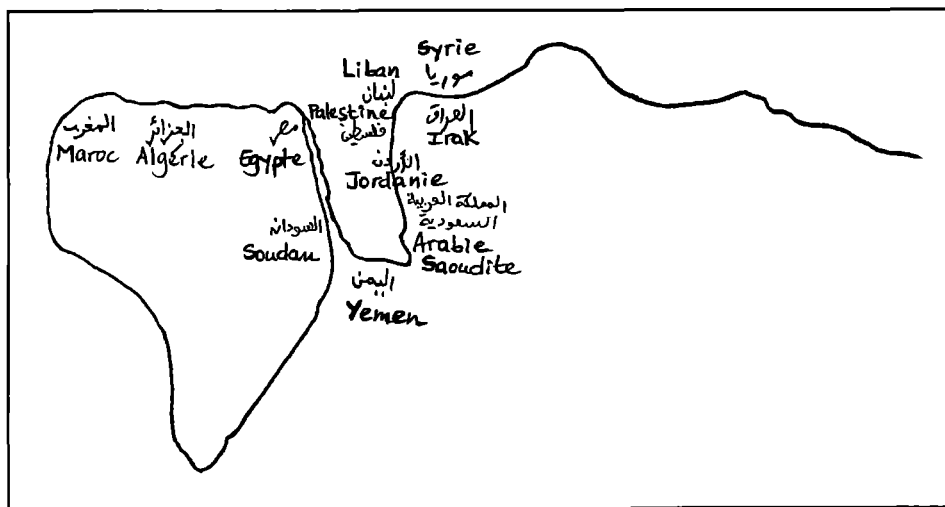
The maps of the world drawn by the pupils are legible. After analysis they were classified into four different categories:

- 35% show the Arab world;
- 30% highlight Lebanon, North America, France and the United Kingdom;
- 25% deal with the Arab world, America and Europe;
- 10% show both developed countries and developing countries.

Representation of the familiar world

By the 'familiar world', we mean the world with which the pupils identify culturally. This is the Arab world, whose countries are clearly located.

FIGURE 4. The Arab world: a familiar world



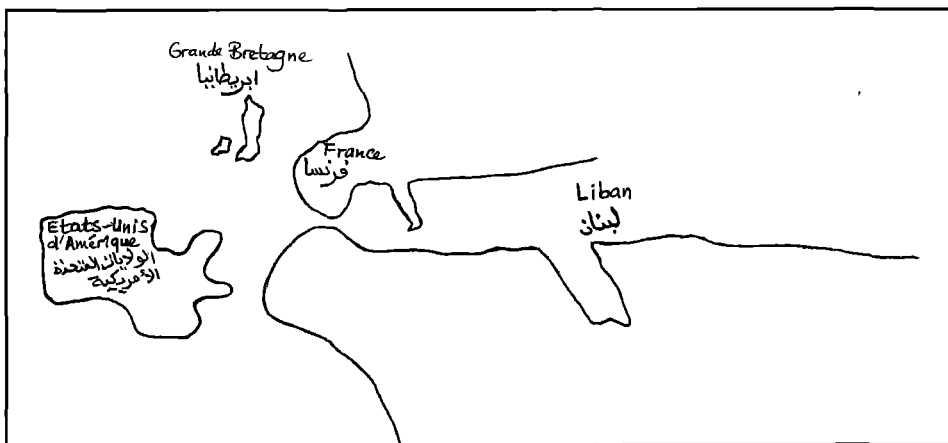
The familiar world is thus limited to eleven Arab countries, which are named and shown without borders—an apparent absence of conflict—in a kind of unbroken spatial continuum. Everything that is represented implies knowledge by natural absorption, which is facilitated by close cultural links and shared history with countries such as Syria, Jordan, Palestine and Iraq. However, one cannot deduce from this representation that the pupils see the world as being limited to the Arab countries alone. The world is much wider than that, in view of the numerous and varied cultures that make it up. The fact that only Arab countries were drawn is a reflection of the history and geography curriculum studied that year (1997) by the

pupils surveyed. In this way, the mental map is no more than a reflection of the knowledge acquired in school at a given moment in time. In this respect, we may speak of temporalized and hence dynamic and evolving knowledge, since such knowledge changes from one grade to the next.

Lebanon and the world in the pupils' mental space

In this type of mental map, the pupils highlight their own country. It is not the centre of the world, but part of a universe that is divided into three categories: Lebanon—North America—France and the United Kingdom.

FIGURE 5. Map of the subsystems of the world



The subsystems of the world represent:

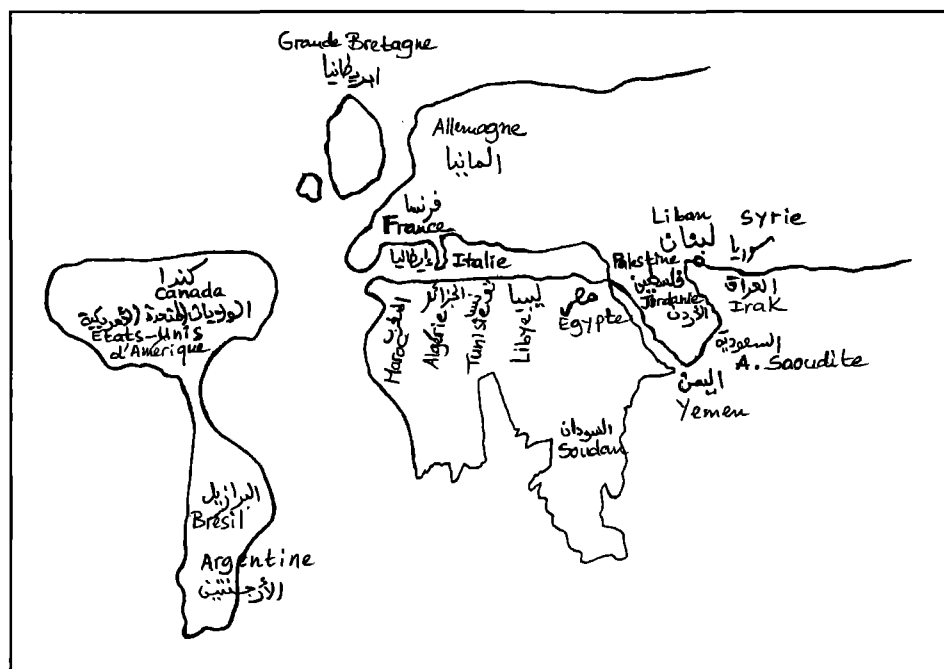
- Arabic, Anglo-Saxon and French cultures;
- trade exchanges and interdependence: Lebanon has strong economic relations with the countries that make up these subsystems;
- technological progress: North America, France and the United Kingdom are seen as technological powers that allow Lebanon to benefit from their own technological advance; and
- attractive destinations for Lebanese émigrés, especially the United States and Canada.

This map shows Lebanon as representing a peripheral subsystem that is dependent on and dominated by powers in respect of which stereotypes of economic, technological and scientific development are transmitted by the history and geography curricula. Note that the North American and European continents are reduced in size and conflated with the United States, France and the United Kingdom, countries which are familiar from close study. The rest of the world, which is little known or unknown, is simply ignored. Its absence in no way signifies a lack of recognition or a rejection of it by the conceptualizers.

The world of three worlds: Arab countries, America and Europe

The world is not all harmony, openness, sociability and continuum. The world is legible in the way it is divided into three separate worlds: the Arab world perceived as a continent on its own, the Old World (Europe) and the New World (America).

FIGURE 6. Representation of the discontinuous world

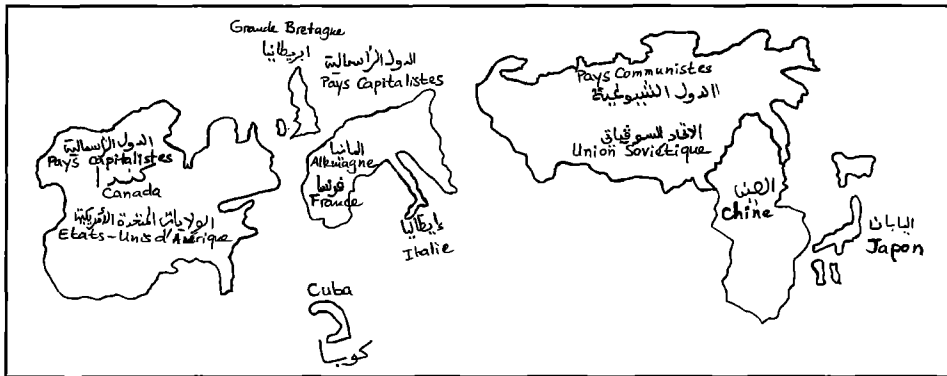


In this mental construction, each world represents a different approach. The pupil draws largest that world with which he or she identifies: this is a real-life space charged with affects and emotions and marked by a historical heritage and shared founding myths. Around it are drawn the worlds of 'abroad', with a few indications concerning the location of certain well-known countries: the United States, Canada, Brazil, Argentina, France, the United Kingdom, Italy and Germany. While sub-Saharan Africa and Australia are ignored because they have not been studied, Asia is forgotten despite the history and geography book chapters on Japan, China and India. Thus, the world stops at the edge of what is well known, familiar and apprehended. Beyond that point lie strange, complex and distant worlds.

Representation of the world in ideological blocs

Certain pupils are still taught that the world is divided into capitalist and socialist-communist countries, hence a representation of the world as consisting of opposing ideological blocs.

FIGURE 7. Division of the world into ideological blocs



Four remarks may be made with regard to this sketch:

- the Arab countries are excluded from the mechanism of membership in one or the other of the two blocs, since they were not drawn at all;
- a perception of the world in terms of blocs persists among the pupils. This is a result of the content of their history and geography lessons, which continue to purvey the idea that there are still socialist-communist countries such as the former USSR (the term 'Soviet Union' is frequently used in textbooks), China and Cuba, and capitalist countries such as the United States, Canada, Japan, the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Italy;
- the blocs are represented in such a way as to make the confrontation between them perceptible. The borders are visible and the distance between them is great. Indeed, the sketch suggests that the countries of Eastern and Western Europe are separated, distant from one another, whereas in reality they are very close. The distance suggested is ideological rather than geographical; and
- the United States, Japan, the former USSR and China are made very prominent, because they are seen as major powers within their blocs.

This map clearly conveys an impression of East-West conflicts, tensions, separateness, geographical discontinuity, tightening of borders, obstacles to the movement of persons and non-cooperation. In the minds of the pupils, the wall between the two blocs has not yet fallen. Furthermore, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are not on the curriculum. The former USSR is treated in the textbooks as a 'communist country' which is in the process of breaking up, despite 'its economic and technological development'.

Examination of the maps drawn by the Lebanese teachers and pupils shows that there are varying perceptions. The divergences among the sketches drawn by these conceptualizers concern the centrality of the Arab world, which is perceptible among the teachers, but not among the pupils; the ability of the teachers to draw the five continents, as opposed to the pupils, who lack that ability; the capacity of the teachers to represent trade flows between Lebanon and its partners; and finally the pupils' vision of a world, which remains divided into ideologically opposed blocs. Both categories of representation seek to highlight Lebanon's commercial rela-

tions with its Western and Arab partners, which is represented as a spatial continuum without borders.

The world as perceived and represented by teachers and pupils in El Salvador

The representations of the world by teachers and pupils in El Salvador enable us to give an account of the knowledge that each conceptualizer has of the world, and of his or her perception of its forms and the location of its contents. If perception is important for the elaboration of mental maps, do mental maps, as suggested by Luhan (1973), represent clichés that are shaped by the subliminal cultural structures of their elaborators? If so, will the sketches we get from teachers and pupils be different?

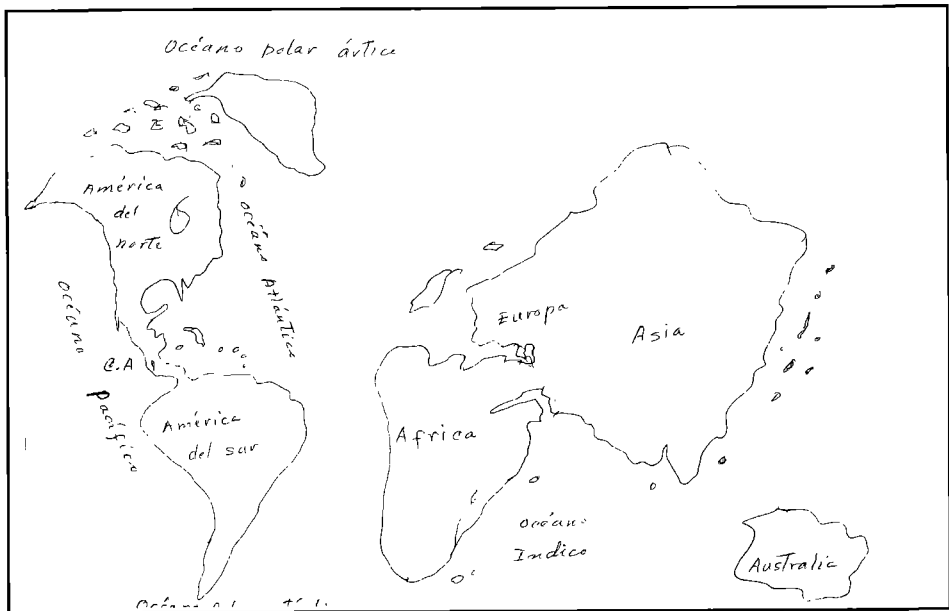
FROM THE WORLD AS PERCEIVED TO THE WORLD AS REPRESENTED BY TEACHERS

We have divided the mental maps of teachers into three categories: maps of continents, an annotated map of the world and a triangular representation of the world.

Map of the continents

The teachers drew classic maps of the world showing five continents: Africa, America, Asia, Australia and Europe. Similarly, the division of America into North, Central and South America is clearly indicated.

FIGURE 8. Map of the continents



This type of map represents the world in three continuous spheres without borders: America, the Afro-Euro-Asiatic sphere, and Australia. The American continent is presented as homogeneous; this is a summative construction (the aggregate of sub-continents) which corresponds to a well-established didactic register of knowledge. The second sphere is of a broadly inclusive nature, encompassing Africa, Europe and Asia in a vast expanse that is shown as a continuous space without boundaries. One gets the impression that this compact sphere counterbalances the American continent, relegating the third sphere, Australia, to the status of a micro-continent that is insignificant in comparison with the others. In fact, one might say that the world is bipolar, separated only by the Atlantic Ocean. It is neither America-centric, nor Afro-Euro-Asia-centric. Finally, no location is given for countries, not even the biggest countries, and there is no mention of their names.

The annotated map of the world

This map represents the world as two great blocs: the first is North American and the second encompasses Africa, Europe and Asia.

FIGURE 9. The annotated map of the world



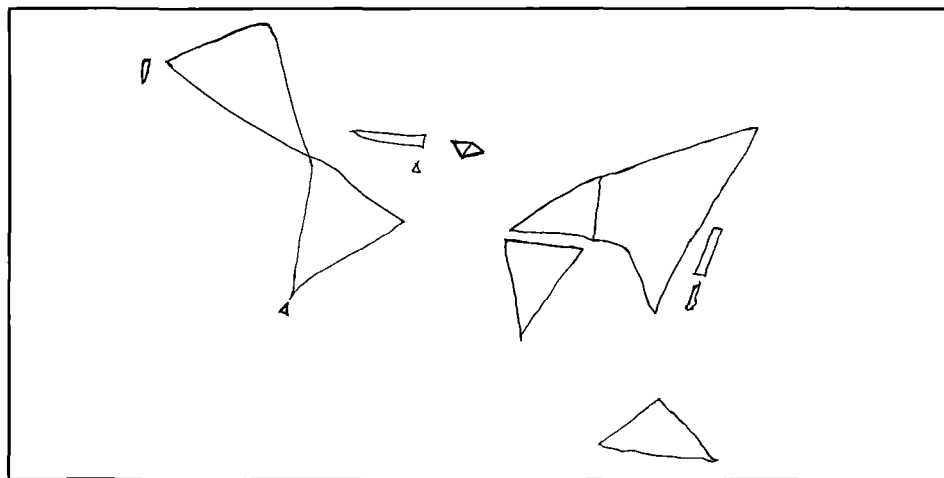
North America is drawn without any indication of the countries it comprises. However, while there are no annotations for Africa, certain European and Asian countries are singled out by name, such as the United Kingdom, Greece, Italy, India and China. It may be asked whether these countries were indicated because they are part of the teaching programme or simply because the teachers are familiar with them. Arab countries are limited by the elaborator to the Near East region alone; this reveals a lack of familiar-

ity with this world, which in fact extends to North Africa. In addition, South America and Africa have been drawn side by side. Could this geographical proximity represent the long-standing cultural links between their countries? This sketch indicates clearly that South America is very far from North America, unlike its position with respect to Africa. Australia remains a separate continent, represented at the edge of the world.

Triangular representation of the world

Drawn by a teacher, this representation of the world is original. It is based on the 'choreme' model elaborated by Brunet (1986). According to De Maximy (1995, p. 121), the purpose of the *choreme*, a stylization of an already simplified and coded cartographic drawing, is to fix in the reader's memory a number of key ideas that, according to the dictates of geographic rigour, must receive proper emphasis. It thus offers a kind of standardized analysis grid and constitutes a particularly elaborate and sophisticated form of mnemocartographic representation, which draws on both taxonomy and pictogrammes in order to systematize the reading of complex spaces whose geographical characteristics combine with the socio-economic forces that animate, and sometimes modify them (De Maximy, 1995, p. 123). In drawing *choremes*, triangles are the dominant geometric shape, and constitute the basis of the entire construction.

FIGURE 10. The world as a *choreme*



The American continent is represented by two contiguous triangles, whose point of contact is Central America. Europe seems to be absorbed by a large continent, which is a distorted Asia. Africa, which is separate from both Europe and Asia, is of roughly the same size as Europe and Australia. In this map one may detect a neighbourhood effect, in other words a strong topological proximity between Africa, Europe and Asia. Furthermore, the points form connecting nodes linking the extremities of each continent, in particular by lines which act as borders. The clearly delimited areas structure the space; they also express its size.

Through these mental maps, the teachers demonstrated their general knowledge of the world by representing it properly. They have also given places meanings, which express proximity or distance, and the largeness or smallness of the spatial objects drawn. The absence of borders reflects both the continuity and the openness of the spaces. Are all these iconographic qualities also found among the pupils?

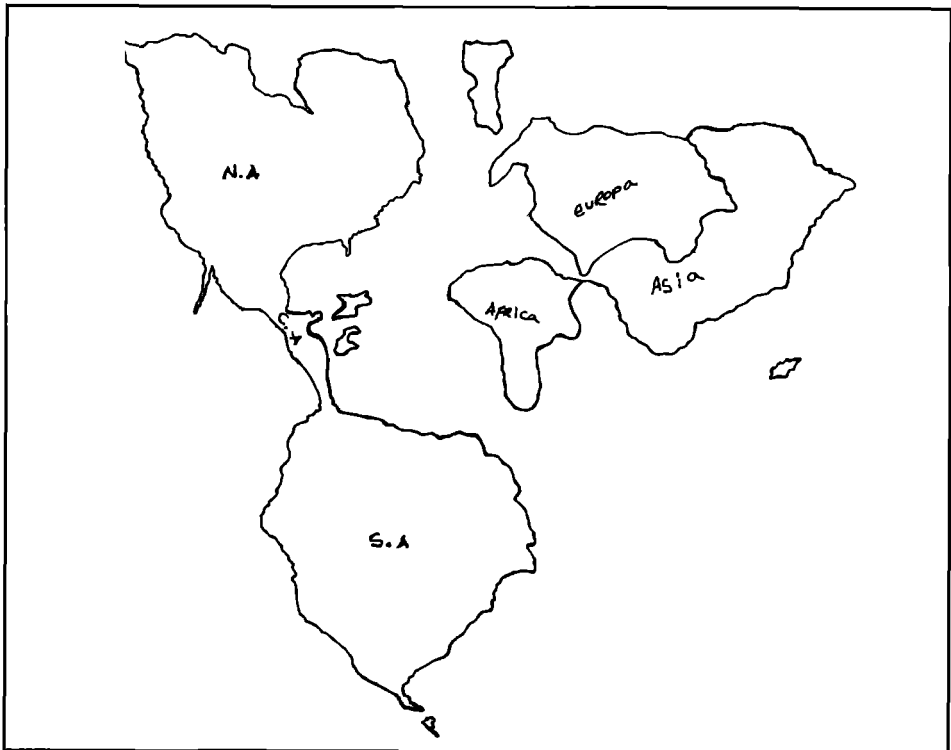
THE WORLD PERCEIVED AND THE WORLD IMAGINED
BY SALVADORIAN PUPILS

By asking the pupils to draw a map of the world, we sought to ascertain the way in which they perceived that vast space, and hence to highlight the knowledge they have acquired, which influences the way in which they explain the world. We obtained a rich range of representations falling into four different categories of maps: America-centric maps, maps of the egocentric globe, maps of the world reduced to Central America, and maps of the subsystems of the world.

The America-centric world

The American continent, a space of belonging and identification, is represented as being the centre of the world in comparison with other continents.

FIGURE 11. The America-centric world

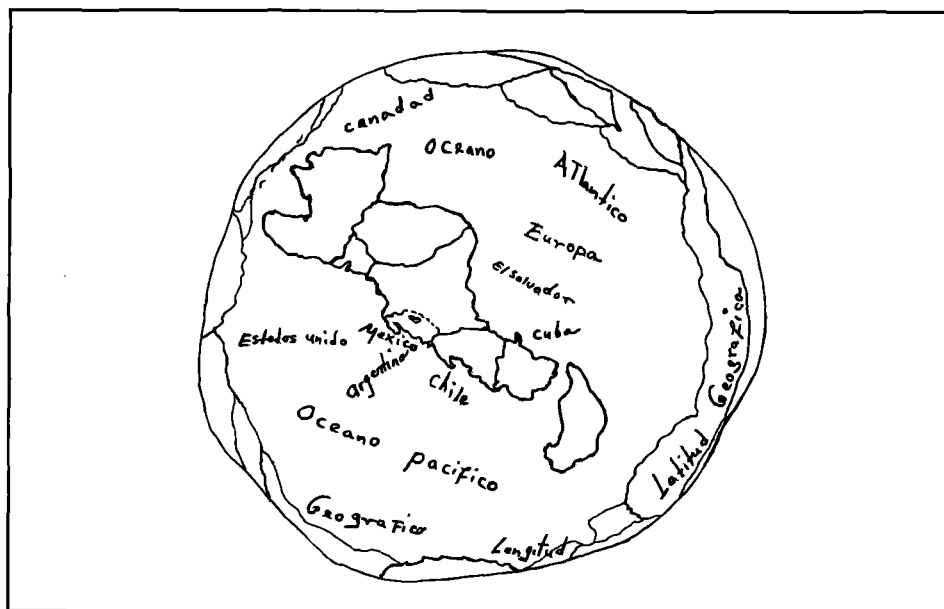


There is a clear distinction between North America, Central America and South America, which makes it possible to suggest differences between the countries that make up the new continent. All the same, America is well represented, even over-represented, thus implying that it is powerful, hegemonistic and dominates the rest of the world. Here, the 'rest' may be taken to mean the residue, the dross, because Europe, Asia and Africa together are of a much smaller size than America. Africa appears to be only barely larger than the United Kingdom; Asia is so small that it seems to be swallowed up by Europe, to which it forms a peripheral space and from which it is separated by a discreetly drawn border. Within this set of world subsystems, the location and dimension of each subsystem reflects a division of the world into centres and peripheries. America is seen as the centre of the world, and North America and Europe act as regional centres to dominated peripheries such as Central and South America in the case of North America, or Africa and Asia in the case of Europe. However, despite this dichotomy, the subsystems constitute open-ended, continuous, non-isolated spaces, with the exception of the United Kingdom and Australia, two spaces which are perceived as distant and which do not appear to be part of either Europe or America. They thus constitute two 'autonomous' entities that it would be difficult to describe as peripheral, particularly in the case of the United Kingdom.

The egocentric globe

The conceptualizer has drawn the globe centred on the American continent, thus disregarding the rest of the world, in which Europe is merely named, but not represented.

FIGURE 12. The egocentric globe



As represented in this sketch, America not only appears to be dominant, but also gives the impression that it is the only continent making up the world. Large countries are indicated, such as the United States of America, Canada, Mexico and Argentina, beside which are other small countries, such as El Salvador, Chile and Cuba. This map reflects the acquired knowledge of the pupil and his or her perception of the world reduced to his or her own continent surrounded by oceans, with Europe playing the role of a mere accessory for cartographic filling-in. The merging of certain territorial components of the pupil's identificatory space and the lack of specific references, through ignorance, omission or convenient elimination of what is 'Elsewhere', show that the living-together sphere is limited to the familiar, that finite world whose identity is constructed around the principles of attachment, rootedness and belonging. Furthermore, reproducing only that part of the world to which one feels that one belongs is a way for the conceptualizer to express his or her home territory as experienced from day to day, as opposed to an external space that is not very familiar or less familiar. The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans are borders that circumscribe this internal space.

The map of the world as the map of Central America

Frequently, one's immediate surroundings affect the elaboration of a mental map. The following example illustrates the confusion between the world and one's own large region: Central America.

FIGURE 13. The world reduced to Central America

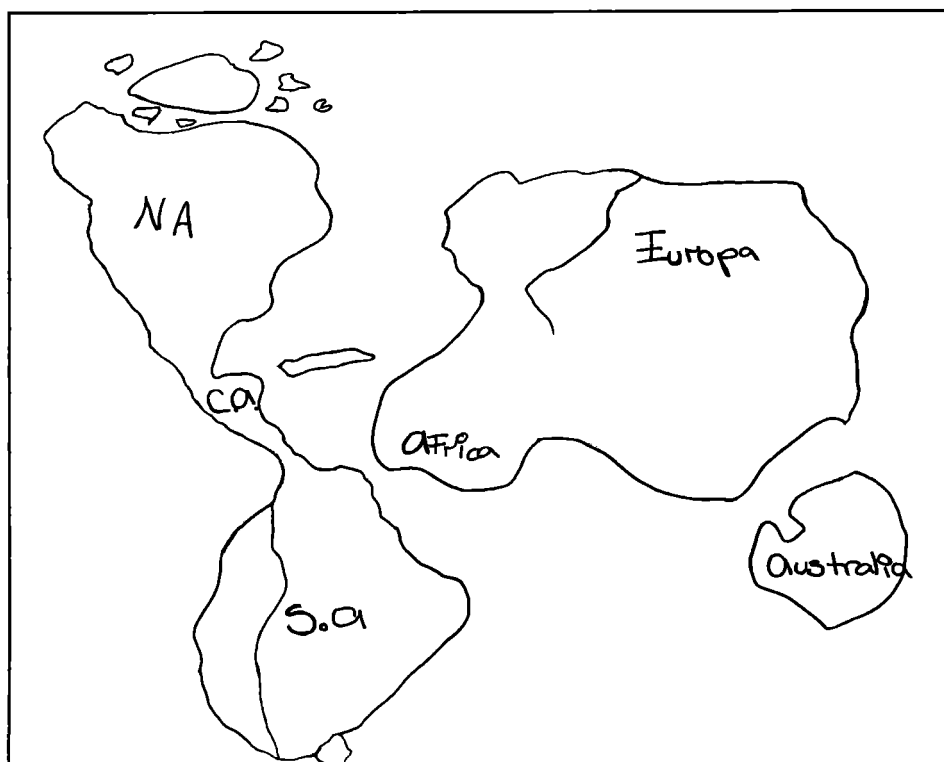


The conceptualizer has properly represented the countries making up Central America. The countries are correctly located geographically, named and outlined. Naming countries produces meaning. More specifically, this naming involves providing a geographical indication and identifying a space with precise boundaries. The boundaries are highlighted because they provide information on the borders of each country, which frequently give rise to tension. These lines give us an impression of being in a region of discontinuous closed spaces, in which conflicts have given way to a kind of hemming in. However, this hemming in is seen as being positive, given that the various entities identify with a shared culture within a number of juxtaposed lived-in spaces, the totality of which constitutes the Central America region.

Map of world subsystems

Frequently, the world is perceived as a set of subsystems whose size determines their power.

FIGURE 14. World subsystems



Two major subsystems characterize the world. The first appears to be vast and dominant in its northern and southern parts (North and South America). It tends to be in opposition to the second subsystem comprising Africa and Europe (Asia is not mentioned). One thing should be noted: Europe appears to be closer to North America,

whereas Africa is a neighbour of Central and South America. Does this mean that the proximity is cultural and that the roots of North Americans lie in Europe whereas those of Central and South Americans lie in Africa? The distance assigned by the elaborator is cultural; it brings closer together those countries which are rooted in one or other of the two parts of the Afro-European subsystem. This may serve to legitimate a desire to live together based on historical and cultural legitimacy. One might conclude that there is a close relationship between this legitimacy and what are known as concrete or physical appearances.

Conclusion

The mental maps help us to understand that the knowledge of the conceptualizers is structured, having been filtered, selected and signposted for intentionality. This knowledge is in fact twofold: one facet is spontaneous, loaded with affects, but often fuzzy; the other is academic, formalized and precise. As stressed by Gumuchian (1989), these maps constitute a significant means of expression that allows a more spontaneous and direct formulation than writing.

These supports help us to see just how vast, complex, discontinuous, closed and heterogeneous the world is. The desire to live together with the 'Other' and 'Elsewhere' appears to be limited to a country, a region or a continent. These are compact, contiguous, closed territories that may either expand or shrink. Each expansion signifies openness, conviviality and cultural proximity, whereas shrinking expresses conflict.

The world thus perceived and represented is a juxtaposition of experienced spaces of the possible, in other words of living together in resemblance. What is identical takes the place of what is different, hence the territorial grid that often favours what is close by and familiar, but excludes what is distant, unfamiliar and synonymous with distrust and avoidance.

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MENTAL IMAGES OF TEACHERS AND PUPILS

REPRESENTATIONS OF

THE WORLD

IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Yves André and Zuzana Wienerova

The situation in the Czech Republic is noticeably different from that in Lebanon or El Salvador. The content of history and geography textbooks, the pupils' views and those of their teachers are representative of a nation-state with a strong sense of identity. In the Czech Republic citizenship has its roots deep in the past and is sustained by a long and particularly significant historical continuity. The textbooks emphasize the antiquity (greater Moravia in the ninth century, principality of Bohemia in the tenth century) and the permanence of the nation, whether as an independent state or under foreign rule (as during the long period of Hapsburg rule). It is this history which, until the gaining of independence in 1918 and the separation from Slovakia in 1993, binds the nation together.

The approach adopted in the textbooks

The textbooks also present the Czech Republic as belonging to the Western European area (leaving the period from 1947-1989 almost between parentheses) and as a consequence highlight the desire to live in peace with the neighbouring countries. This gradual building up of tolerance is based on an objective knowledge of the countries with shared frontiers.

One key point involves relations with the young Slovakia and the powerful German neighbour. The textbooks draw a major distinction between, on the one

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hand, the territories, their peoples, activities, and cultural influence, which transform mutual relations into a source of richness, and on the other hand, the historical and political contingencies which have sparked conflict and strife. For instance, relations with Germany are described as follows:

Relations with Germany, our largest neighbour, have been a feature throughout our history, since the first Premyslid rulers up to the present day. For centuries we have lived in peace, each influencing the other, but we also have known periods of war. There are still people who are afraid of the power of Germany, but if a democratic system is established in both countries there is no reason why friendly relations cannot be maintained (Pavel & Frantisek, 1993, p. 46).

The rise of the Nazis in Germany represented a great danger for our Republic. Hitler detested Czechoslovakia and decided to destroy it. He made use of the German minority that was tempted by the idea of a great German empire (Pavel & Frantisek, 1993, p. 21).

The territory of Germany was for a long time the scene of many conflicts that often endangered the whole of Europe. Now Germany represents democratic statehood and economic power (Nakladatelstvi Ceske geograficke spolecnosti, 1994).

Near the estuary of the river Elbe in the North Sea lies a great river port: Hamburg. It is also important for our Republic, because from this port ships carry goods down to the Czech ports (Pavel & Frantisek, 1993, p. 47).

The peaceful separation from Slovakia is described as a sign of maturity.

Most nations have sought to exist in their own right as a State. Even the Slovaks proclaimed their desire to do so. [...] Czechoslovakia was divided on 1 January 1993 and two independent States were created: the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. For many people who were used to living together within the same State, this was a painful solution, but [...] we do have the satisfaction of having achieved a 'smooth' separation (Jiri, 1994, p. 31).

Reason triumphs over aggressive nationalism, passion and war—such is the message transmitted by the textbooks. It is not a question of ignoring history in order to be able to live together with neighbouring countries and forgetting the past, but, on the contrary, of taking the responsibility of establishing new peaceful relations based on a strong feeling of national identity and a history which is fully assumed and includes even its darker periods.

It is thus understandable that history and geography teaching, as described by Czech teachers, always refers back to the state (in its many facets: country, homeland, nation and cultural community) and to frontiers (whether they are sources of conflict or interfaces of contact and exchange).

From national identity to knowledge of the world

The primary purpose of history and geography teaching is therefore to enable pupils to know their country and to prepare them to be responsible citizens. This is why the curricula emphasize the concepts of frontier and conflict, as well as those of home-

land, nation, community and cultural identity. National identity thus lies at the heart of this subject. The teachers who were interviewed agree upon a homogeneous definition of the country which is based on frontiers, unity and sovereignty, reflecting compatible thinking and shared action. Conversely, and significantly, the notions of region and town as well as their definitions vary considerably, juxtaposing legal, spatial, economic and demographic definitions. This is undoubtedly the reason why there are few references to the local regional levels.

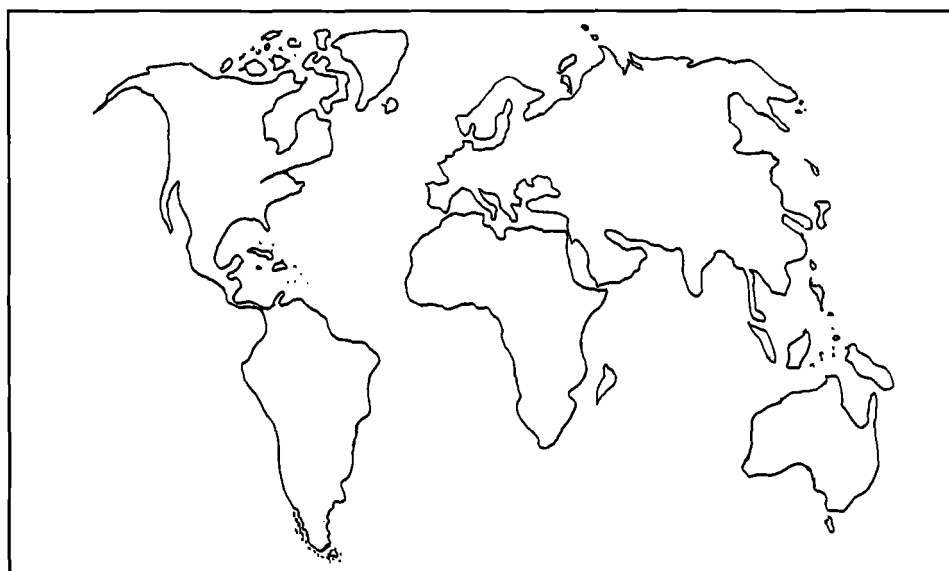
A second emphasis is on knowledge of the continent and then of the world, situating the country in relation to a broader spatial context and transmitting the idea of transnational identity—first European (in the sense of European culture rather than the European Union) and then global. The three countries which are studied in the greatest detail are Germany, the United States of America and France, essentially for political, economic and cultural reasons. These countries are presented as neighbours, partners and friends, never as rivals or enemies.

In response to the question of whether they should teach new concepts in history and geography, the Czech teachers emphasize the need for deeper knowledge of the world as a spatial system, both in its transformations (new frontiers, new states) and in its evolution (demography, mutations, religious fundamentalisms, etc.), and in its crises (conflicts, nationalism, racism). They believe that emphasis should be placed on eliminating xenophobia and learning tolerance.

At the centre of the world

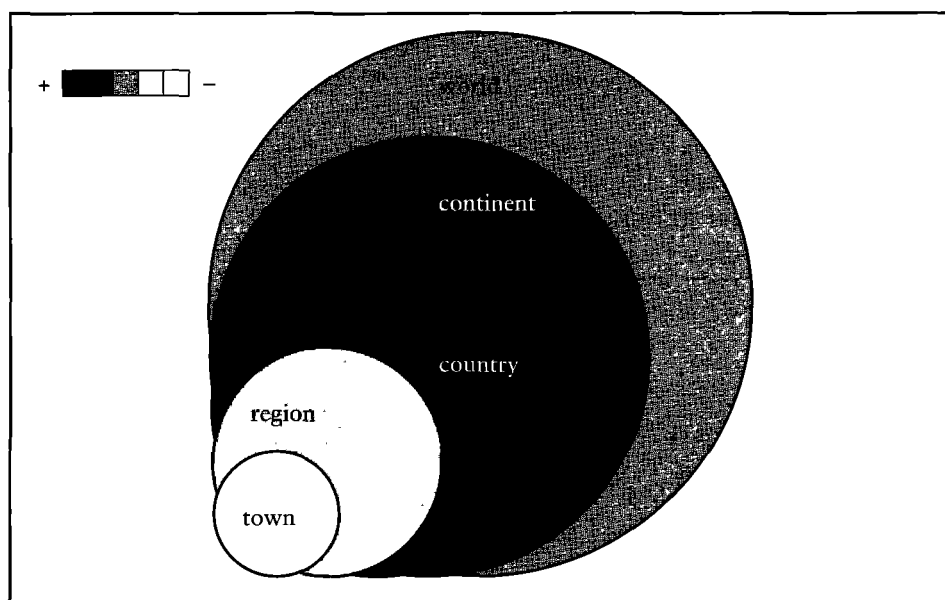
It is certainly due to the teachers' influence that the pupils' mental images of the world reflect a formal type of knowledge, and are drawn meticulously and in detail.

FIGURE 1. A Czech pupil's mental image of the world (the pupil was asked to draw a 'map of the world')



The striking feature of this world map is its homogeneity. It is composed of Eurocentric maps, which are geometrically correct except for three or four more or less approximate outlines, and these represent the continents, without any indication of internal frontiers or spatial references. The Eurocentric presentation reflects a view of the world which is acquired at an early age by looking at the world map on classroom walls and in atlases and magazines. This way of depicting the world obviously influences the way in which pupils imagine it and the place which they occupy in it. Implicitly the pupils see themselves in the centre of the world and construct the rest of the world around themselves, their town and their country.

FIGURE 2. What history and geography lessons have taught me



The most surprising feature in the drawings submitted is their simplicity. Only the outlines of the continents are represented and the areas they delimit remain empty, devoid of any trace of human presence or activity. No names, no symbols, no indication of difference reflecting any form of spatial appropriation or structuring, no frontiers or names of countries, however incomplete or partial, and no mention even of the Czech Republic. What is particularly surprising is the lack of any indication of an East-West divide. This territorial separation which still looms large in the minds of the generations which have lived through the 'Cold War' has been erased by today's pupils. These are representations of a technical nature deriving from a descriptive teaching of geography devoted to localization. Geometric priorities prevail over any question of spatial significance.

The permanence of stereotypes

If pupils are asked to 'give examples of three countries which you have studied ...' they generally quote two countries: the United States and France (this may be due to the overrepresentation of pupils from bilingual Franco-Czech classes). These countries are followed by Canada, Greece, Germany, the United Kingdom and Slovakia. Lastly, there are one or two references to Egypt, Mexico, Russia, Chile, Australia and the United Republic of Tanzania.

The questions which try to uncover the reasons for these choices are answered with a catalogue of the perennial stereotypes: fast food, hamburgers, the War of Secession, hippies, and 'stupid' television 'soaps' for the United States; fashion, cooking, wines, cheeses, the Revolution and Napoleon for France; lakes, forests and bears for Canada; left-hand driving, the monarchy and Shakespeare for the United Kingdom; fruit, vegetables, the sea, Homer, the sun and tourists for Greece. Similarly, traditional territorial markers such as the Statue of Liberty, the Eiffel Tower and the London buses crop up constantly.

The characteristics which pupils believe define a country may be divided into 'likes' and 'dislikes', with a majority of attractive features. Thus, the United States appears as a country of freedom and democracy, drawing strength from its wealth, youth and multiracial composition; a great country, a nation of immigrants which dominates the world. However, racism and egoism detract from these positive features.

The attractions of France include its monuments, culture and language, but also the development of its economy and the fact that the French people are likeable. Nevertheless, their chauvinism is irritating and their ignorance of other countries even more so. The industrial capacity and economic might of Germany, which is defined as a central European country, are impressive. However, it still bears the burden of two world wars: 'They are our neighbours and so we have many problems [...]'.

Other countries call for less comment and are seen in a more positive light. Again, the special case of Slovakia should be noted, causing concern on account of its 'complex' political situation, yet still having strong links with the Czech Republic: 'We lived together for seventy-nine years. It was the same Republic [...]. The culture and language are very similar [...]'.

The pupils' sense of belonging: to what spatial entity and on what scale?

The combined influence of textbooks and teachers leads the pupils, in their replies to the questionnaires, to emphasize the key importance of their country and the sense of national identity which, they say, history and geography lessons have enabled them to understand more clearly. Their knowledge, based on that of their country, then opens out into broader spatial contexts—that of the continent and then the whole

world—while more restricted areas, such as the region and the town, are neglected. The teaching therefore seems to encourage them to open up to the rest of the world. The country is also the entity with which the pupils identify most strongly, mainly because of language and nationality (Figure 3).

FIGURE 3. I feel that I belong to ...

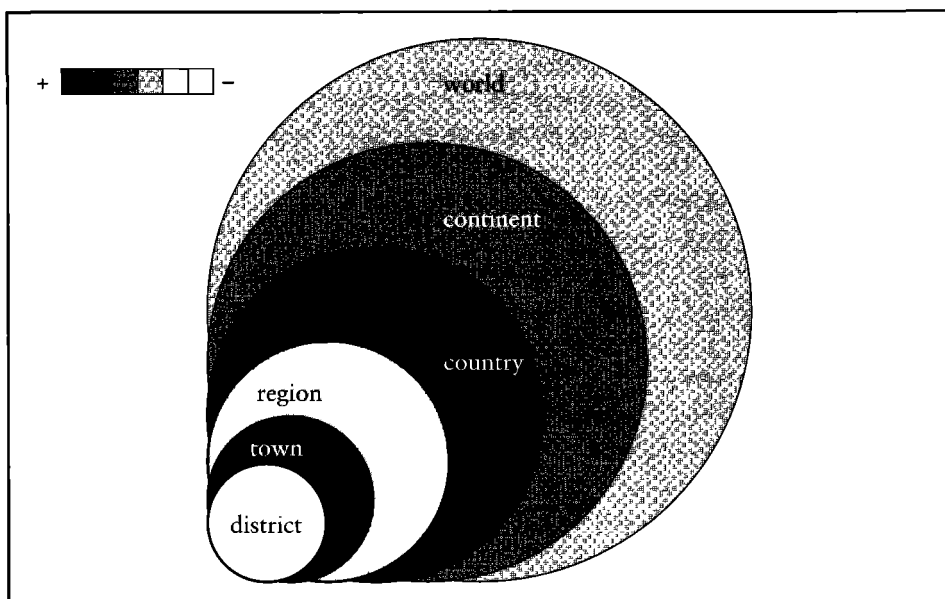
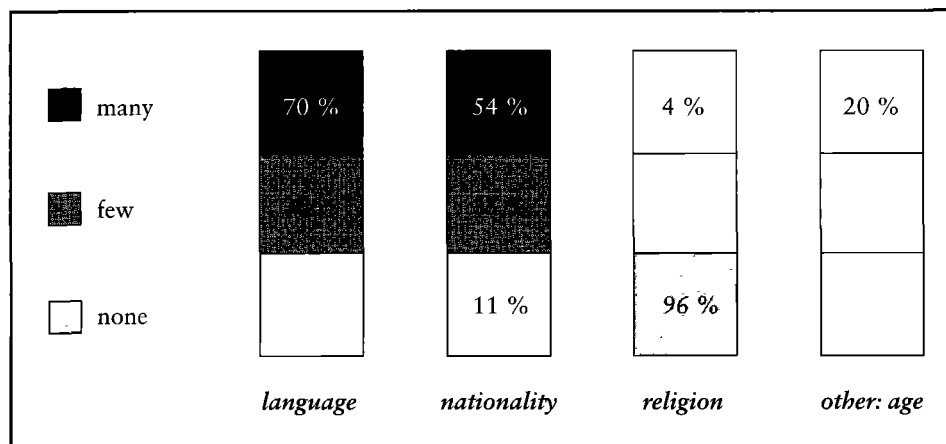


FIGURE 4. Criteria for pupils' sense of belonging in the Czech Republic



Religious influences seem to play very little part in the feeling of identity. Czech society is basically a lay society, similar in this respect to the other countries of Europe. In this country which has only recently acquired its present frontiers (after the smooth separation from Slovakia in January 1993), the feeling of national identity is based

on a particularly rich and significant history, rather than on spatial considerations. The special place, tinged with nostalgia, occupied by Slovakia should be noted: 'we lived for a long time as a federation [...]'. Linked with this first level of strong identification, is a second level: that of the pupils' everyday life. The feeling of identity, rather than expanding from national identity towards the continent or the rest of the world, moves inwards, towards a much more limited environment: that of the town, their town, in this case Prague (see Figure 3). In other words, although history and geography teaching take the country as a starting point for opening out towards the rest of the world, the pupils' feeling of identity is more focused inwards away from the country as a whole and towards their own town. This situation may be interpreted as showing the beginnings of a contradiction in history and geography teaching, between the objective knowledge of the world imparted by the teachers, and the practical experience and representations of the lived-in environment. It seems only reasonable, of course, that the school should encourage pupils to learn about other countries and the rest of the world—undoubtedly an essential cultural and scientific objective and, for the teachers, a fundamental mission, to which they proclaim their commitment. The pupils consider that these countries are mainly studied for economic reasons (such and such a country is a great power), cultural reasons (such and such a country plays a major role in literature, music and art) or, to a lesser degree, historic reasons.

The Czech approach does make one wonder why, if this opening up to the rest of the world is essential for the understanding of others and a willingness to establish contact with them, so little emphasis is placed on the everyday environment. Perhaps history and geography lessons should also improve pupils' understanding of their immediate environment. Work on the local situation does not exclude the possibility of dealing with broader contexts and involves similar problems and concepts: those of frontier identity, conflict, democracy, wealth and poverty. In other words, perhaps more attention could be given to teaching concerning the pupils' everyday environment, where there is also a need to 'learn to live together'?

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PART THREE:
TOWARDS NEW FORMS OF CITIZENSHIP

TOWARDS NEW FORMS OF CITIZENSHIP

WHAT NOT TO TEACH IN GEOGRAPHY LESSONS

Robert Ferras

The idea of using history and geography to educate students for new forms of citizenship offers broad scope for research and is obviously an interesting one, but one should be aware of possible limitations and misconceptions.

The first danger is the blinkered approach that fails to move beyond the partial view characteristic of French education. Behind the generous spirit and broad horizons of the 'let's all live happily together' approach, lurks the second danger, that of offering panaceas, moral platitudes and subreligious pontification in place of education. The third danger is maintaining outdated views in an era of rapid change. For example, we have the concept of civil disobedience first appearing in 1997, in the context of the integration of foreign immigrants in France.

Introduction: press cuttings

On 25 August 1997, the French weekly magazine *Marianne* published two texts of a few lines each, which are very relevant to our subject. First text:

Another blow to English traditionalists: the Labour Party's new Minister of Sports wants to prohibit the singing of the national anthem and the waving of flags at football matches. He regards these practices as an extension of war, encouraging explosions of nationalism (p. 14).

Original language: French

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Noteworthy in these four lines are the words 'national', 'nationalism', 'explosion' and 'war'. And, for good measure: 'sports' and 'football matches'. Second text:

The Egyptian press is nearly unanimous in considering that the alleged conquest of Princess Diana by a son of the country of the Pharaohs is both an appropriate reversal of the previous situation and a revenge for three-quarters of a century of British imperialism (p. 15).

The significant terms 'conquest', 'revenge' and 'imperialism' are related to conflict; 'country of the Pharaohs' and 'British imperialism' are linked to nationalism.

What do these two short and quite incidental news items have in common? Both contain keywords that are at variance with the idea of 'living together' and are associated with 'isms'—here 'nationalism' and 'imperialism'—and words such as 'power' and 'conflict'. Some newspapers and magazines provide an inexhaustible supply of this kind of paragraph. We may ask ourselves what place they should be given in history-geography-civic education textbooks.

In Marseilles, under the auspices of the Delegation for Land-Use Planning and Regional Action (DATAR), the fourth meeting of local planners was held in December 1997. Topics assigned to the discussion groups included 'Citizenship, territorial intelligence and partnership' and 'Space, the common heritage of territorial dynamics and identity'. Those titles combined such eminently geographical concepts as 'space' and 'territory' with those of 'citizenship', 'partnership' and 'heritage'.

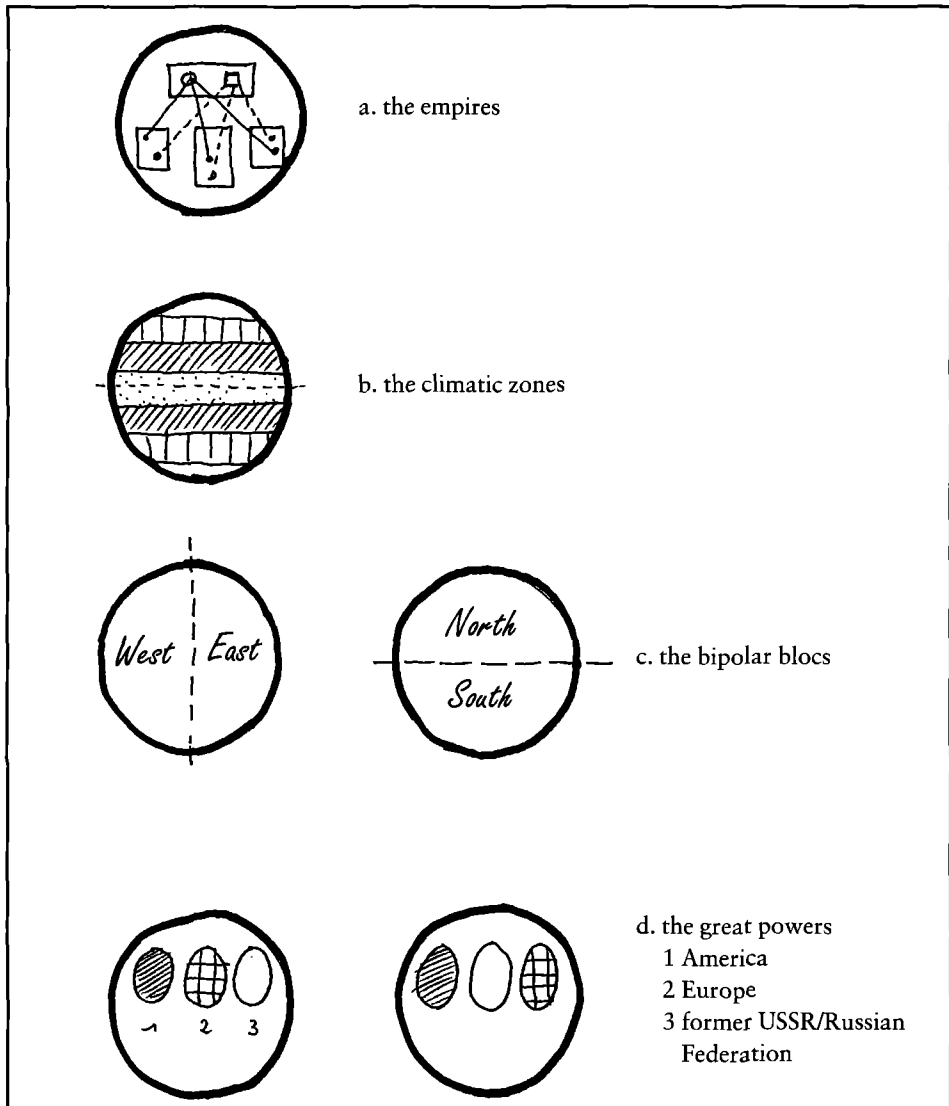
Education for a new kind of citizenship: limitations and impasses

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF FAILURE

After working through various ways of presenting the major geographical groupings, education for new kinds of citizenship has reached an impasse. The curriculum reflects this. It began with the colonial empires, patches of colour on wall maps of the world published by Vidal de la Blache. Next came the apparently more 'neutral' climatic zones—tropical countries, cold countries, temperate countries, the Mediterranean world. After that, the economic blocs—East-West and then North-South, dichotomies that seemed so useful. And then, the great powers, either reduced to the United States of America and the former USSR, or with Germany and Japan.

The civic education curriculum is forever starting anew. Specialists regularly tackle the subject, Penelope's tapestry ceaselessly being woven, undone and restarted. The systematic reference to the contemporary society of the moment gives the impression of successive cycles, set in motion since the birth of modern geography, around the time of the Franco-Prussian war (1870). In these cycles, concepts such as territory, nation, ethnic group, culture and border are used but never explained, and the textbooks reflect this. That was, perhaps, the price that had to be paid to move beyond the nineteenth century and on to the contemporary, centralized, republican French model.

FIGURE 1. Some major groupings



The name 'civic education' is a reference to the French tradition of setting aside classroom time, at the secondary level, for the education of future citizens. Certain aspects of this curriculum remind us of our worst teaching experiences: how can we stimulate any interest in the composition of the Chamber of Deputies, the powers of the Senate or the measures that can be taken by regional councils?

TO BE AVOIDED IN GEOGRAPHY AND IN HISTORY

The title of this article, 'What not to teach in geography lessons', was not chosen at random. It rejects all the 'isms' that can be found in the circulars issued by the

Department of Geography at the University of Geneva: communitarianism, ethnicism, nationalism and 'other groupings designed to prevent contact with those who are different from us'.

The national hero—paragon of virtue and popular image

One of the key dates in old and perhaps even not-so-old textbooks of French history is 732: 'In 732, Charles Martel stopped the Arabs at Poitiers' as every French schoolchild knows. Textbooks published in the 'capital' (Paris) present Charles Martel as a national hero. People from the south of France know otherwise. Martel razed the town of Maguelone, which never recovered, losing its episcopal seat to Montpellier, and ravaged the city of Nîmes, whose population had to take refuge in the Roman amphitheatre. And the Languedoc region 'saved' by Martel was on excellent terms with the Arab world, which in France, as in Spain, had developed irrigation techniques and trade and, a little later on, contributed to intellectual life through the University of Montpellier.

Without lapsing into colloquialism, here is another example: Saint Louis, the 'good king' associated with the Château at Vincennes and the oak under which he rendered justice, is known only as Louis IX in the Languedoc region. His statue, erected at Aigues-Mortes where he set off on a crusade, is regularly covered with red paint by regionalist demonstrators.

One might even say that in the south of France, Charles Martel and Saint Louis are 'Infidels' for Provençal militants. Different places, different heroes: those who teach history and the related subject of civics might bear this in mind.

Take, for example, the heroes produced by Spain at the time of the conquest, or hispanization, of America. It would be interesting to see how textbooks published in Spain, Mexico and Peru portray Hernan Cortés' exploits in Cuba and Mexico, Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in Florida and California (before being removed from his post as governor of Paraguay) and the Pizarros during the conquest of Peru. Similarly, a French wag visiting London and seeing Trafalgar Square and Waterloo Bridge could not help but observe that all the French defeats were celebrated as great triumphs on the other side of the Channel.

What is the best way to approach the history of great men and the geography of battles? 'Good' teachers of civic education have to be like Molière's 'Monsieur Jourdain', teaching their subject almost without conscious awareness of it. They will have ample opportunity to do this throughout the school year, as long as they make the right choices.

High on the agenda—the European question

Many texts call for comment, but first two quotes from Duroselle (1965):

Europe is a matter of recent and immediately topical concern, to be seen as coming in the framework of and directly in line with the Monnet memorandum of 3 May 1950 which,

launching the coal and steel plan, affirmed that 'Europe has never existed, and sovereign nations meeting in councils do not create an identity. Europe really needs to be created [...]'. After that, the name of the game was to gradually assume that Europe did exist, and to try to rediscover it. Once established, the European myth that Europe itself encourages continues to spread, maintained by those who have in mind to construct it.

In every indisputable truth there is always an element of complacency, which makes it equally a counter-truth.

When I am told that Europe is the land of law, I think of its arbitrary sides; that it is the land of dignity, of racism; that it is the land of reason, of Romantic dreaming. And I find justice in Pennsylvania, human dignity among the Arab nationalists and reason everywhere in the universe if it is true, as Descartes says, that nothing is more widely distributed in the world than common sense.

RECENT TEXTBOOKS

From an analysis of textbooks on civics, geography and history we can learn what is being said about Europe and its aspirations and misfortunes. The purpose is not, obviously, to make value judgements by handing out good or bad marks, but rather to try to draw attention to the choices made by the authors. What image of Europe do we present to the children we are endeavouring to teach? Some lessons can be learned from the textbooks consulted (six, which were chosen by reading around, without intensive study, and not as a representative sample).

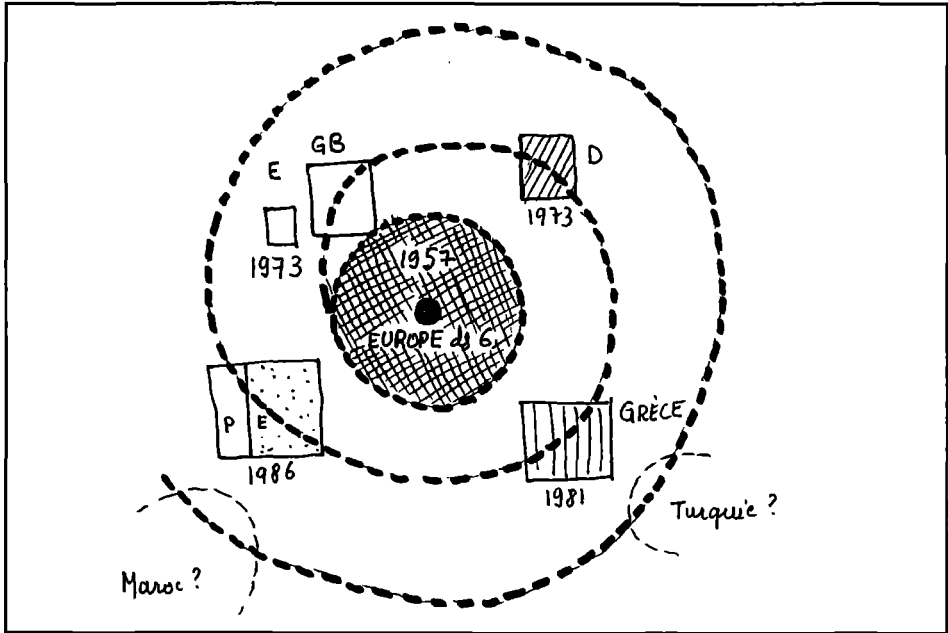
It is not pointed out that Europe is a construction, first of history and then of the human mind, anchored in a geographic reality that is never defined but on which we claim to rely. Europe has been redefined at every phase of its history: in Vienna, Munich, Versailles, Berlin and Yalta. A map is a good exercise in civic education—not in terms of the changing borders of countries (although those of Poland are particularly instructive) but in terms of the territories created and the protagonists involved. Eastern Europe exists no more; perhaps there will no longer be anything but a single Europe stretching all the way to the Urals—in line with de Gaulle's celebrated formula. Now a number of challenges and expectations may lead it to expand its borders once again: Turkey and Morocco are knocking at the door after Greece and Spain, which have become 'European' while remaining 'Mediterranean'.

The chronological basis is very recent. Mention is rarely made of any date preceding the construction of Europe. Paradoxically, while declaring that Europe is a recent development, we speak as if it were a continuum stretching back to the dawn of time, as if the continent were a 'geographic given'. Writers supporting various causes refer back to megaliths and ancient migrations to decide what has the honour of belonging to Europe and what does not.

What would a cumulative 'mind's eye' map of Europe look like? Not surprisingly, the European Economic Community (EEC) bloc comes far ahead of the 'rest of Europe'. Carrying most weight, in descending order, are the first six members of the EEC, followed by the United Kingdom and the Mediterranean countries, reproduc-

ing the spiral of their order of entry. The focus is on the 'heavyweight countries', almost no questions are being raised about the geographic realities of Europe as a space.

FIGURE 2. From the European Economic Community (EEC) to the European Union (EU): the spiral of Europe under construction (1957–93)



It is a magnificent movement, starting from a centre and gradually opening up to encompass an increasingly distant, southern, less 'European' periphery. This simple model draws attention to a choice connected with education and with something deeper. Rather than examine the States one by one, the emphasis is on a dynamic process—the expansion of Europe to the countries waiting on its sidelines.

NEW DYNAMICS

Under the dual impact of institutional expansion and globalization, traditional borders are becoming less tangible. The fifteen Member States of the European Union are subject to supranational transfers of power that have an effect on the infra-national level, which for practical purposes means the regions. In Spain, regional autonomy has focused on the success, since 1979, of Catalonia and the still unresolved problems of the Basque country. In Great Britain, Scotland and Wales have just voted by referendum to establish regional parliaments vested with certain powers. In Italy, the Lombardy League is calling for the establishment of an independent entity called Padania. In Belgium, the division between the Flemish and Walloon regions is complete. In Germany, Bavaria has affirmed its geographic identity ever since the country's reunification.

SYMBOLS

Symbols, like iconography, should be taken into account. The European flag is associated with the number twelve. This has the advantage of symmetry and an infinite variety of arrangements of stars on a blue background, an ideal composition—or ‘an unchanging symbol of perfection and abundance’—to quote a textbook in the Delagrave series—that will in the short-term give rise to problems in representing newly admitted countries, similar to the star-spangled banner of the United States, with its variable geometry. The ‘great men’ in the textbooks are the founding fathers: Schuman, Monnet, Adenauer, Gaspari, Churchill, Spaak and Briand. The examples, both eclectic and predictable, largely confirm the usual tendency to conform.

IDENTITY

In all, *Europe* encompasses a series of very different concepts. We start with the famously undefined ‘geographic reality’, a sort of indisputable fact set among the Elbe, the Ebro and the Danube, thanks to a series of errors more comical than serious. In 814, Aachen was the centre of Charlemagne’s empire. Forming its southern border was the Basque country, Navarre, the Asturias, the Arab kingdoms—and the ‘town’ of Madrid—which was not founded until a few centuries afterwards and became the capital even later! In 1812, Napoleon’s empire, built up we all know in what way, was considered to be synonymous with Europe. In part a family affair, the Napoleonic empire never anticipated any kind of Europe at all. The ‘geographic reality’ is based on a construction that never was, but is lent a semblance of reality by a succession of ‘empires’.

The curriculum continues to offer ideological representations of the various stages of European civilization: the Roman Empire, the ‘barbarian’ invasions, the Middle Ages, the great discoveries, the industrial revolution, all based on the standard Eurocentric view using dates referring to a constantly varying geographical area as European landmarks. Consideration is never given to what a geographical approach might reveal—the notions of coastline, headland, bridgehead, cul-de-sac and access to the Baltic, the Mediterranean or the Atlantic, depending on the period. French education is founded on the ideology of progress: Europe ‘emerges’, acquires an ‘important place’ and evolves towards its ‘peak’.

The geopolitical approach is often based on a dual Europe: the people’s democracies ‘around the USSR’ (position in space or chosen alignment?) and a liberal Western Europe. But, according to Kundera (1983), the old European order was based not on two but on three groupings: Western European, Eastern European and—the most complex—the part of Europe situated in the centre by its geography, in the West by its culture and in the East by its politics.

What shared values or bonds transcend these divisions? Christianity, Latin, universities, rationalism, freedom, human rights, democracy, science, liberalism, industrialization: we like to think that these could form the basis for a European ‘disposition’. The idea of a unified and harmonious Europe, like the beautiful hexagon

of France within it, is supposed to transcend divisions and antagonisms, yet is not as straightforward as it seems.

PRACTICAL WORK BY PUPILS

What practical work can we devise for our pupils on this basis? Showing very little imagination the textbooks suggest collecting pictures and press clippings and making chronological tables. Students categorize States, count objects, search for names, define, describe and delimit. They hang posters on the walls and draw their own. They debate. They seek knowledge in a multitude of ways that are equally applicable to other subjects. They learn vocabulary without ever learning to conceptualize, and they categorize. Difficulties are ignored. What counts is position, rank, weight and size. Could the description of Europe as 'first in world trade and second in world history' be contributing to the birth of European nationalism? One can imagine the re-emergence—or the continuation—of Eurocentrism inspired by the nineteenth century and the colonial adventure, with all the problems of integration raised by the presence of the 'other'. How can we move beyond the prevailing discourse, which seems to lead in the long run to the 'inevitability' of Europe?

Old lessons from a history textbook

In the 1960s, a new history syllabus, 'Civilizations', was made part of the curriculum for the final year of secondary school. What was it about? History, without the events for once. A new generation of textbooks emerged, which was to dethrone Malet-Isaac and Girard: *Le monde contemporain: histoire et civilisations* [The contemporary world: history and civilizations] published by Bordas since 1962. It is simply divided into two parts: the history between the wars (1914–45), using a traditional approach; and the great civilizations of the world.

The new collection has the advantage of using the concept of civilization as a point of departure, reminding us that it derives from the word *civis* or citizen and can be used in the plural, and of showing us the contribution that this can make to civic education. A few errors persist in the new collection, which groups States into major blocs, for example, the geography of Western civilization, the socialist world, or the Pacific and Indian Oceans, with some amusing comparisons of the different States covered. Similarly, some important omissions—including Australia—may be noted in passing. The new syllabus was in fact a vehicle for civic education, without being labelled as such. It provided good civic instruction at the same time as good history. To approach the history of Africa through Picasso's 'Demoiselles d'Avignon' rather than the story of Stanley and Livingstone might seem utterly incongruous, but it works. Much has been written about the influence of African masks on cubist painting and reference is made to that. The study of the southern United States need not necessarily begin with a relief map of the South followed by a study of the region's climate. One might also listen to Louis Armstrong or Kid

Ory, 'Saint Louis Blues' or 'Muskrat Ramble'. In both cases, we approach the subject matter, through painting and music, from a perspective the students appreciate—images and sound. The history of events with all its chronological markers and the geography of States with all its borders, provide a poor foundation for civic education.

'Civic' aspects of geography

A half-dozen approaches to avoid:

- *Neutral geography.* Geography is not neutral. A systematic study of the textbooks and their ideological content is essential. Geography has actors, and actors have strategies—that must be openly discussed. A conceptual geography, which strives constantly to make clear what it is talking about, is never neutral. Its references should be identified, as should its basic concepts. For example, what is the best way of referring to certain African States: 'tropical countries', 'Third World countries', 'under-developed countries' or 'developing countries'?
- *We must cease thinking in terms of blocs, agreements between governments and dotted lines on a map.* The great powers of the traditional textbooks are no more: where does the Russian Federation fit in now? It is difficult to divide the world up through reference to the cardinal points of West-East, North-South—apparently 'uncontroversial' blocs—without perpetuating the old patterns of domination.
- *The underlying structure of many academic courses is the geography of prizewinning.* Everyone is in competition: from the heights of mountains, the maximum rates of flow of rivers, the number of inhabitants in capital cities to infinite numbers of tons and metres. States have to be put in categories, which leads to competition, challenges and contests. We always study the same major powers: the Russian Federation is always on the list, Australia always excluded, and Canada overshadowed by the United States. Only the famous textbook 'triad' matters: United States, the remains of the former USSR, and Japan. Paradoxically, while there are endless studies on the United States and Japan, the Pacific Rim is not on the syllabus because, it is claimed, we cannot study just a fragment of the United States, no matter how important it is. Borders, especially in Africa, are fabrications. Like the straight lines around the Gulf of Guinea, they have nothing to do with ethno-cultural realities.
- *Ideology aggravates the problem by adding nationalism, cultural ethnocentrism and egocentrism.* Think of all the 'centres of the world' that pre-placed the Greek *omphalos*—Babylon in Mesopotamia, the Chinese Middle Kingdom, Delphi, Mecca and Jerusalem. One empire is stressed at the expense of another: the Mesopotamian empires are reduced to archaeological sites; the Achaemenid dynasty, which held sway from Thrace to the Indus, and Alexander, who reigned over an area stretching from Macedonia to the Indus, are not studied in depth.
- *Ethnic stereotypes flood the newspapers.* The Swiss, long regarded as mercenaries, the Belgians with their funny stories, the Scots as misers, the Spanish proud for

no good reason, like the other ethnic stereotypes of Spain—the Catalans of the north, the Castillians of the centre, the Andalusians of the south. Corsicans are always lazy and the people of the south of France are always having their siesta. Much worse examples exist but are best forgotten in the intolerant times in which we live.

- *These concepts cannot be dissociated from representational geography, which clearly reveals the damage done by the more harmful kinds of civic education.* It is essential to reject maps that have at their centre all those middle kingdoms that make them. Europe as the centre of the world is considered to be 'the norm', like the 'erosion' of the temperate zones, as it was called in the old textbooks. Political spheres of influence cut the Pacific in two, one part to the west of the Americas, one part to the east of Japan. Once that line has been drawn, how can exchanges from one side of the Pacific to the other be understood?

Can we offer anything more constructive?

Counterbalancing these choices means proposing something different, in the form of possible discussion themes. The use of a number of clearly developed concepts will lead naturally to good civic education.

- The *world system* and its solidarities, which also means strategies, whose underlying mechanisms must be understood by studying the agreements, dynamics and legacies of the past.
- *Territory*, in the most simple sense of appropriate(d) space.
- *Identity* is a more meaningful term than border or nation. This is not simply a matter of calling the same thing by a different name—the concepts of belonging and roots should be used to study the problem of displaced populations.
- *Heritage*—to be dealt with carefully, using the concepts of family heritage, patriarchal property, fatherland, patriot and statelessness.
- *Spatial justice*—a concept developed by Reynaud (1981) to describe attempts to reduce socio-spatial inequalities. A large part of the geography taught in France is concerned with regional development: the de-industrialization of Lorraine or Corsica; the old south in America against the megalopolis, the Great Lakes or California; the Brazilian north-east against the metropolitan triangle; Italy once divided into north and south; Catalonia and Estremadura, China, Neuilly and Aubervilliers.
- *Transnational geographical areas*, in their rich diversity. The focus here will be on organizations to which history, geography and, in consequence, civic education give new life—major geographic groupings based on cultural areas, ancient historical constructions and specific geographical regions. Among them, an Alpine grouping referred to for a time in geography courses in France as the 'Alpine passes' between the Danube and Po river basins, from Grenoble to Vienna, and the Andean grouping in Latin America stretching from Colombia to Chile by way of Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Argentina. Functional geographic zones like the Pacific demonstrate other types of solidarity. Studying the southern border of the

United States means looking at the interface between a small part of California and a large part of Mexico; this does not mean simply conflict or complementarity, but also contact. The *lies* and *passeries* of the Pyrenees are part Basque country and part Catalonia, on either side of a very discreet border criss-crossed by stock-raisers. The Gulf of Guinea, North Africa and the Horn of Africa exist as entities. The Mediterranean is not a single entity but four quarters, which is easier than having to study separately the twenty countries that surround it. The introductions to the latest series of French textbooks known as *Géographie universelle* (published by Belin-RECLUS) on Northern Europe are full of useful ideas on the Nörden, South-East Asia and what was previously Central or Eastern Europe.

- *The scale of identification* deserves special attention as an eminently geographical concept. The problems arising from the use of standard geographic divisions are well known: the 'village' leads to 'parochialism', for example. The smallest social unit and its symbolic representations are the first rung in a micro-geography of daily life: the urban neighbourhood, the street, the rural hamlet. Each division has its corresponding image. Thus, localism would correspond to a locality, chauvinism to a town, imperialism to a city, regionalism and, less often, regionalization to a region (to what will the 'Euro-regions', of which there are half as many as our present regions, correspond?) and nationalism to a nation.

Conclusion

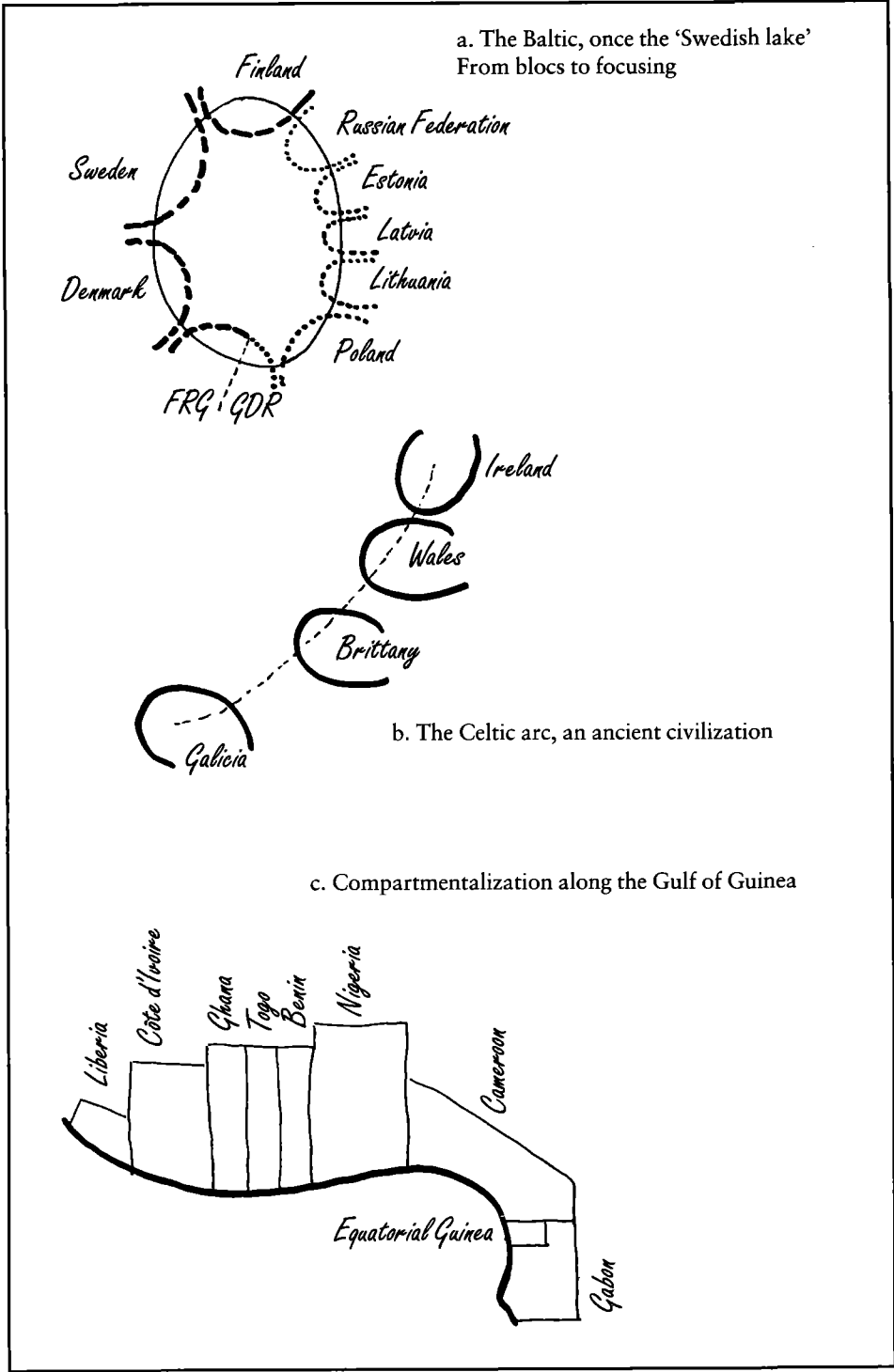
All this calls for a different style of teaching, based not on the physical elements of a very early approach to geography but on concepts. Physical elements may be used in one way or another to expand (but not to illustrate) the explanation. That should help to get things moving without changing the curriculum or going against the examination system, and without the need for tedious enumerations that make pupils 'switch off'. Less than ten concepts will be used, all accessible to pupils.

Attempts to harmonize curricula in different countries are not ends in themselves. Professional associations in France and Germany have already tried to do this, and run the risk of ending up with a single textbook.

Civic education, usually assigned to history and geography teachers (and soon to philosophers), in the academic curriculum does not relate easily to those two subjects. It ends up taking a little more than necessary from history or else is overshadowed by geography. In the first case, are we called on to liven up the subject with a few well-chosen 'events'? One could teach 'current events'—which is, in fact, contemporary geography. That could have the advantage of offering an approach to media content through the inexhaustible and perfectly accessible resource of newspaper headlines.

Is citizenship training immutable? Or should it, like science, evolve? Does this question have only one possible interpretation? The notion of progress in terms of civics clearly does not make sense; in any event it is hardly relevant. The

FIGURE 3. Other geographical groupings



'geography of well-being' (Bailly, 1981) is progressing but is not accompanied by progress in civic attitudes. It is our relationship with those who are different from us that must be brought to the forefront, and the future seems to lie in the construction of world citizenship.

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TOWARDS NEW FORMS OF CITIZENSHIP

COMMUNITY, LOCAL

DEMOCRACY

AND CITIZENSHIP¹

Allen J. Scott

Regions are not simply economic engines but also social communities, and these two dimensions of regional life merge with one another in elaborate and recursive relations of interdependence. The question of governance and policy, then, is intimately bound up with wider concerns, not only about the synoptic bases of economic performance, but also about income distribution and social and cultural goals. This manner of identifying the issues leads at once to the problem of how local social control is constituted, and the nature of the organizational structures through which that control is exerted. In more general terms, we may ask, what are the implications and potentialities of the governance objectives discussed here for regional political life at large?

Before any attempt is made to respond directly to this question, we need briefly to review the principal senses in which an agglomeration of producers can also be called a community. At a minimum, any agglomeration typically consists, on the one hand, of many interlocking economic activities and employment places, and on the other hand, of a working population together with dependants. The populace, moreover, is always relatively immobile (Frazer, 1996). These conditions of economic interdependence and human immobility in one locality can be identified as the minimal physical prerequisites of community, though they most certainly do not necessarily translate immediately into any sort of communitarian experience as such.

Original language: English

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That said, as communities in this minimal sense come to acquire historical depth, and as social relationships are consolidated through spatial proximity, some individuals will in all likelihood come to feel that their social identity is at least in some respects rooted in the place where they work and live. When regions are also characterized by distinctive ethnic, linguistic or other cultural peculiarities that set them apart from other regions, their role as sources of identity and communitarian experience is usually much enhanced. In turn, and taking a cue from events in the European Union, the reinforcement of local autonomy for particular cultural groups can mitigate the sense of discrimination and administrative neglect that many of them complain bitterly about when they are subject to the authority of a strong central State, as exemplified by the cases of Catalonia, the Basque country, Brittany, Scotland and Wales. We must, though, distinguish between the renaissance of regional identity and politics, as envisioned in the present account, and the atavistic regionalism evident today in parts of the former USSR and Eastern Europe, which in large degree seems simply to be a reactionary expression of long-repressed ethnic grievances and hatreds.

Even at their most homogeneous, regions are in practice almost always internally divided in different ways, and they can never, in any event, provide an exhaustive framework of communal possibilities. In modern society, individuals are also caught up in broad webs of relationships, many of which may coincide with a particular neighbourhood, region or State, while many others find their primary definition in non-spatial (or only contingently spatial) attributes, e.g. feminists, physicists, sailing enthusiasts, stamp collectors and so on. It is no more possible, then, to assimilate the logic of contemporary regionalism into some species of pre-modern civic republicanism or Tocquevillian communitarianism (which is another reason for resisting the term 'city-state' to designate the new regional collectivities appearing on the world map at the end of the twentieth century). At the same time, and for all the reasons already adduced, regions invariably do represent identifiable, if limited, communities of interest, and as such they are an authentic arena of political identity and organization.

A further stimulus to the revitalization of political life in the regions of the new global mosaic is that, as they come to acquire more fully developed capacities for collective decision making and action, contentious issues will undoubtedly multiply, both inter-regionally (e.g. over collisions of interest between different regional authorities) and intra-regionally (e.g. over issues of long-run development strategies), with some corresponding probability that levels of concern and participation on the part of those most affected will rise. Also, the fact that regions occur at a geographic scale which coincides roughly with the orbit of daily life potentially imbues all such issues with a tangibility and a relevance to the electorate that seem signally to be lacking at the present time in the arena of national politics.

A thorough-going regionalism, in other words, makes possible more sensitive and geographically specific kinds of governance than are ever likely to emerge when political control is concentrated in the hands of the centralized bureaucratic state. By the same token, it brings into the domain of social decidability problem-

atical aspects of economic and social existence that evade effective adjudication under more remote systems of regulation. Regionalism is therefore fully consistent with current efforts to remobilize democratic principles in modern life, as it is also with the distinctive notion of radical democracy that Mouffe has expounded, and whose practical goals are the extension of the rights, liberties and forms of equality propounded by the idea of liberal democracy into all the far corners of society (Mouffe, 1992, 1996). Rights for minority language groups, welfare for immigrants, protection for those who pursue minority or unconventional life-styles, improved educational opportunities for the disadvantaged, and so on, can all conceivably be dealt with more effectively by local authorities than by distant State bureaucracies, and, most assuredly, attention to locally idiosyncratic details can be achieved only by appropriate decentralization.

The problem here is that there is nothing inherent in regionalism as such that necessarily promotes either the radical democratic commitments or the forms of civic virtue that are the essential underpinnings of this vision. In and of itself, the region can be a medium of regressive social policies and elite rule as much as it can be a vehicle of democratization and social participation. Yet, in a world where, in the view of Holston and Appadurai, the citizens of nations are now in significant ways reduced to the role of passive spectators of the political stage, the region (or place, in Holston and Appadurai's terms) holds out the plausible prospect of a more immediate and personalized style of citizenship, just as it is also a fundamental unit of social affiliation (Holston & Appadurai, 1996). Politics is no longer necessarily concentrated wholly on the business of the classical State (if it ever was), but now also concerns the negotiation of social outcomes and identities at all spatial levels from the regional to the global. Moreover, citizenship in the narrow sense (i.e. formal membership in a sovereign State) poses itself as a universal principle that in practice masks enormous inequalities and that helps to disarm critical assessment of their detailed ramifications. This is not to proclaim or prescribe an eventual evacuation of politics from constituencies above the level of the regional (i.e. the national, multinational and global). To the contrary, these other constituencies are the sites of many urgent political dilemmas, made all the more complicated at the multinational and global levels by the intensifying imperatives of economic and social regulation at the highest (as well as the lowest) scales of geographic resolution (Clarke, 1996). My objective here is only to reaffirm the view that the current conjuncture offers many new and potentially progressive opportunities for political devolution to the regions, and for many new kinds of political engagement.

The widening consciousness of these possibilities is now evident in a re-opening of debates—especially in Europe, where these matters have a particular immediacy—about regional life and political engagement, including a clearly rising interest in associational democracy by means of voluntary and self-governing organizations (Amin & Thrift, 1995). Along with these debates has come a series of efforts to reassess the notion of citizenship, so that we may conceive of it not solely as a legal birthright accorded by a sovereign State, but also as a civil attribute obtained by residency in a particular place, which carries with it substantive rights and

obligations peculiar to that place. As such, citizenship would now be acquired and re-acquired many times over as individuals move from place to place over the course of their lifetimes. One immediate effect of any such reform would be the enfranchisement of the large, marginalized populations in polyglot world cities, thus opening the way for their incorporation into the political life of the community. It might perhaps even be possible to conceive of some future state of the world where individuals move from time to time, Tiebout-style, in pursuit not only of higher levels of income but also higher levels of satisfaction in relationship to the diverse social, political and cultural amenities offered by different regions in other parts of the world (Tiebout, 1956).

In any case, the emerging global mosaic of regions provides an evolving terrain for numerous experiments in building new types of local political institutions and forms of social conviviality, as well as new types of economic community. Putnam's hypothesis concerning the existence of a positive correlation between forms of local democratic participation and communal spirit, on the one side, and economic development on the other (notwithstanding the criticism that have been levelled against his over-hasty derivation of economic dynamism out of civic culture) is of considerable interest in this context (Putnam, 1993). The hypothesis, if crudely articulated and tested in its original formulation, rings true not only because active participation in local affairs, structured by institutional contexts that elicit co-operative effort and information exchange, is prone to yield more constructive results than simple withdrawal or departure—Hirschman's voice versus exit (Hirschman, 1970)—but also because co-operation and institutional collaboration are the essential leavening of competitive advantage in modern regional economies.

Note

1. This article is drawn from the book *Regions and world economy*, by A.J. Scott, 1998. The author kindly allowed us to reproduce it in this edition of *Prospects*. The article falls within the context of our research on 'living together' in a world marked by a global economy, but experiencing, at the same time, tribal, community, ethnic and regional conflicts. It therefore deals with the world fracturing into a mosaic of regions, where new types of local political institutions and forms of social harmony may develop.

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**PROFILES OF
FAMOUS EDUCATORS**

**CLARENCE EDWARD
BEEBY**

CLARENCE EDWARD BEEBY

(1902–98)

W.L. Renwick

Clarence Edward Beeby—Beeb to friends and colleagues—was born in June 1902 in Leeds, in the county of Yorkshire in the United Kingdom, and emigrated with his family to Christchurch, New Zealand, at the age of 4. Beeby became one of the great New Zealanders of the twentieth century, but always remained aware of his Yorkshire heritage. And he attributed some of the personal qualities that marked his career—the capacity for sustained hard work, determination and competitiveness combined with practical mindedness, and self confidence, including a firm belief in the rightness of his opinions and decisions—to this.

Formative influences

Beeby's academic abilities—being small and slightly built, he took little interest in team games—were soon apparent. He was one of the top scholars of Christchurch Boys High School, graduated Master of Arts with first class honours in philosophy from Canterbury University College in 1923, and was awarded one of the very few grants available to New Zealand students for post-graduate study overseas. His interests were largely intellectual: debating, drama, and serious discussion about life's purpose, leavened with student pranks as a vehicle for showing off. One sign of his precocity was that he became a Methodist lay preacher at the age of 16 or 17.

Beeby intended to become a lawyer when he began his university studies, but switched to teaching under the influence of Professor James Shelley who, as foundation professor of education, had recently burst upon the Canterbury scene. An Englishman and protégé of J.J. Findlay at Manchester University, Shelley became

Original language: English

William Renwick (New Zealand)

Director General of Education for New Zealand, 1975-88, author of *Moving targets: six essays on education policy*, and, since 1988, Honorary Senior Research Fellow, Stout Research Centre for the Study of New Zealand Society History and Culture, Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand.

the local embodiment of Renaissance man, so broadly did he interpret his subject, and so wide were his cultural interests. He presented education as a pervasive human experience that took place in all social and institutional settings, and which provided numerous opportunities for individuals to discover and nurture talents that would enrich their lives. Under the spell of his teaching, his students were imbued with a mission to bring about the fullest personal development of children and teenagers and, as a corollary, the social and cultural progress of New Zealanders. Under his guidance, Beeby and a number of other students pioneered important educational developments in the city and the province—and Beeby later played important roles in converting these provincial initiatives into national policies.

Shelley was charismatic, but he was also a man whose time had come. His vision of education was also the message of the two texts that were prescribed reading for education students in all four of the constituent colleges of the University of New Zealand: Percy Nunn's *Education: its data and first principles*, and John Dewey's *School and society*. Nunn's elegant book, with its sub-text of what must be done to ensure the survival of the fittest, stressed the primacy of human individuality and the role of education in developing it to the fullest. Dewey gave primacy not to individuality but to the nature of the experience children should be inducted into through formal and informal educational agencies. Individuals and society should not be thought of as being opposed, but interacting. Education in a democratic society should enable each generation to learn about society by experiencing it and, as a result, both individual and society should change for the better. Virtually all teachers who entered the teaching profession between 1920 and 1950 had read or been introduced to Dewey and Nunn, and shared a common understanding of the aims of education in a democracy. Thus, when first as Director of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research and then as Director of Education for the national system, Beeby began to express his reforming ideas, he could count on strong support from men and women who were also assuming positions of influence in the teaching profession.

The very small number of New Zealand students of Beeby's generation who proceeded to Ph.D. usually went overseas, most often to British universities, and then became expatriates. Beeby went to Manchester but gravitated to London, where Charles Spearman supervised his research and introduced him to Cyril Burt, J.C. Flugal, and other psychologists working in the field of human intelligence, abilities, and attainments. He also met the German psychologists Köhler and Kafka, and was influenced by their Gestalt theory.

Applied psychology and educational research

Beeby returned to the philosophy department of Canterbury College to teach experimental psychology and direct its psychological laboratory. He was gregarious, enjoyed the cut and thrust of argument and, though his religious convictions were fading, his missionary impulse was clearly evident in his determination to apply psychological knowledge to practical human concerns. His research interests were

in industrial psychology, the reformation of delinquent youths, vocational guidance and the use of educational tests. He visited the United States of America and Canada in 1929, where he met Lewis Terman, whose intelligence test he was using, Sheldon Glueck, the criminologist, Grace Fernald, who was pioneering research in remedial reading, and Elton Mayo, whose researches at the Hawthorne plant of Western Electric was adding a new phrase to the vocabulary of the social sciences. The pattern of Beeby's career as an applied psychologist was now clear: he was teaching and researching in a small university college far from the intellectual frontlines of Europe and the United States, but was forming professional links with leading men and women in the fields of his own research interests.

He had to make his first difficult career choice in 1934 when the chair of philosophy at Canterbury College and the new post of director of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) both became available. Although the latter post had assured funding for only five years, he opted for the challenge of creating a new research organization with increased scope for educational research. As director, he entered into a working relationship with the Carnegie Corporation, the American philanthropic foundation that had put up the money for NZCER and which would not only influence his subsequent career, but provide him with a model for bringing about educational change.

Through its staff and a network of experts in many fields, the Carnegie Corporation was a clearing house for ideas and innovation. Its travel grants for study tours enabled educational leaders to become familiar with important developments in their field in other countries. And by making it possible for experts from another country to work with people who had the responsibility for pioneering new developments in their own, it enabled what was later known as counterpart training to take place. Beeby experienced the benefits of these forms of co-operation during his four years as director of NZCER; he used them as a means of inducing change within the New Zealand education system when he became director of education in 1940; and after the war, as UNESCO's Assistant Director General for Education during its early formative years, he introduced Carnegie approaches into its working methods.

Equalizing educational opportunity

At the end of 1935, New Zealanders elected their first Labour government. Its commitment to educational reform was clearly signalled when the deputy prime minister, Peter Fraser, became minister of education and initiated the most comprehensive reform of the national system for more than half a century. Fraser became prime minister in 1940 and, under his leadership, New Zealand can claim to be the first country to reconstruct public education with the objective of providing equality of educational opportunity. By the end of the Second World War, when that goal became the educational leitmotif elsewhere in the Western world, the reconstruction of the New Zealand education system was well advanced.

Beeby was appointed assistant director of education in 1938 and director of education in 1940, and remained chief educational adviser to the government until retiring in 1960. The combination of Fraser's political vision and Beeby's professional leadership was unique in New Zealand's educational history. Without Fraser's commitment to removing educational inequality, there would have been no political backing for the educational reconstruction that Beeby superintended. Without Beeby's singular qualities, it is scarcely likely that Fraser's reforming intentions would have been carried out so thoroughly.

There were many reasons for Beeby's success—his razor-sharp mind, grasp of issues, belief in what he was doing, oral and written powers of persuasion, determination to succeed, and energy and stamina. He was fortunate that, as director of education, he was also a member of the Senate of the University of New Zealand, which determined policy for university education. To be successful, the government's educational reforms required close co-operation between the senate and the department of education, and Beeby, with his previous experience as a university teacher, was unusually well placed to win it. The characteristics which distinguish him as a great educational administrator were his understanding of what education ought to mean, not only in schools and classrooms, but in the daily lives of boys and girls and men and women; his ability to think of a reformed education system as a gestalt; and the supreme good fortune not only to be the right person in the right place at the right time, but to remain there long enough to give practical effect to Fraser's reforming vision.

Comprehensive educational reform is a project for the long haul, and is at risk to political changes over which educational administrators can have no control. New Zealand's reform included several changes of minister and a change of government half-way through, and the fact that the reforming agenda of a left-of-centre government was endorsed by its right-of-centre successor testifies to the confidence ministers of education of both political parties had in Beeby's judgement.

Many of the reform policies called for the creation of new institutions and educational services, and he was able to develop them without stultifying opposition from existing educational interests. The post-war increases in birth rates meant that many new schools were needed, and it was possible to create a new type of school—the multilateral post-primary school—built and staffed to give effect to a new post-primary curriculum. Vocational education at the tertiary level was, for the most part, still to be developed, and so was open to innovation without threatening the roles of the university and teachers' colleges. The voluntary organizations providing early childhood education and adult education welcomed government initiatives in their fields, and were more than ready to co-operate. And the teaching profession, rejuvenated by an influx of new recruits, strongly supported policies that most of its members thought right for a democracy. There was, of course, opposition, but Beeby was equal to it in his advocacy. The progressive education movement in New Zealand of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s owed much to many men and women, but to none more than Beeby.

Education in Third World countries

In 1945, Beeby's responsibility as the government's chief educational adviser extended to the South Pacific, first to Western Samoa, a United Nations' trust territory, and to the Cook Islands, Niue and the Tokelau Islands—territories administered by New Zealand and to be prepared for self-government. He was troubled that, after assessing the state of education in these small islands, he was proposing policies there that he deplored in New Zealand and was seeking to replace. Then, in 1946, he began what was to become an active involvement in the education programmes of UNESCO and, as he increased his knowledge of education in developing countries, he rationalized that knowledge into a theory of stages of educational growth.

Beeby made an immediate impression at the first UNESCO General Conference in 1946. As probably the only leader of a national delegation who was an educationist *and* the chief administrator of a national education system, he could speak from both direct personal experience of teaching and learning in schools and in other educational institutions, and about the challenges of reforming a national system. Elected chairman, first of the credentials committee, then of the programme committee, he stood out with his wit, sense of theatre, and skill in guiding people with divergent opinions to agreed conclusions. He played important roles in UNESCO's inner councils until the mid-1960s, and was regularly consulted as one of its elder statesmen until his ninetieth birthday in 1992.

On his retirement in 1960, Beeby was appointed New Zealand ambassador to France, and this allowed him to take a closer interest in UNESCO's work. He was elected to its Executive Board in 1960 and was chairman in 1963. He also played an active role in the early years of the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP), UNESCO's staff college for educational administrators from developing countries. He edited the first twenty-two titles of the influential IIEP series of publications, *The fundamentals of educational planning*. In the course of his career, he developed a passion for editing, and every author who had a text edited by him found the experience challenging and enriching. His crowning achievement for the IIEP was as director of its symposium on the quality of education and editor of its report.¹

By the mid-1960s, Beeby's knowledge of educational development was unparalleled. The concept of educational development in Third World countries was problematic—not in the radical sense that would begin to spur debate later in the decade, but because of the size of the gap separating Third World from industrialized countries. Well into the 1960s, modernizing under the influence of Western modes of institutional development remained the leitmotif of most Third World programmes of national development. Most of the expert input to these programmes—and Beeby's was a typical example—came from Western countries, and was rooted in its historical experience. Most of the leaders of developing countries had themselves been educated in metropolitan countries, and still took the educational institutions and systems there as the models for their own national development.

Their problems were enormous and they were impelled by a great sense of urgency. They hoped, within a decade or so, to complete educational developments that had taken a century or more to achieve in industrialized countries. The American economist W.W. Rostow captured imaginations with a model of economic growth, a key feature of which was the concept of economic 'take-off', and national planning in developing countries became dedicated to creating the conditions to make this happen. National plans were dominated by forecasts of quantitative expansion for countries whose educational infrastructures were, at best, exiguous. There were enormous gaps between the projected costs of achieving universal primary education and the ability of developing countries to pay for, or sustain, it. There was much earnest discussion of whether it would be possible to avoid the otherwise high costs of employing large numbers of trained teachers by using educational media such as television, radio and programmed instruction instead.

Beeby was well versed in this mode of development planning, and it perplexed him that, with all the emphasis on quantitative expansion, education was considered as a component of national planning but without any real understanding of its internal dynamics as a sub-culture. Among the reasons for this, the one that he felt most acutely was the lack of a body of writing that planners from other disciplines could use for guidance on the *educational* issues to be confronted in planning and carrying out programmes of national development. Speaking for educationists, who, like himself, had been immersed in the politics of development planning, he said they had been so busy saving souls they had ignored their theology.

The quality of education

Beginning with a paper for the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1961, and ending with an exchange of views with Gerard Guthrie in the *International review of education* in 1980, Beeby addressed himself to what he saw as the central conceptual issue of educational development in Third World countries: how to bring about change that would result in qualitative improvement in an education system. A period of residence at Harvard University enabled him to write *The quality of education in developing countries* (1966), the book by which he is best known internationally.²

The focus of his theory is narrower than implied by the title which, it must be remembered, was written in the mid-1960s. Achieving universal primary education and eradicating illiteracy among adults were, above all others, the burning issues at that time. Everyone involved in trying to achieve these objectives was bombarded with quantitative estimates—the percentage of illiterates, the percentage of children not receiving any form of primary schooling, the supply of teachers in particular countries and the percentages who were trained and untrained, the demand for teachers and projections of the numbers that would be needed to supply it, etc. Beeby had been an educational administrator long enough to know that this was all necessary information for planners, but he also knew that the quality of performance of an education system raised altogether different issues for which practical

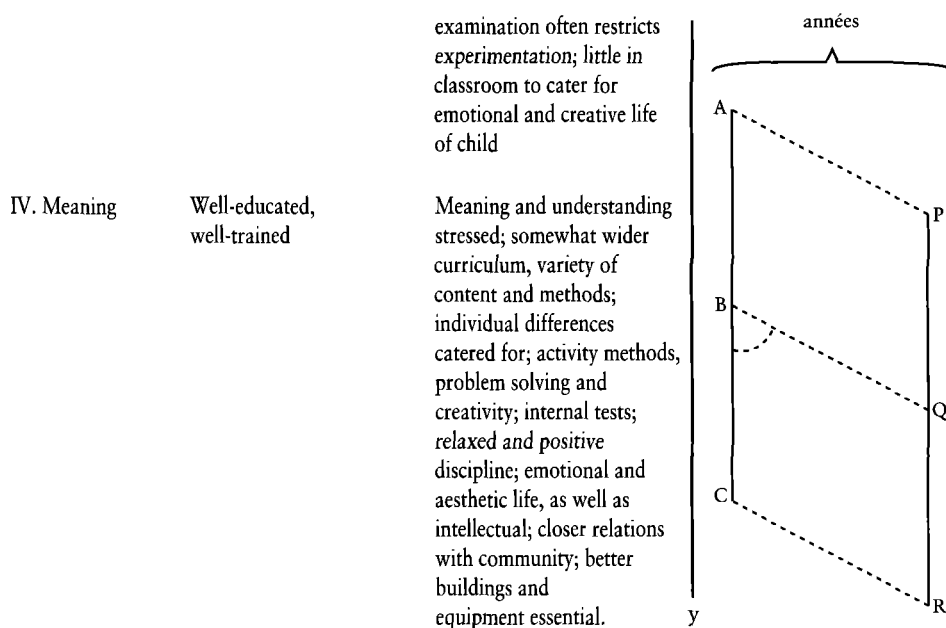
answers must be found. Of these, he singled out the quality of primary school-teachers as the most important factor in achieving the educational objectives of national development plans. He bracketed out all other educational influences that might shape children's development and concentrated on the one educational institution—the primary school—that was then the central concern of modernizing Third World governments. And he was convinced they could take no shortcuts to improving the quality of national education systems.

Drawing on the historical experience of industrialized nations since the early years of the nineteenth century, he argued that, considered in terms of the educational quality their teachers achieved, they had all progressed through a series of stages. As a psychologist, Beeby was at home with human analogies: he took his metaphor of the development of an education system not from Rostow, whose book he had not then read, but from a psychologist of an earlier generation, G. Stanley Hall, whose writings on the stages of development of children he had read during his student days.

Beeby identified four stages in the growth of a primary school system, each of them associated with teachers who differed in their professional training and whose teaching had characteristic features.

FIGURE 1. Stages in the growth of a primary school system

(1) Stage	(2) Teachers	(3) Characteristics	(4) Distribution of teachers
I. Dame school	Ill-educated, untrained	Unorganized, relatively meaningless symbols; very narrow subject content—3 R's; very low standards; memorizing all important.	x
II. Formalism	Ill-educated, trained	Highly organized; symbols with limited meaning; rigid methods—'one best way'; one textbook; external examinations; inspection stressed; discipline tight and external; memorizing heavily stressed; emotional life largely ignored.	
III. Transition	Better-educated, trained	Roughly same goals as stage II, but more efficiently achieved; more emphasis on meaning, but it is still rather 'thin' and formal; syllabus and textbooks less restrictive, but teachers hesitate to use greater freedom; final leaving	



Source: C.E. Beeby, *The quality of education in developing countries*. Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1966, p. 72

To convert this scheme from a description to a thesis, Beeby proposed two hypotheses:

- A. There is a recognizable progression in the qualitative growth of most primary school systems, and one stage, with its special characteristics, is a necessary prelude to the stage that follows.
- B. Passage through the stages is limited by the levels of general education and professional training of the teachers.

As a one-time teacher of logic, he noted that hypothesis A could be true and B false, and that changes under B are a necessary but insufficient cause of change in A.

It is clear from Beeby's discussion in *The quality of education in developing countries*, and in later writings, that he offered his thesis of stages as a first approximation to a theory of educational development. He hoped that by placing questions of educational quality in the context of plans and programmes for national development, and by proposing a conceptual framework for the analysis of educational change over time, economic and educational researchers would be stimulated to work together on empirical studies to elucidate the factors associated with improvements in the quality of education in developing countries. However, he was largely disappointed. The absence of dialogue between educationists and economists on theoretical issues of educational development had created the hiatus Beeby wanted to bridge; but such is disciplinary insularity that educationists and economists working on development issues continued to pursue their researches independently of each other. In a caustic review, John Vaizey said he could not recognize any economist

he knew in Beeby's characterization of 'the economist'. Educationists, on the other hand, found it easy to identify with 'the educationist'.³

The 'stages of growth thesis' was a brave attempt to devise an explanatory scheme that would embrace developing as well as developed education systems. But, it could not avoid criticisms associated with attempts to generalize from a mass of particulars drawn from many different countries from different stages in their development. Educationists in several developing countries used the theory of stages as a basis for research projects and, with qualifications, found it offered a useful research model.⁴ Fifteen years after it was published, Gerald Guthrie subjected the thesis to a careful analysis in *The international review of education*, to which Beeby responded.⁵ It was an urbane exchange of views.

Guthrie argued that the thesis did not offer a sound model for research because it rested on an unspoken set of values and that, conceptually, the four stages were not sufficiently distinct and could not be used as a sound basis for empirical research. Beeby countered by saying, rightly in my view, that all educational development, being directed towards objectives, is inescapably and properly normative. The exchange of views was valuable for the light it shed on the difficulty in writing criteria for the comparative assessment of education systems. Beeby agreed that some of Guthrie's criticisms of the language describing the four stages were valid, conceded that his characterization of primary schools in stage IV, the stage of meaning, gave a privileged status to his own 'progressive' values, and offered a new formulation to remove it.

It was within the education sector, especially among administrators and those involved in teacher education and training educational administrators in developing countries, that *The quality of education* made its main impact. There, it had a tonic effect. It addressed issues of great practical concern to them using a language that they understood, and it did so with sparkling clarity and on the authority of an internationally acclaimed educational administrator. Above all, it gave them arguments to use in advocating higher levels of national commitment to the professional education of primary teachers and supporting services. It was thus more as a teaching aid and as a source of justifying argument, than as a generator of research aimed at testing his theory, that Beeby's *The quality of education* made its mark.

Questions of quality must be tackled at many levels in an education system, and what characterized all Beeby's writings from 1940, when he became the chief professional adviser to a government for a national system of education, was his ability to grasp, articulate—and indeed dramatize—what must be done in the circumstances of the moment to improve the quality of an education system considered as a system. Experience had also made him wise to the many things that could frustrate the best-laid reforming plans, and he often used the image of the parallelogram of forces to illustrate their practical effect. The line of educational advance, he argued, would lie somewhere between the opposing forces of reform and resistance. People outside the teaching profession identified resistance to change with one thing, the conservatism of teachers. Beeby teased out the reasons for resistance: poorly-articulated reform goals, teachers who neither understood what was expected of them nor believed in it, the fact that teachers were themselves the product of the system

in which they worked, many of them having spent virtually their whole lives in it, the isolation of teachers working alone in classrooms, and the range of their collective professional ability.

The image of the parallelogram of forces finds its place in *The quality of education in developing countries* on the right-hand side of the chart (see Figure 1) in which Beeby set out his stages of growth. There, it summarizes the game plan of a reforming administrator intent on improving the quality of education in a system. The vertical line X-Y represents from top to bottom the range from stage I to stage IV. The 'ultimate skill of the administrator-reformer', he wrote,⁶ 'lies in his sensitivity to the factors that determine the maximum acuteness of the angle CBQ, which we might call, a trifle portentously, the angle of reform'.

Looking back from the vantage point of 1980, it was clear to him that the problems faced by developing countries were already different from those of the early 1960s. By then, secondary education was on the agenda in a way it had not been earlier. Alternative strategies, such as lifelong learning, were raising new questions for educational objectives and priorities. The search for quality could no longer be equated with the quality of a nation's primary teachers. Nor could it any longer be expected that the quality of primary education in developing countries could be assessed using a single-dimensional, cognitive scale: the apparent universality of Western educational values was very much in contention. Values Beeby had acknowledged but bracketed out of his discussion of the institutional role of primary schools—religious, ethnic, cultural, and communal values—were by then at the heart of educational debates in all countries, developed and developing, in ways they had not been in the early 1960s.

Because Beeby offered his thesis as a first contribution to theory-building in the field of educational development, it was to be expected that most of the discussion it generated would focus on its validity as an explanatory model. There has been much less interest in his hypothesis that one stage of growth is a necessary prelude to the stage that follows. Irrespective of whether his construction of stages is useful for assessing the quality of education systems, the question remains whether it is possible for a government to speed up the processes that result in qualitative improvement. That was the issue facing national governments in the early 1960s, when he entered the debate, and it remains the central planning issue for all education systems—developed and developing.

Adopting Karl Popper's principle of falsifiability, Beeby wrote that a single exception of a developing country skipping a stage in bringing its primary teachers to level four, the stage of meaning, would disprove his thesis, or at least cause it to be greatly modified. There is one very good reason why that has not happened, and seems unlikely to happen in the foreseeable future. A defining feature of all public education systems in the sites where formal teaching and learning takes place is their organization as cottage industries. Teachers with their professional expertise as their most important resource are master-craftspeople who, using the tools available to them, teach so that classes of students may learn. Teaching is labour-intensive, and the salaries of teachers in all systems are far and away the dominant

item of expenditure. So long as that continues to be the model, the quest for qualitative improvement in an education system will be measured in small increments, and the prospect of skipping stages or bringing all students up to any predetermined level in short order remains remote.

Beeby's entire career as teacher and administrator took place within this cottage industry model and, because that was the one developing countries had also perforce adopted, he focused on teachers teaching, rather than on students learning, and on classrooms in formal education systems as the essential educational site. It would have been unrealistic to expect him to propose an entirely new model because, as an experienced educational administrator, he knew he must deal with the world of education as he found it. But until there is a paradigm shift from teachers teaching to students learning, and until governments are able and prepared to invest a much larger percentage of national research and development budgets on students' learning, and how to improve and how to facilitate it for all students, Beeby's hypothesis will remain untested.

In one sense, the possibilities now opening up through information and communication technologies are the panaceas of the moment, as radio, television and programmed institutions were in the 1960s. The essential difference, however, is that by incorporating the teaching into educational software, by being able to individualize learning by making it interactive, and by being able to adapt it to the circumstances of learners, information technology offers a genuine possibility that education systems could be redesigned around students who are learning, instead of teachers who are teaching. This would require a revolution in the way public education systems are conceptualized and funded: they would have to be transformed from cottage to capital-intensive industries based on professional knowledge and expertise. Unlike the 1960s, the policy issue would not be how to replace teachers or support them with teaching aids, but how to use their expertise - first to create sophisticated learning materials, then to manage their students' learning wherever it took place. One of Beeby's maxims is that good education always costs more than bad. Experience in education systems during the thirty years since he wrote *The quality of education in developing countries* strongly suggests that a different paradigm—as well as more expenditure—will be required to bring about planned qualitative change for all learners in an education system.

Reflecting on experience

The singular thing about Beeby's life is the continuing interplay of practical action and reflection. During the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, he was an adviser to governments and international agencies on many educational development projects, and these allowed him to develop further his thoughts on the qualitative improvement of education systems. The most notable was during the 1970s as an adviser to the Indonesian government for planning and implementing its second five-year education plan. The Indonesian government engaged the Ford Foundation to conduct an external assessment of its implementation, and Beeby played a leading role in con-

ceiving, planning and carrying it out. This allowed all his professional skills to be brought to bear on a novel project of great practical importance. It was also one that needed to be handled with great delicacy, for it was unusual at the time for a developing country to subject itself to outside scrutiny of its own performance and to agree to a book being published that would record it.

The assessment of Indonesian education: a guide in planning (1979) was the published report. As always, Beeby's concern was with the qualitative outcomes of the plan, and the book is an extended commentary on the interplay of the political context of the plan, the objectives set out in it, and the many factors that shaped the outcome, an intended improvement in the quality of Indonesia's primary education. The importance of the book lies in its particularity. Educational reform is always particular to a society and its education system at a moment in time with all its constraints, and it always proceeds in a very specific political context. The book was written for Indonesian politicians and administrators, but it had a wider importance for development planners as a case study of the issues Beeby had addressed in general terms in *The quality of education in developing countries*.

Beeby returned to New Zealand in 1968 and NZCER provided an office for its first emeritus director to work from. It was a homecoming in an intellectual sense as well. Like many other New Zealand men and women, his career had been made possible by the educational opportunities the public education system had opened up for him. As director of education, he had been deeply involved in transforming equality of educational opportunity from a phrase to a reforming objective, and he had, in his post-war international experience, seen it become a dominant ideal of educational planning. He decided to sift the meaning of his experience and to write about it.

The book he wrote is aptly entitled *The biography of an idea*. There is a good deal of autobiography in it, but it is tailored to Beeby's theme. It begins with a fascinating account of how it happened that an able, imperious young academic, a successful graduate of a competitive, selective public education system, became responsible for reconstructing that system with the aim of democratizing educational opportunity. He then shows how, against the grain of much of his previous experience, the idea of equality of educational opportunity became a dominant feature in his thinking and in educational policy in New Zealand; how the idea fared in the very different circumstances of various Third World countries he worked in; and how, looking back, he assessed his own understanding of the idea during the years 1940–60 when it was one without precedent or significant experience to draw on.

What shines through, giving the book its unity, is his passion for explanation, and his determination to get to the very root of issues. The qualities that inform his account are the qualities that distinguish him as a great national and international educationist: an alliance of heart and mind in the way he conceived the questions to be answered; a probing intelligence that kept questioning both the evidence and his own interpretations of it; the ability to devise practical policies that gave expression to abstract ideas and convictions; and a gift for communicating his vision of future possibilities to others. Reading his lucid, cleanly crafted prose,

one senses why he was such an able fashioner of policies and—scarcely less important—such a skilful advocate of them.

He was also reflecting on the purposive nature of all educational effort. In criticizing his thesis of stages of growth as teleological, Guthrie had thought he had dealt the theory a mortal blow, but, as Beeby came to see it, educational myths are to educational reformers what paradigms are to scientists. The great myths of education, he argued,

win assent because they are statements of purposes, and there are few important things that can be said about education without a teleological base. Theories of education that go beyond the barest mechanics are never value-free. It is the element of purpose, often reinforced by deep feeling, that gives this type of educational myth its peculiar significance and tenacity. I have come to believe that what the paradigm is to the natural scientist, the dominant myth is to the educator. The myth offers to those who accept it the unity of a common purpose, shared belief in objectives that are not too closely defined, and a temporary and tacitly agreed suspension of disbelief—for, by definition, a myth cannot be in every sense true. In a profession where healthy scepticism is almost as necessary as faith, it is no easy business to establish such a myth. It is possible only if the myth is an expression, in educational terms, of social purposes that are widely accepted in the community; it is not the prerogative of the profession to manufacture completely new myths.⁷

By the time of his ninetieth birthday, Beeby had been justly and variously honoured for his distinguished contribution to educational innovation during nearly seventy years and had become a myth in his own right.⁸ A festschrift, an international seminar, numerous other functions and celebrations and messages of gratitude and praise from men and women from all over the globe drew down the curtain on the public life of a man who was the very epitome of a thinking educational administrator.⁹

Notes

1. Phillip Coombs, Recalling the origins of UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning. In: *The Beeby fascicles*, no. 1, p. 50-51; Jacques Hallak, Educational planning today, *ibid.*, no. 6, p. 10 and 21-22.
2. C.E. Beeby, *The quality of education in developing countries*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard, 1966.
3. J.E. Vaisey, review of 'The quality of education in developing countries', *Harvard educational review* (Cambridge, MA), vol. 36, no. 4., 1966, p. 533-36.
4. J.M. Barrington, The teacher and the stages of growth of educational development, *British journal of teacher education*, vol. 6, no. 2, 1980, p. 100-14.
5. Gerard Guthrie, Stages of educational development: Beeby revisited, *International review of education* (Hamburg, UIE), vol. 26, no. 4, 1980, p. 411-38, and 445-59; C.E. Beeby, Reply to Gerard Guthrie, p. 439-44, and The thesis of stages fourteen years later, p. 451-74.
6. C.E. Beeby, *The quality of education in developing countries*, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
7. C.E. Beeby, Introduction to W.L. Renwick, *Moving targets: six essays on education policy*, 1986, p.xliii.

8. Academic awards included an M.A. with first-class honours in philosophy from the University of New Zealand; a Ph.D. from Manchester University; and honorary doctorates from the universities of Otago, Canterbury and the Victoria University of Wellington. Professional awards included the Mackie Medal for distinguished work in education in Australia and New Zealand, the UNESCO Silk Roads Medal (1992) and the status of Foreign Associate of the United States National Academy of Education. Civil honours included the Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George, and the Order of New Zealand, New Zealand's highest public honour, which is limited to twenty men and women and of which he was a foundation member.
9. Clarence Beeby died in New Zealand on 10 March 1998.

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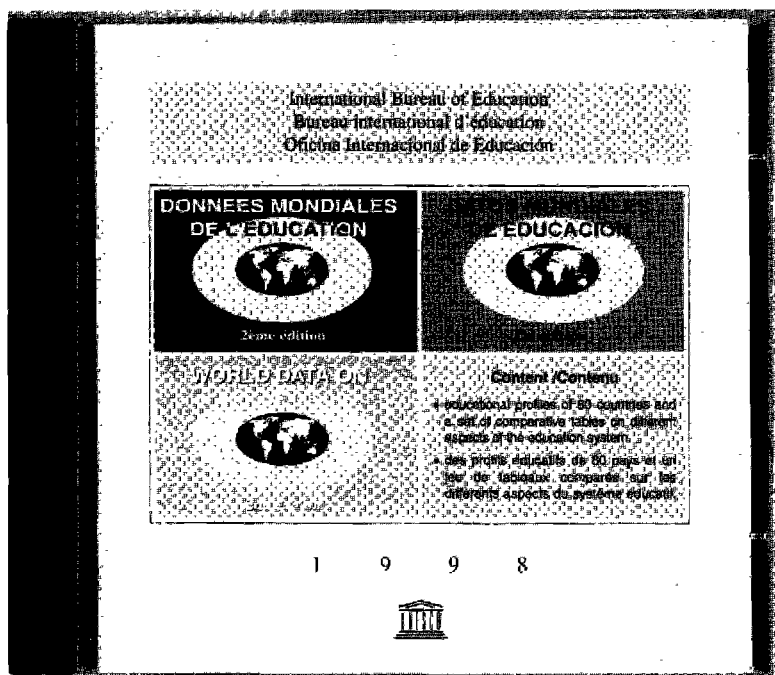
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