Introduction

In this short paper, I want to open a window on geography education in England, and to outline some of the challenges of teaching geography in England “in this day and age”. I have borrowed the phrase “in this day and age” from Professor Richard Pring from the University of Oxford, who led a team on a Nuffield research project where they asked “what does it mean to be an educated 19 year old in this day and age” (Pring et al., 2009). Their premise for doing so was to explore if there were specific expectations, requirements or issues prevalent today that require a different sort of education to the kind we have had in the past. For the geography education community in England, these sorts of issues are particularly important, and have been influential in how geography is perceived and understood. In this short paper, I:

- Summarise the dominant issues influencing education generally in England, and the effect they are having on geography education;
- Outline the historical debates prevalent in geography education in England, and their legacy for geography teachers today;
- Discuss how attitudes towards education for sustainable development are influencing how and what we teach.

Relative to many other countries, geography education holds a strong position in the UK, and in particular in England. Many countries across Europe have seen geography education come under threat as a discrete subject, sometimes tied into social studies or a humanities education that can be divide geography into physical or human sciences. Geography has retained its position as a discrete subject in England. However, it is important not to be complacent. Whilst geography may have “its place in the sun” at the moment, the world keeps turning and the situation tomorrow may be different indeed: teaching geography...
in England can change very quickly!

**The situation in England today**
I have already mentioned Professor Pring's question: *What does it mean to be an educated 19 year old in this day and age?* Pring and colleagues have explored the changing world we live in, the changing economic structures, increased technology, and the impact of an increasingly interconnected and globalized world. And they ask: What does a 19-year old school graduate need to know to thrive in such a world? This is a powerful question, and challenges the geography education community to ask: What geography do you need to be an educated 19 year old in this day and age?

The reality of growing up in England today is that we have a relatively high youth unemployment; known locally as NEETs which stands for Not in Employment, Education or Training. These are young people who have decided not to continue with their education, but have not been able to secure work, apprenticeships or other forms of employment or training. The high number of NEETs is related to the changing perception of university education in England particularly. English students have to pay up to £9,000 a year in tuition fees (about 1.7 million Yen). Many students will leave university with debts of around £40,000 (or £7.5 million Yen). Unsurprisingly then, young people are questioning whether a university education, or indeed education generally, is worth this expense. This change in the perception of the value of education has a different impact on different subjects. Geography is traditionally a popular subject for (school) students, and graduate employment data reveals that geography degrees have the most employable graduates (more so than vocational subjects like law or accountancy). However, the “market-place” for subjects is increasingly focussed around the perceived “usefulness” of a subject: or more specifically the potential for employment and or workplace skills. Numbers of students on geography degrees have remained stable, but the proportion of all students who elect to study geography has dropped.

In terms of statutory regulations, Geography education is compulsory for all young people up to age 14 in state schools. This is a good position for geography
compared to many other European countries. However, due to changes in our education structure, specifically the introduction of free-schools and academies, now more than 50% of our schools are not state schools, and therefore are not obliged to teach the national curriculum. Research into the distribution of students taking public examinations in geography (Weeden and Lambert, 2010), shows that students in rural areas are more likely to have access to geography at examination level than students in urban areas. Students in urban areas may take hybrid or vocational subjects instead. Reasons for this shift are complex, but Weeden and Lambert suggest that it is related to pressures for schools to get results and a perception that geography is a difficult subject for all students to do well in.

Assuming however, that students are getting access to geography in schools, another prevalent issue is who is teaching them that geography. Primary school teachers, who may not have studied geography themselves beyond the age of 14, may only get three or four hours of training in geography during their pre-service year, and are unlikely to observe any geography lessons during their school practicums (Catling, 2013). At secondary school, there are a worrying number of non-specialists teaching geography and concerns about how policy changes in initial teacher education could be affecting the geographical content and support that student teachers have access to (Tapsfield et al, 2015).

Recruitment of specialist geography teachers is a pressing issue. One in five new teachers leave the profession within their first year. 40% of new teachers leave before they have been teaching for 5 years. And teaching is an aging profession, with 40% of teachers approaching retirement age. In terms of recruitment, Geography is a shortage subject for prospective teachers.

So there are many challenges facing teachers in England. The situation in education generally is showing a number of shifts that is making teaching a more unattractive profession. There is an increased emphasis on accountability in schools: with increased pressures on individual teachers to get good results (which will ultimately affect their pay) and increased monitoring of individual teachers and classroom practices. Added to that is an increase in the amount and rate of change going on in schools: legislation and regulations are changing more
often and with shorter lead-in times, making it more and more challenging for teachers to consider how they respond to changing initiatives. In the words of one of the teachers who participated in my research, there is an increased sense that teachers are becoming “exam factories”, preparing students for high-stakes public examinations and are less able to teach geography in the way they feel is best for their students (Brooks, 2016, see also Ball, Maguire, & Braun, 2012).

The emphasis on teachers helping their students to get good grades, is not necessarily a bad thing. Of course we all want to students to do well. The issue for many teachers is that the emphasis is on short-term examination performance, rather than deep learning of the subject. So students are being drilled in examination technique, and are not engaging in meaningful subject-related pedagogy to enable them to understand the underlying structures and conceptual development specific to geographical understanding.

This is not helped by the rapid changes to the curriculum. Both the national curriculum, and all our public examinations (GCSE and A’Level) have been overhauled recently due to changes to government policy. The new national curriculum has shifted from a curriculum expressed by key concepts and processes to a knowledge-led curriculum. Within the geography community, this has prompted a heated debate into what knowledge should be considered core to a young person’s education, which reflects political divisions on geographical content, with the right wanting to exclude discussions about climate change, whilst the left want more emphasis on sustainable development. The questions that emerge are around what is “essential” or “core” knowledge within geography and who should decide (Firth, 2012). One of the concerns raised by research is that how the curriculum is expressed will affect how it is taught, and that a knowledge-led curriculum can lead to a superficial transmission style pedagogy that will not induct young people in what it means to think geographically.

This concern about what it means to teach and learn geography are further exacerbated by changes to teacher education, characterised by a shift towards what the government calls “school-led” teacher education. This shift means the reduced involvement in Higher Education Institutions (or universities) in teacher education. The effect is that geography teachers are less likely to be supported
by other subject specialists, and are less likely to be train alongside other
geographers: the impact has been an increase in isolated, generic training without
the guidance of a subject expert or geography specialist (Tapsfield et al 2015).
Opportunities then for new geography teachers to develop a deep understanding
of geography-specific pedagogy are becoming more limited.
The brief overview of geography education in England that I have described
above is akin to what Clandinin and Connelly (1995) have called a professional
knowledge landscape. They describe how the professional knowledge landscape
is made up of a series of “sacred stories” about teaching and about education
that can influence or effect individual teachers. These stories often make up the
background landscape to how teachers understand their professional practice
and a full of moral messages about what is perceived to be the “right” way to do
things. These stories can be difficult for individual teachers to resist, and so it is
important to understand how the geography education community has responded
to such pressures.

**Legacy of geography education in England**

In England, geography has a very strong tradition. The first recorded school
geography textbook was in 1827. Geography became a State secondary
school subject in 1902. However, in the early 20th century, geography taught
in schools looked very different to how it appears today. The purpose of
geography education was to teach young Britons about the British Empire: it was
characterised by environmental determinism (which gave way to some dubious
explanations as to why people from some parts of the world were different to
others). The curriculum was dominated by regional geography, and influenced
by patriotism, as expressed in the words of Mackinder in 1911: ‘let teaching be
from the British standpoint’. It was knowledge driven.

After the second world war, geography education changed dramatically in
response to the growth of progressive ‘child centredness’ ideas in education.
These movements fundamentally questioned the structure of the curriculum,
and as a result there was a growth in subject ‘integration’: subjects like World
Studies, Humanities, Peace Education – all of which featured geography, not as
a discrete subject but as an integrated subject alongside other humanities and social sciences. Whilst pedagogically, these developments were interesting and exciting, a major criticism of them was that they did not enable young people to develop a deep understanding of the discipline, but a more superficial general understanding of world issues (see Marsden, 1997).

This changed again at the turn of the century, with the introduction of the National Curriculum after the 1988 Education Reform Act, and then subsequent revisions (1995, 2000, 2007) to those Original Orders, which had stronger aims, but less prescribed content. More recently the influence of the National Strategies in literacy and numeracy (in 1997) have taken the emphasis way from subject areas like geography to core skills, and generic pedagogy.

The pendulum has therefore swung backwards and forwards between an emphasis on geography as a separate curriculum area or as part of general educational experience. Today, the increased marketisation of schools, and the growth of specialist schools or academies, means that this pendulum swing can be seen at a local level as well as at a national level. Non-state schools can choose how to structure their curriculum and there is generally a shift from skills and competences to more concern with academic rigour, and a knowledge-based curriculum. The introduction of the EBac (English Baccalaureate) and the Progress 8 measure, has meant that schools are now encouraging students to take ‘traditional’ subjects like Geography.

Within this melee of change and shifting priorities, the geography teacher is key. As the professional knowledge landscape shifts, so teachers have to consider how they respond to and react to the sacred stories about their practice. Having a strong sense of what a quality geography education means, and how to enable young people to develop in their geographical understanding is paramount: what new geography teachers need is a refined sense of geography specific pedagogy.

**Geography and Sustainable development**

So within all these changes how does this affect important areas like education for sustainable development? With the introduction of the new knowledge-based national curriculum, the inclusion of sustainable development was a key area for
debate. There are three influences which affected this debate:
Firstly, is the recognition within the academy of the Anthropocene: the
recognition that humans are having a significant impact on the planet, to the
extent that it constitutes a new geological epoch. This important observation
has caused a renewed interest in the geography community to educate young
people about their relationship with and impact on the environment (Castree,
2015). It is however compounded by critiques such as from John Huckle who
argue that the school subject as prescribed in the national curriculum, is not
designed to help students deal with such issues. Huckle argues:
"Too many pupils are left alienated, bored and disenchanted by geography
lessons that do not answer their need to understand their present and likely
future place in the world and how this shapes both their identity and their
Education for sustainable development has also been affected by the current
period of changing economics. The recent economic crisis has not just affected
how education is funded but also has influenced how we view our relationship
and stewardship towards the environment. Before 2008, it was popular for
people to modify their spending habits to take into account environmental impact.
For example, every supermarket chain had a range of organic foods which were
promoted on the basis of their nutritional value and their environmentally-sound
production. Since 2008, the emphasis is on value brands, with supermarkets
racing to price-cut each other, often at the expense of the environment. A recent
example would be the price of milk in the UK, which has been driven so low by
the supermarket chains that it costs farmers more to produce milk, than the price
they are able to sell it for.
When the economy is in crisis the first thing to suffer is the environment.
Decisions about sustainability, profit over quality and environmentally sound
choices are counter-balanced with questions about economic productivity and
quality of life. This affects how geography education is viewed. For example,
is the purpose of geography education is to teach young people to see the
environment as a resource to be exploited, or as a resource to be cherished and
valued?
At the same time, the life-worlds of our young people are changing. This is not just in relation to the increased use of technology, mobile connectivity, and the prevalence of social networks: such Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, WeChat. The use of technology changes our relationship to the environment and how we see the world. Children in the UK, are less likely to play outside, less likely to ride a bicycle but are more likely to have wide social networks albeit virtual ones. Some argue this is a shift from the local to the global, but research into children’s behaviour patterns suggest that these social networks are localised (Livingstone, 2009). The shift is more accurately characterised as being from the outdoors to the indoors.

**Curriculum Making**

Teachers are at the heart of these debates and more importantly are the key to dealing with them. In England, the Geographical Association has sought to support geography teachers in handling these influences and in a considered balanced way. These attempts are summarised in the curriculum making diagram, where the three main sources of energy: the student experience, the geography and the teacher’s choices about pedagogy are kept in balance to enable effective geographical learning to take place. The teacher is the central actor who can ensure that all three are kept in balance (see Fig. 14-1).

This idea of Curriculum Making is underpinned by a powerful sense of teacher professionalism, where teachers are viewed as experts in their subject, their student and their needs, as well as in pedagogy. Teachers have the autonomy to exercise that expertise and need to be trusted to do so. There is a lot of work to be done to ensure that those issues of autonomy and trust are strengthened in the English Education system today. This view of curriculum making also reflects the teacher’s control of their work, and their ability to make decisions about the curriculum, including decisions around what to teach, about pedagogy (how to teach) and how that should be brought together for their specific groups of students. This view also enables teachers to take a pluralistic, inclusive and dynamic view of geography, sensitive to influences from the academy (such as the Anthropocene) so that students are taught up-to-date and challenging
geographical ideas. But to enact these responsibilities, teachers need to be skilful pedagogues who understand the relationship between geographical ideas alongside how students can best gain access to them.

Returning to the metaphor of the professional knowledge landscape, this sense of the role and responsibilities of individual teachers is important in how teachers navigate this landscape. In my research with experienced geography teachers, I sought to find out what sustained their practice in the long term (for some up to 14 years) and through all this period of continual change. The teachers I worked with demonstrated what I have called a professional compass. If teachers' contexts are viewed as professional knowledge landscapes (as outlined by Clandinin and Connelly, 1995) then the teachers I worked with appeared to have a professional compass to help them navigate this landscape. The professional compass was made up of a strong subject identity, reflected through continual engagement with a meaningful "subject story": an expression of what the subject means to them. Results from my research suggest that successful teachers commit to a personal vision of geography education that reflects their values about their subject. These values underpin teacher's practices, and teachers work
best in an environment that shares their values. It helps them to make decisions about pedagogy that are in line with their understanding of the subject: and underpins successful teaching and learning. It is when we support teachers to teach in line with their professional compass, and their own values in teaching that they can start to be seen as curriculum makers who can ensure that whatever the debates are going on around education and schools, the students' experience of geography fully equips them to understand and be active within the world.

References


和文要約：「今現在」のイギリスにおいて地理を教える

（クレア・ブルックス / 訳・要約：志村 誠）

本稿は、1）イギリスでの教育における一般の影響を与えている支配的な課題と、
それが地理教育にもたらす影響について紹介したうえで、2）イギリスの地理
教育において広くなされた歴史的議論及び今日の地理教師によってその遺産
を概説し、3）ESDへの態度が、何をどう教えるかについてどのように影響を
与えているのかを論ずる。なお、イギリス（イングランド）で地理は独立教科
であり、他の欧州諸国と比べ強い立場・伝統を持っているが、その教授は変化
している。

地理は、伝統的に生徒・学生に人気のある教科であり、雇用データは地理
の学位は卒業生の中で最も雇用面で価値が高いことを明らかにしている。ナ
ショナル・カリキュラムで地理は14歳まで必修であるが、学校種や地域によ
り違いが生まれている。さらに、生徒が地理を学んでいたり、誰が・どのように
教えているかが重要な問題である。14歳以降に地理を十分に学んでいない
小学校教師、学校現場での外部試験成績のプレッシャー、教員養成政策の変化
により、教師という「専門職をとりまく知の風景（Professional Knowledge
Landscape）」は大きく変化している。

20世紀初頭から独立教科である地理は、第二次世界大戦後の進歩的教育思
想に対応して変化した。ワールドスタディズ、人文科、平和教育が統合教科的
に地理を特色づけることとなった一方、学問的な深い理解を発達させられない
という批判も生じた。地理を独立必修教科として規定した教育改革法（1988年）
により、地理は再び変化した。さらに近年は汎用的内容を重視する教育政策の
影響を受けている。このような変化の中では、地理教師の単純である、「専門職
をとりまく知の風景」が移りゆくなか、教師は、変化に対してどのように対処
するか常に考えなくてはならない。

これら変化の中で、ESD をナショナル・カリキュラムに含めることは論争の核であった。この論争に影響を与えたのは、第 1 にアントロポセン（人新世）への学界での認識－人間は地球に大きな影響を持つにいたっており、それは新しい地質時代を構成する程度にあるという認識－である。この認識は、環境との関係や影響について扱う地理教育界において新たな関心を引き起こしている第 2 に、変化する経済の影響である。2008 年のように経済が危機にある時、最初に犠牲になるのは環境であり経済との釣り合いが問われる。環境は、開発・利用されるべき資源として、それとも大切で貴重な資源として、教えるべきなのであろうか？第 3 に若者の生活世界の変化である。フェイスブック、ツイッターのような社会的ネットワークの普及、モバイル接続・技術使用の増加は、世界や環境とのかかわり方で変化させている。

教師はこれら議論の中心に位置し、それに対処する鍵である。イギリスでは、この鍵となる教師を地理学協会（Geographical Association）が支援してきた。これらの試みは、カリキュラムづくり（curriculum making）の図（Fig. 14-1）にまとめられる。効果的な地理学習には 3 要素（生徒の経験・教科である地理・教授教育学についての教師の選択）のバランスが重要であり、教師こそがバランスを保障する中央の行為者である。この考えは教師を教授教育学だけではなく、教科、生徒、そして彼/彼女からのニーズに精通した者とみなす強い教職専門者意識（sense of teacher professionalism）に支えられている。教師は専門性を発揮する自律性を持っており、その発揮のためには信頼される必要がある。教師は地理的な考えとともに、それら考えへ生徒がどのように接することが最良であるかを熟知した巧みな教育者（skilful pedagogues）である必要がある。

教師の置かれている状況が、「専門職をとりまく知の風景」と見なされるならば、この風景の中で教師が方向を定め進むことを助ける「専門職としての羅針盤（professional compass）」が必要である。私の研究結果によれば、この「専門職としての羅針盤」は強い教科アイデンティティにより形づくられており、優れた教師は、教科に関する自身の価値観を反映した地理教育ビジョンを持っている。自身の「専門職としての羅針盤」及び価値観に合わせて教師が教えることを私たちが支援するとき、教育と学校のまわりで進行している議論が何で
あれ教師は、地理学習体験が生徒に完全に理解され、世界の中で能動的になることを身に付けさせることを保証できるカリキュラムをつくるとみなされる教師（curriculum maker）たることができるのである。