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PRESERVATION
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GEOGRAPHY AND EDUCATION FOR A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY: PART 2

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I.S.S.N. 02657961

Design and layout *Suzanne Haycock*

Annual subscription £5 (overseas £7.50)

Single copy £2 (overseas £2 plus £1 p&p)

Notes for Contributors

We welcome your participation in producing this journal. We would appreciate contributions for any section: discussion, open space, practical strategies or dialogue. Content should reflect and seek to develop or criticise the editorial objectives as stated in the first issue.

Contributions may vary in length, according to the section of the journal for which they are intended. 4000 words is the usual maximum for the DISCUSSION section; OPEN SPACE articles are usually shorter. Typewritten scripts are easier for us to deal with than handwritten ones, but we recognise that many teachers and students may not find it easy to get work typed. Handwritten work is welcome. Please write on one side of the paper, on every other line. Lesson plans, worksheets etc. should come as they are — spirit duplicated, hand written, or typed and illustrated.

Please try to provide illustrations for your work wherever possible. Maps, diagrams, graphs, cartoons etc. should be in black ink. Photographs: the clearer the better. Size: printed size or bigger.

Referencing: we prefer the Harvard system, as used in the first issue.

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The Editors, Contemporary Issues in Geography and Education, London University Institute of Education, Bedford Way, London WC1.

'Contemporary Issues in Geography and Education' an introduction

'Contemporary Issues in Geography and Education' seeks to open up or broaden areas of debate and to examine current controversies within the discipline at all levels. The journal aims to collect and disseminate ideas and materials which help to develop a critical approach to the learning and teaching of geography. The journal seeks to promote an emancipatory geography; it seeks, in other words, to promote the idea that the future is ours to create — or to destroy — and to demonstrate that education bears some responsibility for building a world responsive to human needs, diversity and capabilities.

The publication of 'Contemporary Issues in Geography and Education' marks a new phase in the teaching and learning of geography. Major issues will be presented in a manner which is accessible to people engaged at all levels in geographical education.

It is envisaged that each issue will include articles which raise questions and ideas for discussion, and a selection of practical suggestions in the form of syllabus guidelines, lesson plans, resources, worksheets, pupil assignments and ideas on teaching techniques and organizational strategy. As far as possible and where appropriate we hope that the section of the journal dealing with practical suggestions will be in a form which is easily reproduced using simple reprographic facilities.

The journal will include alternative perspectives on the traditional content of geographical education and will present classroom materials to help illuminate these perspectives.

The journal is intended to help prove in-service education for educationists in schools, colleges and universities. It is also intended to be of direct use to students in these institutions. We welcome the participation of readers at all levels.

Each issue will concentrate on a specific theme. However, there will be open-space and dialogue sections to provide a forum for continuing discussion and the consideration of other concerns.

Forthcoming Issues: The Global Economy; Trade, Aid and Multinationals; A focus on Work and the Economy; Peace Studies and Geography; Environmental awareness and participation; Political Geography.

- to develop a critique of current curricula
- to explore the assumptions underlying much of geographical education and to make these assumptions explicit
- to examine the ideological content of geographical education in relation to its political context
- to demonstrate the relevance and importance of humanist and radical ideas for teaching and research in geography
- to promote an interchange of ideas between researchers, students and educationists in geography

- to encourage dialogue between geographer and the various groups and organizations concerned with major issues in education. We envisage that these would include groups involved in world studies, peace studies, human rights education, environmental education, development education, multi-cultural and anti-racist education, anti-sexist education, urban studies and community education, education for equality and education for political awareness and participation
- to facilitate the exchange of ideas on learning materials and classroom strategies
- to foster a geographical education which is more relevant to the present and future everyday lives of ordinary people and the communities in which they live
- to encourage the realisation of the links between critical understanding and the active transformation of the world in which we live.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN GEOGRAPHY AND EDUCATION

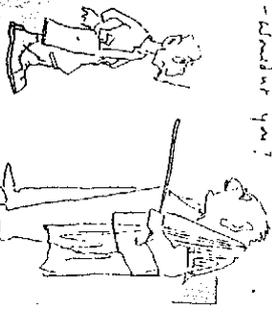
The Journal of the Association for Curriculum Development in Geography
The aims of the Association are:
• To encourage curriculum development
• To promote an interchange of ideas between teachers and researchers in the field of human Geography
• To provide opportunity for contacts and dialogue between students and educationists concerned with the political context and ideological content of geography teaching



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learn about the
Crisis for Zone Theory
of urban morphology
and take notes
note
— should it be?

Geography and Education for a Multicultural Society. Part 2

Editorial

The main focus of this issue is racism. Most of the content is intended for direct classroom use or for in-service and initial teacher training.

The status quo in Britain is both racist and sexist (see p.28-33). There can be no neutral stance on this, since maintaining the status quo is as much a political act as opposing it. Teachers and students who are not actively anti-racist, anti-sexist and committed to eroding class inequalities are necessarily helping to maintain structural inequalities.

One of the greatest difficulties in approaching the topic of racism is that many people prefer not to acknowledge that there is a problem. "There's no racism here, we treat them all the same" and "I teach in an all white school in an all white area — anti-racist teaching isn't relevant for us." These remarks, familiar to those of us already engaged with the issue, indicate that in many ways the solution if education is to play a useful part in dismantling racist ideology and practice.

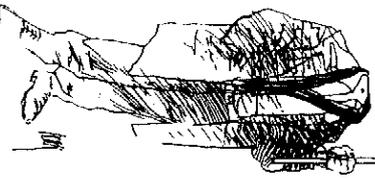
It is with the intention of helping to raise awareness that we include two collections of information about racism. These could be used as the basis of discussion in the classroom or staffroom. "Land of the Free..." (p.12 and 13) in a shocking indictment of the USA, while "Is Anti-Racist Education Really Necessary?" (p.26-29) shows that the laws and institutions in Britain operate to the disadvantage of black people. Racism is not, therefore, an aberration; racist behaviour is not merely something to do with "right-wing nationalist groups"; it permeates the whole society.

Several articles address the ways in which racist and imperialist ideologies are mediated through geographical education. Ian Cook's analysis of the history of the discipline demonstrates how British imperialism and human geographical education developed interdependently: the links between the state and schooling required that geography should promote racist imagery and a view of the world which justified economic exploitation.

We return to this theme in Dawn Gill's examination of the new school textbooks produced by Nelson for the "Geography for the Young School Leaver Course" (G.Y.S.L.). An analysis of G.Y.S.L. textbooks concludes that geographical education contributes to countries an inequitable status quo in world affairs. Non-capitalist countries are virtually written out of the curriculum; pro-western thinking is promoted with such subtlety that the new books may be more dangerous than the older, more obviously racist materials. Much of what is presented in the guise of geographical education today can be described as little more than propaganda. We present alternative perspectives through Ian Cook's introduction to recent developments in humanist and radical geography. This work is supported by a useful bibliography. The approaches suggested in this theoretical section are presented in a more practical form in relation to the critique of G.Y.S.L. materials.

Racism in geographical education is not unique to Britain. William Burge raises startling questions in relation to the content of U.S.A. as in Britain. Australian Geography teaching is equally distorted; John Fien's "Structural Silence" examines the way that way in which they are marginalised in Australian society. Anne Simpson's exciting contribution is a reconceptualisation of the issue in "The Rich as a Minority Group" she argues that a focus on race is diversionary and divisive. An explicit economic understanding of the term "minority group" is necessary if we are

KEEP POLITICS OUT OF EDUCATION



to understand poverty and deprivation. There is no point in problematising "deprived groups". We must examine the dynamics and power structure of the society as a whole and of the global economic system if we wish to understand poverty and deprivation. This article comes with information and ideas for classroom use.

Gwendolyn Warren's "No Rai Walls on Bewick" is intended for use in the classroom perhaps in connection with the statistics on pages 12 and 13. Ian Cook explains (p.4) how this kind of content can bring new insights to teaching and learning, and can illuminate an understanding of the structural inequalities which are manifested in spatial form.

Most of the content of this issue is intended to be of practical value to teacher and student, however, a series of lesson plans make up the "practical strategies" section. Jane Hardy's work is intended to provide an introduction to anti-sexist education for children in primary and secondary schools but many of the ideas could be equally useful for in-service teacher education. Chun Nok Fung's focus on "The effects of racism on Chinese kids in schools" is similarly versatile.

The "Reviews" section is intended to introduce readers to materials which we hope will be useful. The advertisements too, promote the aims of the journal; readers can assume that materials advertised are also recommended. We thank readers for their contributions to the dialogue in this issue, and welcome further participation.

Colonial Past: Post-colonial Present: Alternative Perspectives in Geography

Ian Cook
Senior Lecturer, Liverpool Polytechnic

Geography tends to present misleading images of non-western societies and cultures, as the first 2 issues of this journal demonstrate. In the introduction to this article I hope to show that geographical education reflects prevailing ideologies and state policies. The article will then present a short introduction to alternative humanist and radical perspectives of non-western societies. The final section will sketch out a framework within which such approaches can be developed.

Geography and the State: The Colonial Era

It is useful for geographers to know something of the history of the discipline since this has a continuing legacy. Victorian values still permeate geographical writings, consciously or subconsciously, particularly where they relate to black people. The growth of Geography in this country was closely bound up with the growth and expansion of Britain as a world power in the 19th Century. The Royal Geographical Society was founded not merely for scholarly reasons, but also because Geography could contribute to imperialist expansion. T.W. Freeman, for example, quotes the Society's president of 1842 as follows:

'(Geography) ... looks alone to truth as its object ... It is the mapping of the operations of war, and of all the negotiations of a state of peace; and in proportion as any one nation is the foremost to extend her acquaintance with the physical conformation of the earth, and the water which surrounds it, it will ever be the opportunities she will possess, and the responsibilities she will incur, for extending her commerce, for enhancing her powers of civilizing the yet benighted portions of the globe, and for bearing her part in forwarding and directing the destinies of mankind.'
(Freeman 1982, p.6)

It is worth examining this statement further. One can note the contradictions inherent in the quest for 'truth' and involvement as the mapping of the operations of war, 'responsibilities ... for enlarging her powers' and 'forwarding and directing the destinies of mankind'. Such objectives may be quite incompatible with 'truth' and are more likely to lead to its distortion in order to further the imperialist design. The underlying ethos is ethnocentric at best, and racist and militaristic at worst.

During the Victorian period in Britain, Geography became little more than a provider of information about other people and places; little theory was developed. Knowledge was tied to the needs of commerce and Government. Later in the century the subject became established at University level with the appearance of the new Geography from the 1870's onwards. Hudson

describes a stimulating analysis of the growth of this new Geography and shows how this was related to the economic expansion territories by the western powers. He also notes the Prussian victory over France in 1871 largely as a result of the comparatively advanced nature of Geography in France. Hudson thought to military officers, and he argues that

the subsequent expansion of the subject in France and Britain was a response to the need for improved geographical training for military personnel.

Although more theory was presented in the late-Victorian era as Geography became established as an academic subject, in Britain geographical analysis dwelt predominantly upon the role of the physical environment and society was seen to be subordinate to environment. Gregory quotes Mackinder:

'no rational (human) geography can exist which is not built upon and subsequent to physical geography.'
(Gregory, 1978, p.16)

Such an approach, with its leaning towards environmental determinism was used as an ideological buttress for imperialism and racism (Hudson 1977, p.17). The approach intertwined nicely with racism to provide a rationale for the continuing poverty of people in the colonised countries, and to highlight contrasts between the 'energetic' whites of the 'temperate' countries and the 'lazy' blacks of the 'enervating' tropics. As Kettle noted:

'Even in such favourable situations as Blantyre, a lofty region on the south of Lake Nyasa, children cannot be reared beyond a certain age; they must be sent home to England, otherwise they will degenerate physically and morally.'
(Quoted in Hudson 1977, p.16)

Hudson also quotes an article published in the *Geographical Journal* by a military explorer, E.A. Stead who contrasts the 'savage peoples' of southern Nigeria where 'the men do nothing but eat and drink and sleep and enjoy themselves. They have no physique, no intelligence; their habits are of the dirtiest description, and nothing gives them so much pleasure as the sacrifice of human blood compared to ... The Oka people ... (who) represent fine specimens of natives, and this may in a way be due to the comparatively hilly nature of their country'
(Hudson 1977, p.17).

Writings of the type quoted here were typical of that period, and led to the stereotyping of other peoples noted by Marston (1976). The emphasis upon the difficulty of tropical conditions provided justification for the processing of primary products from the colonies in the colonial heartland rather than *in situ*, and for the use (exploitation?) of cheap native labour in conditions 'unsuitable for whites. More industriously, such writings helped to provide a contrast with conditions at home and could be used to defuse dissent among the working class by lending support to an expansionist and imperialist ideology which provided opportunities for the workers to better themselves via emigration to the colonies (Hudson 1977). Taking this point further, I would suggest that the type of geographical education provided in the Victorian era gave support to the British State and to state policies of expansion on the one hand and control of its citizenry on the other. By not presenting a true picture of other cultures, by not delving into the more positive features of non-western societies

(such as communal forms of organisation, which contrast with the materialist ethos underpinning the growth of western society) and by not illustrating the richness, vitality and diversity of human culture, Geography failed (with some honourable exceptions, such as the work of Redus (Dunbar 1981) to fully educate and inform about non-western cultures. It did not, therefore, 'look alone to truth as its object', instead it supported the state ideology of Victorian Britain.

The Post-Colonial Legacy

It is comparatively straightforward to illustrate the role of Geography in the heyday of British imperialism. It is more difficult to illustrate its role in more recent decades. Some may consider that we are now far-removed from Victorian times (despite the repeated calls by some politicians to return to Victorian values), but I contend that the legacy of that period remains with us in terms of philosophy, ethnocentrism, and support for state activities expressed in geographical education. Support for this viewpoint comes from various sources. For example, the later 'new' Geography of spatial analysis had a marked utilitarian emphasis which was so typical of the Victorian period, and was 'under the influence of society's needs for spatial efficiency and regional planning' (Peet 1977, p.10). During this period, the 1960's, Geography sought to prove its worth as a modern scientific subject which could usefully be applied to help solve society's problems. The emphasis upon quantitative methods and model-building, for example, helped train the geographer in sophisticated analytical techniques which it was felt, could be used to find the optimum location of retail outlets, industrial plants and the like, and thus help the geographer to contribute to the planning process. However, the emphasis upon what Peet called 'non-vital issues' or those obviously wedded to industrial and commercial interests' (Peet 1977, p.11) deflected attention from more fundamental issues in society.

The emphasis upon 'usefulness' and 'planning' reflects a laudable objective, the contribution of Geography to the improvement of society. Unfortunately, geographers too often failed to realise, in the excitement of the 'quantitative revolution' and its aftermath, that it was not necessarily 'society' that was being supported. Instead, it was private enterprise or the State, which controlled the planning process, which were benefiting from these activities, and not the mass. Geography therefore maintained the Victorian tradition of implicit or even explicit support for Government and private enterprise. Now, many may feel that this is only right and proper, and that not only Geography, but Education in general should actively support private enterprise and government activity. What worries me, however, is that such support can lead to tensions between Geography as a means of education or as a mere tool for use by the State, issues which the Government and other powerful groups may wish people to ignore (such as 'defence' expenditure in comparison to 'social' expenditure, criticisms of nuclear power as an energy source, the role of capitalism in the underdevelopment of the Third World, unequal trade treaties, poverty in the UK) may well be ignored because of the pressures which the Government can bring to bear to prevent such issues from appearing in the curriculum. For example, consider the data presented in Table 1 and ask to what extent such data is debated in our schools.

One can take these points further. The Italian social philosopher and activist, Gramsci, developed the argument that, in advanced capitalist societies, the overt military control of a totalitarian system has been replaced by a more subtle control of ideology exercised by the whole apparatus of the State. This apparatus includes the legal system, mass media and education system, which combine to present views which stress consensus and harmony rather than questioning and criticism of state activities. Within the education system, one can suggest that Geography too has in the past not been sufficiently critical of state policies and designs, and has tended to ignore certain issues which are logically part of the discipline's subject matter.



The encounter: exploitation of the colonies went hand in hand with the development of racist social systems. This picture of slaves of cotton ready for shipment to Britain and America, from a 19th-century engraving, is typical of what was happening all over the world.



Neo-imperialism?

TABLE 1
'OPPORTUNITY COSTS'

In 1982 world military spending was over \$650,000 million — the entire income of 1,500 million people in the 30 poorest countries.

Less than half the daily spending on arms would have been sufficient to complete the WHO's programme (currently held up for want of funds) to eradicate malaria from the world.

The cost of one fighter aircraft could inoculate 3 million children, at \$3 per head, against the six most common childhood diseases.

A single tornado would buy permanent clean drinking water supplies for nearly 150,000 people.

One year's defence contracts to American universities were 30 per cent more than the entire education budget of Pakistan (pop 84 million).

In the West itself, the cost of one nuclear submarine and its missiles could provide 100,000 working years of nursing care for the elderly.

Source: A. Wilson, 'The Disarmers Handbook', Penguin, 1983, p. 178.

As an example of the latter, consider the whole area of development and the ways in which the discipline has treated the issue. The environmental determinism and racism of Victorian thought is no longer so obvious in the modern era (although as other contributors to this journal have shown, their legacy lives on in more recent textual). Instead the focus has shifted towards what has been termed the 'social environment' (Goodenough 1971). In this approach, subtle and insidious approaches, the focus has changed from explanation of population growth or mortality in terms of the physical environment, towards the search for high birth-rates or the perpetuation of

TABLE 2

'SOME CONCEPTS ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANISTIC GEOGRAPHY'

Sense of Place: the area which a place presents; its ambience. Reflects the subtle interaction between people and places. Stonehenge, for example, has a strong sense of place whereas a modern shopping centre would generally have a weak sense of place.

Private/Public views: our private views of the world are essentially difficult to communicate and share with others; in contrast public views are more readily communicable and shared.

Topophilia: literally, 'love of place'. Term coined by Yi-Fu Tuan.

Lifeworld: each person lives in a particular world, which is not readily understood by outsiders. One task of humanist geographers is the interpretation of the lifeworlds of others.

Reflexive explanation: a contemplative route to explanation which may involve attempting to suspend one's natural or commonsense view of reality.

Empathy: the ability to fully appreciate the other person's world or viewpoint; to put oneself in their shoes.

Behavioural Environment: the world of meaning and human action.

literature in order to better understand the 'sense of place' which people have (Pook 1981), and the meanings which people give to place. Alternatively, one could study art, poetry, and other cultural features in order to interpret English Landscape Tales, as David Lowenthal and Hugh Prince attempted to do (Lowenthal and Prince 1985). Another alternative is to move away from formal questionnaires towards informal interviews, in the way that Jensen has recently attempted in his qualitative analysis of retelling (Jensen 1982). For teachers, John Fien and Eric Brough provide examples of ways in which the teacher may develop such ideas in the classroom (Brough 1983; Fien 1983).

Humanist Geography would seem to have great potential in schools. Many of the problems faced by Black people and illustrated in the first 2 issues of this journal could be illuminated by humanist methods.* As the Joint Council National Criteria Guidelines suggest, developing empathy for non-western peoples and cultures would be a worthy objective for Geography. As geography teachers we could do much to dispel the intercultural ignorance and fear which is so widespread in Britain, and in Britain's interaction with other countries. Humanist perspectives will be illustrated more fully in future issues, but for the present certain weaknesses of this approach should be borne in mind. There is a tendency, for example, for some humanist studies to degenerate into the study of esoteric examples using esoteric methods which can deflect attention away from more important concerns in society. I have sought to point out some of the dangers involved in the use of literature in Geography, for example, via an analysis of the writings of D.H. Lawrence (Cook 1981). On the credit side, Lawrence's conflict writings can be used to enhance our understanding of such themes as the impact of industrialisation and urbanisation on a previously rural area. Using literature in this way may increase awareness of what Lawrence called the 'spirit of place'. However, the conflict between Lawrence's parents led him towards an antagonism towards his mother father; there is, in consequence, an anti-working class and sexist bias in many of his novels. If we as geographers are not wary of such bias in the writings of Lawrence and other novelists then we may unwittingly foster stereotypes and thereby replace the stereotypes which we currently present with new ones.

TABLE 3

'SOME CONCEPTS ASSOCIATED WITH RADICAL GEOGRAPHY'

In conclusion: if used carefully, humanist alternatives can enhance our appreciation of, and sensitivity towards others. If misused, they can easily lead to what can be called 'formless relativism'. In which little attempt is made to place different views of the world into any coherent framework. Smith provides a useful critique of this procedure (Smith 1979). Perhaps humanist approaches can be used to illuminate certain areas which can only be understood through a radical analysis.

Dialectics: tensions or contradictions between opposing forces. One of the tensions between 'thesis' and 'antithesis' comes 'synthesis' or the resolution of these contradictions.

Dialectical Materialism: the view that human existence determines consciousness of the world. Given that existence is a reflection of the organisation of society around a particular economy or 'mode of production' then, ultimately, one's role in the mode of production determines one's consciousness.

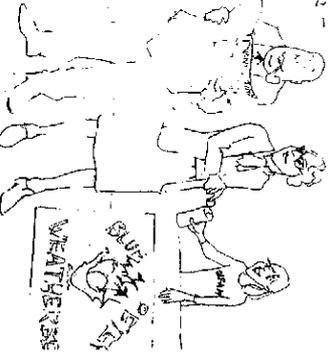
Imperialism: the control of one country by another. More recently, the term was applied to a particular stage in the evolution of Capital in which control is economic rather than political or military. Term is similar to 'colonialism', but later implies direct rule.

Neo-imperialism: the modern version of imperialism, in which a country is controlled by another via socioeconomic and political forces by old or new imperialist powers. For example the way in which US multinational companies dominate industry in certain South American countries can be described as 'neo-imperialism'.

Exploitation: radicals argue that profit is accrued via exploitation of people or resources, with insufficient money being paid for services, materials or labour. Capital accumulation by one group results in poverty for other groups.

Uneven Development: the inevitable outcome of capitalism's unceasing quest for profit. Spatial and social inequalities develop between classes, countries or areas.

NOTE
*OF MAIN REASON
FOR ANTI-STATE
FEELING WILL BE
TOO!



*Gwyneth Wynne's biography, p 14 to 17, has been provided in this issue as an example of the kind of material which could be used. We stress that such material should not be used outside of an analytical framework. If misused it may merely foster negative images.

Radical Alternatives

This approach, too, has witnessed recent resurgence. It can also be traced back to the anarchist geographers, Kropotkin and Reclus, who combined radical and humanist elements in their writings. Its more recent growth is related to the work of Peet and his colleagues who founded the radical journal of Geography, *Antipode*, in 1968. As Peet wrote in the introduction to a set of articles from that journal:

... other young geographers, propelled into a heightened state of social awareness by the events of the middle 1960's, noticed that the fine new (quantitative) methodology was being used only to analyze such socially ephemeral matters as shopping behavior and the location of service centers.' (Peet 1977, p. 10)

The growth of the Civil Rights movement, urban (racial) riots and the reaction to the Vietnam War stimulated the rapid growth and expansion of radical geography in the United States. Also, geographers such as Buchanan and Brookfield, involved in the study of the Third World, were influential in promoting radical ideas. Others of note include Bunge, who built up the practice of taking 'expeditions', not into 'darkest Africa' but into the ghetto areas of Detroit and Toronto in order to work with local people; and David Harvey whose book *Social Justice and the City* (1973) was highly influential. This book charts Harvey's move from a 'liberal' perspective to a radical one, while his recent major text attempts to develop Marxist economic theory in a way which is designed to be of use to geographers (1982). I have attempted to present a short introduction to radical geography in the recent book edited by John Huckle (1983), and Table 3 presents some key concepts in this perspective.

Radical and humanist approaches share a critical view of spatial analysis as currently conceived. They differ in that humanists rely upon subjective methods of interpretation, whereas most radicals believe in the objective tenets of dialectical materialism. As defined in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, dialectical materialism:

'holds that all phenomena exist objectively and independently of human perception and that reality is reducible to matter... men's (sic) mental and spiritual life, their ideas and aims, reflect their material conditions of existence.' (Micropaedia, p.518)

Given that these 'material conditions' reflect the particular 'mode of production' dominant in society, and given in turn that the dominant mode is currently capitalism, then radical geographers begin their analysis of society via an understanding of the workings of capital. This starting point may lead to radical and humanist ideas being incompatible with each other. Personally, I would suggest that they can be reconciled, perhaps on the lines sketched out in the final section.

Radical geographers seek to understand spatial patterns, via analysis of social structure. This contrasts with the conventional approach which seeks to understand spatial patterns via understanding of 'spatial process'. To give an example, consider urban land use. The simplest model of urban land use is the Burgess model shown in Issue 1, in which land use is conceptualised as a series of concentric rings around the centre of the C.B.D. Beyond the C.B.D. is the 'Zone in Transition', then comes the 'Zone of Working People's Homes', then the suburbs, the commuter zone and so on. The spatial pattern is the ring-like pattern, and the spatial structure is one in which different groups in the city are segregated by class or race into different areas. Explanation of this spatial structure is sought via understanding of 'distance-decay mechanisms', the desire of working people to minimise distance travelled to work. Notions of 'invasion and succession' are also thought to be important. The model derives from ecological perspectives, but the processes at work are deemed to be spatial. Thus the process whereby each successive immigrant group 'flows' into the centre and 'pushes' the previous group further out is a 'spatial' process. This combines with the desire for more space, a better environment etc. and a willingness to 'trade-off' proximity to work for these factors. In all, then, in this interpretation, the geographer understands the outcome via understanding of spatial

... radical geographers may well recognise a similar pattern in the 19th Century Manchester, for example. For example, the radical geographers' view of capitalism and the need to understand the city. There are

contradictions involved in this process, with the desire to attract labour conflicting with the need for investment in the necessary infrastructure required for this new workforce. In general, it was left to slum landlords to profit from the labour force by letting overcrowded and poorly maintained property around the city centre. Sivanandan (1981) illustrates this process. As the labour force organises, the establishment is forced to make concessions in terms of improved wages and living conditions. Certain groups eventually overcome the constraints upon them in order to leave this inner city 'twilight zone' for better conditions further from the centre. However, not all groups can overcome these constraints; black people in particular may be obliged to live in the ghettos near the centre. In this interpretation, then, the spatial patterns are understood via understanding of social processes rather than spatial ones.

This last point must be taken further, for it is suggested that social processes reflect the structure of particular societies, control of power by particular groups in society, and the consequent exploitation of the mass of the population by the few who are in power. Human Geography has begun to focus more closely upon spatial inequalities in recent years. Radicals argue that spatial inequalities are not some pale reflection of spatial process but are the inevitable consequences of the profit-making system of capitalism and of the social structure which sustains and legitimises it. To eliminate the spatial inequalities which are manifest at all scales in different areas, regions and countries, requires, therefore, changes in this social structure and in capitalism itself.

Alternative Perspectives on Non-Western Societies

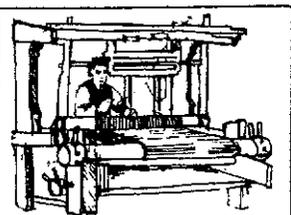
There are many implications of the points made in these last two sections. If we wish to develop appropriate ideas and methods for the study of a variety of cultures then we need to combine the contextual understanding which the radical critique provides with an appreciation of people's lifeworlds. Firstly, it is necessary to move towards an analysis of the processes of underdevelopment and the role of capitalism and colonialism in actively underdeveloping large parts of the globe. The British, among others, exported goods and ways of life which disrupted the indigenous cultures of the colonised (and uncolonised) countries. This had marked long-term effects upon their economies and ways of life. For example, export of cotton goods from Lancashire almost completely destroyed the Indian cotton industry in the 19th Century, and was one of the major reasons why Gandhi and others attempted to revive the tradition of cotton-spinning in the 1920's and 1930's. As part of the 'civilising mission' noted above in Section one, an indigenous elite were educated in Western values and Western norms. This elite largely developed, in the words of Fanon, 'Peau noire, masques blancs' (Black skins, white masks) (1952) and distanced themselves from their own people.

The colonised countries' economies were warped and distorted via the penetration of outside forces, as Walter Rodney illustrates (1974). Frantz Fanon's book *The Wretched of the Earth* is a highly moving account of the effect that this process had upon the relationships between people in the colonised territories (1963). Many countries developed 'dual economies' of the type summarised in Figure 1. As the diagram shows, the colonial centre exploits the colonised periphery by importing cheap products from the export-oriented mining and plantation sectors (run by the colonisers) and exports expensive manufactured goods to the 'periphery' in return. Control of trade was very much in the hands of the coloniser rather than the colonised; thus its unequal nature was perpetuated and exaggerated as time passed. The export-oriented sectors developed a cash economy, which replaced the mainly barter-economy which preceded it. The role of the city was also of importance; the city in the colonised periphery was often founded by the colonial power (Singapore, for example, or Lima). Cities served as centres of control and of exploitation of the hinterland as goods were channelled through them. Smaller urban centres grew up further inland, but in general the major city was coastal and became a 'primate city' much larger than the next city in the urban hierarchy. Within the urban centres tremendous

The old pattern of trade had been turned upside down. In the past, it had been the other way round.



European traders used to go to India to buy the best cloth in the world; damask, muslin, velvets, cotton of all kinds.



But after the Industrial Revolution in Britain enabled the Lancashire textile factories to make a great deal of cotton cloth by machines, they wanted to sell it abroad.



The British government, now ruling India, taxed Indian cloth in such a way that it was cheaper for Indians to send raw cotton to Lancashire to be woven; it was then sent back to India as cloth!

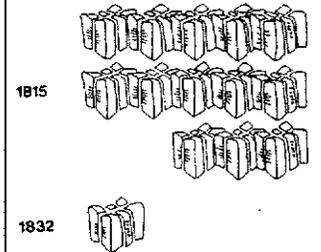
In this way the Lancashire men and women got jobs, the British cotton merchants and shippers got the profits, and the Indians went out of business. Britain got richer, India got poorer.

From J. S. Stewart *The Unequal Third* (Edward Arnold 1977), one of the few school textbooks which focus on colonialism and neo-colonialism. The book is reviewed on p. 40, Issue 1 of this journal

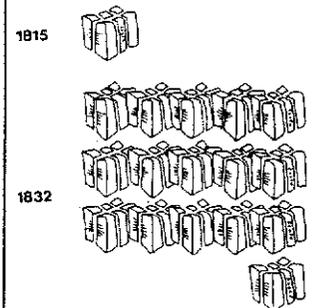
Changes in Indian and British Cloth Trade

Between 1815 and 1832 cotton exports from India fell 13 times while cotton imports into India from Britain rose 16 times.

Indian Exports to Britain



British Exports to India



- *What effects did this development have on the lives of people in Britain?
- *What effects did it have on the lives of the people in the colonies?
- *What might happen to the land where the people used to grow food—what might be grown there now?

contrasts were to be seen between the office blocks, banks and commercial warehouses of the 'formal' sector and the subsistence 'informal' sector of the slums, shanty towns and the bazaar economy.

These contrasts were mirrored in the lifeworlds of different people in the colonised countries. For example, there were tremendous gulfs between the polo-playing officers of 'The Raj', the entrepreneurs (Chinese perhaps, or Gujarati) brought in to act as 'Middlemen' in the colonial economy, and the indigenes who clung

to a precarious living in the urban or rural subsistence sectors, or on a low wage in the mining and plantation sectors. Little was written about the latter groups for the histories and geographies of the people in the periphery were rewritten by the colonial power. The largely oral or dance-oriented traditions of the indigenous people were superseded by other forms of communication. Frantz Fanon and Walter Rodney both describe this process of rewriting, which we can refer to as 'cultural imperialism' for it deprives the indigenous people of their native traditions.

Racism in Geography

by William Bunge

Racism has a long history in geography. Even such an outstaring geographer as Haskinler was infected with it. Today, with the knowledge of many tropical empires in mind, the professional geographer can hardly help but guffaw at claims that the Tropics produce lower intelligence. In fact, civilization has never been this far North before and considering the way we blond, Nordic, super-duper types are conducting ourselves in this world, this might be as far North as anyone takes it. The myth of innate inferiority of the Slavs has been hard to sustain in the face of the traumatic defeat of World War II and the recent space tests. The Jews are obviously great. The evidence is so overwhelming that some racists now claim the Jews are racially superior in order to reinforce the Principle of Racism and, besides, these same racists might feel that in the last generation they burned up enough Jews to reduce their 'threat' to insignificance compared to, say, the Negroes.

'The entire idea of 'discovering' someone smacks of arrogance.'

Unfortunately, blatant Hitlerian theories are not the only forms of racist expression that find their way into geography. More subtle and difficult forms exist: it is these hidden trends, so deeply imbued in our culture that they are often subconscious, to which I wish to draw the attention of my colleagues.

Robert Alexander, then a fellow graduate student at the University of Washington, used to tell the story of a Negro member of an expedition in Southwestern United States. This man was so infected with white chauvinism that he claimed that he was the first white man to climb a certain mountain on route of march. Not only does racism infect Negroes, it infects Caucasians even more deeply. Alexander would then point a picture of the Royal Ethiopian Explorers Society becoming fascinated with the 'Problem of the Rhine'. It seems no Ethiopian had ever navigated that river past the first cataract. The Ethiopians therefore mounted an expedition to discover the source of the Rhine by paddling up stream, claiming all hands adjacent thereto, bestowing titles on the natives and so forth. Hilarious versions of Alexander's turnaround have a serious side.

Consider the arrogance of the old globe that used to decorate my grandfather's library in La Crosse, Wisconsin. As a child I was fascinated by it and twirled it slowly, looking intently and letting my imagination carry me to the places under my finger. On this old globe rather large areas in the Arctic, Antarctic and Africa were in white colour and marked with a mysterious 'unexplored'. I dreamed of exploring there. In retrospect this harmless fantasy has its less innocent side. 'Unexplored' by whom? Surely the people that live there were not lost. Somehow through my childhood culture it seemed that it was the shame of the people in those areas, Eskimos and Africans, to have not been discovered. How backward of them for us not to have found them. The entire concept of the 'Known World' comes into doubt. Every tribe, including those to whom our ancestors belonged, has a 'Known

At the time of writing this Dr Bunge was assistant professor in the Department of Geography at Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan. He can be contacted now via the Society for Human Exploration, PO Box 100, New Haven, Quebec, Canada.

World'. Some of these 'Known Worlds' were larger than others. It is doubtful that the Europeans had the largest. 'Known World' over most of history. The Chinese, the Incas, the Arabs and the Hausa had enormous 'Known Worlds'. In the end, the Europeans, with the help of local guides, completed the job of conventional exploration but even here there are tremendous distortions of geography.

Not only are the great explorers of other countries ignored, such as the various Chinese expeditions, but certain out-and-out falsification dominates the education system up to and including some graduate schools. For instance, did the Europeans, especially Portuguese, Dutch and English, really 'discover' East Africa, India and Indonesia? Did not Mohammedanism reach Jikarta before Christianity? In fact, is there not evidence that the Portuguese were not the first to travel around Africa, rather the Arabs and perhaps the Phoenicians, travelling from East to West.

The entire idea of 'discovering' someone smacks of arrogance. Discovery is always mutual. For us to maintain that Marco Polo 'discovered' China is a bit like Stirling Bull claiming he 'discovered' Washington, DC, on his trip there. Italy was a poor and relatively backward place. It was not just the splendour of the Chinese court that made China the Land of Opportunity compared to Italy. China had a higher standard of living. Its farmers were better off. Italy with its tiny squabbling states and the even tinier state of Venice, a pip squeak, place no bigger than a minor sub-province of China, hardly discovered China.

Consider the racism and arrogance of the term 'Darkest Africa'. Dark to whom? The great empires of Western Africa? Timbuktoo had a higher form of government, law, and, some claim, religion in 1400, than Paris.

What about Darkest America? Have we adequately mapped our poverty, mychings ... need I go on? Has exploration ended? Does the mapping of the mountains, rivers and coastlines end the job? Notice how, when Caucasians give diseases to native peoples with low resistances, it seems the Natives are weak compared to the Settlers; a sort of 'Caucasian Darwinian satisfaction' is somehow conveyed to the child. It's too bad those Eskimos, Indians, or whoever, just couldn't stand the disease we

'The whole subject of human migration is only partially taught.'

while men so easily handle such as smallpox and TB. Survival of the fittest. But when the shoe is on the other foot, when the Natives give the Settler the disease, such as the diphtheria that syphilis, evidently a gift from the American Indians, caused in Europe before immunities developed, such denigrations are because the dirty people gave us a dirty disease.

In some cases we simply revert to an out-and-out environmentalism and dub our white biological collapse the Cold Russian. This is similar to the German explanation that the Cold Russian Winters were defeating them. Was it warmer on the Russian side? 'Inferior Whites are overcome by mild diseases here in the Congo since Bannin and God bestowed powers of resistance on we Chosen Black People'. How's that for turnaround? And what about the 'Yellow Menace'? The 'Yellow Menace' indeed, it is the whites who have expanded their population from 15 per cent to 30 per cent. It is the whites who have conquered and ravaged much of the earth's surface. The human race faces the 'White Menace'.

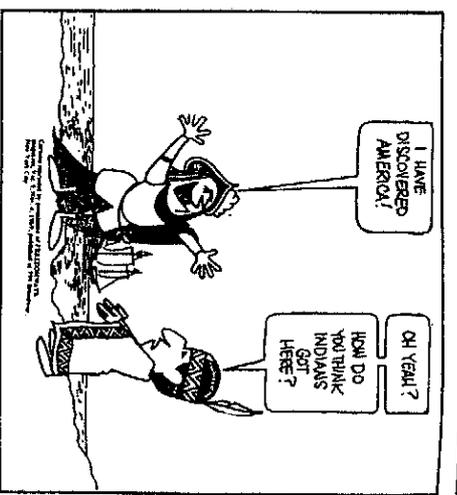
The entire matter of Settlers and Natives needs exposure. Natives are the people who were called the Settlers by the people who were there before them. In South Africa the situation is confused. The Whites and the Bantu both were migrating into the area at the same time. This made the Bushman the natives. The American Indian is obviously a Native of Asia and a Settler in the New World. Americans seem to attach great importance to the length of their families' time in this country, very similar to the whites in the Union of South Africa, provided their ancestry does not go back too far! The whole subject of human migration is only partially taught.

It is a geographical fact that the blood types from Europe to Africa shade off imperceptibly. Why indeed are Italians swarthy? We almost all refute Hitler's pure race theory. This means that we accept an impure race theory. If all our ancestors could come to life in one place would all of them be white? If eighty-five per cent of Americans of African ancestry have white blood, do not Whites have African? After three hundred years of cohabitation have no Negroes passed as white? Why has geography been so negligent in producing a map of race mixing in this country? It might be interesting to see a map of race mixing in this country? In America is not a white country. With the new diffusion techniques in geography why not map the races of the future? When and where will the last blond or black person live, with appropriate probabilities attached, of course?

'Perhaps teaching the geography of America's settlers would open too many questions.'

Why is it that almost every child knows where the English Americans got off the boat? Plymouth Rock. Yet almost none of us is much English and no one seems to know where anyone else got off the boat. Sophisticated geographers can tell you the Germans disembarked in Baltimore, but what of the bulk of the American people? Where did the Poles get on and off? The Africans? Are not the Africans our forefathers? Perhaps teaching the geography of America's settlers, both voluntary and involuntary, would open too many questions. Who did contribute the most to our culture? Would you describe 1965 America as more akin to our Puritan or our Ashanti forefathers? How maps from Africa, Puerto Rico, Ireland and Russia please.

Somewhat, by no seeming design, which is the most convincing way, we obtain the childhood impression that historic geography has always shone on our personal biological ancestors. Unless we are Italian, and even then hardly for sure, we were not at the



Pope's side defending the Holy from the Barbarians. Our ancestors were the Barbarians! Our naked and savage ancestors sacked and raped the Civilized World. Somehow we gain this strange historic-geographic dream that 'our' people were in Western Europe starting with the Renaissance. Before that 'our' people were in Rome building great roads. Before that 'our' people were in Greece, not as the large group of slaves, of course, but sitting around the temples calculating the shape and size of the earth. The torch of Civilization just followed us about the map, didn't it? How incredibly naive, yet I insist this is the emotional, intellectual impression that 'somehow' our American culture passes to its young.

This is a polemic with a purpose. If any readers share, even in part, these misgivings or have others they wish to raise, please write to me so that we can consider further action. For instance, if enough support develops, we can petition our Association to commission a study group leading to missionary work among the nation's school systems. Perhaps the International Geographical Union or the appropriate agencies of the United Nations could be enlisted. Whatever you suggest.

This article was first published in 1965, in 'Crisis' Vol 2 No. 8. Sadly, there was no response to the article. Bunge feels that there has been little change in American geography teaching since that time. Eds.

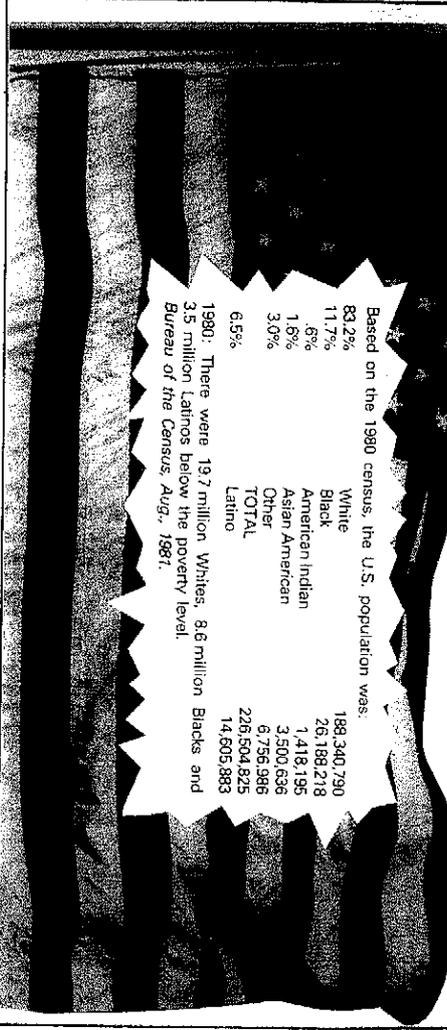
An appreciation

Out of William Bunge's PhD thesis came the work, 'Theoretical Geography, a brilliant attempt to reinterpret geography, particularly human geography, as spatial science. This innovative work was not published in the USA at the time, probably because of its originality. Instead it was published as the first paper in 'Series C, Studies in Geography: General and Mathematical Geography at the Royal University of Lund, Sweden. This appeared in 1962, and by the time of the second, revised version in 1965 Bunge's reputation as an original and creative thinker was firmly established.

However, as racism in Geography illustrates, the Vietnam War — had him away from conventional approaches to the discipline. He believed at the time that it was geographers task to explore and map not 'Darkest Africa', he argued, but 'Darkest America', the began to work in Fitzgerald an inner city area of Detroit. There he hit on the Detroit Geographical Expedition and wrote 'Fitzgerald: Geography of a Revolution' (Schrenkman, Caroling, Mass 1971). Essentially a radical humanist work, 'Geovision: A New Geography' (Bunge, 1972) 'Poverty Zones', 'Val Stairs', 'Skin leaching soils' (with a high content of broken glass and sharp metal), etc. 'Geovision: A New Geography' (Bunge, 1972) 'Poverty Zones', 'Val Stairs', 'Skin leaching soils' (with a high content of broken glass and sharp metal), etc. 'Geovision: A New Geography' (Bunge, 1972) 'Poverty Zones', 'Val Stairs', 'Skin leaching soils' (with a high content of broken glass and sharp metal), etc.

By 1971 Bunge had been selected from his teaching post at Wayne State University, assistant, for speaking in lectures. He is adamant that he was asked for his political views, and claims that he was forced out of the USA into Canada. He feels that he is lucky to be alive. He writes in personal correspondence: 'There was one big prison humanist geographers for which they pay such a price. We shall do our best to honour this commitment. Bunge's own work remains exciting and controversial; he deliberately blurs the distinction between emotion and academicalism, arguing strongly (for example in 'The Nuclear War Atlas', see p. 23) issue 1 of this journal) that to divorce academic work from sense and feeling is inhumane. William Bunge can be contacted at The Society for Human Exploration, 15 Rue Sacre Cour, Athabasca, Quebec, G8P 5Y2.

Land of the Free ...



Black/White Income Gap

In 1983, according to the Census Bureau, the median income of Black families was 56% of that of Whites. That figure did not change appreciably until 1984. Between 1984 and 1989, the median income of Blacks rose to 63% of Whites' income. Since then, the gap has widened steadily, and the most recent census tabulations show the ratio at 57%.
New York Times, 2/6/81

Earnings

The gap between earnings of White and Black professionals is as wide as ever. According to a recent National Urban League study, 57% of white professional and middle class families earned over \$15,000 a year in 1977 compared to 30% of Blacks in the same category. This 27% gap is down only one percent since 1967.
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Spring, 1981

	% White	% Black and Other
Higher Income		
Accountants	91.6	8.4
Stock Brokers	96.7	3.3
Engineers	93.7	6.3
Lawyers and Judges	97.4	2.6
Lower Income		
Assemblers	84.2	15.8
Laundry and Dry Cleaning Operators	75.1	24.9
Packers and Wrappers	80.8	19.2
Cleaners and Servants	46.0	54.0
U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1980		

Black Unemployment

Government figures show Black unemployment having hit 16.2%—the highest since Washington began compiling such data in 1972. The rate for Black and other minority teenagers hit a record 45.7%.
U.S. News and World Report, 7/4/81
More as many Blacks were jobless in 1978 as in 1968.
New York Times, 3/7/2/79

Youth Unemployment and Education

1979: Black dropouts were twice as likely as White dropouts to be unemployed, 32% versus 16%. Black high school graduates were over two-and-one-half times as likely as White graduates to face unemployment. While additional schooling partially offsets unemployment difficulties, it does not have the same impact for Blacks as for Whites.
U.S. Dept. of Education, 1981

Black Expulsions and Suspensions

Black students comprise 16% of public school enrollment, but accounted for 29% of suspensions, 27% of expulsions and 29% of all corporal punishment cases.
U.S. Dept. of Education, 1981

Supreme Court

Most workers at the Supreme Court are White and male, with a token force of Blacks clustered at the lower levels of employment. Each of the 9 Justices has a messenger to run errands; all but 1 of these are Black. Of the 8 courtroom attendants (pages), 3 are Black.
New York Times, 1/6/79

Police Brutality

The police use of excessive force and particularly deadly force is a major problem in minority communities across the nation... the use of excessive force and abusive authority by police has become a national problem. Records show that many police abuses are, in reality, actual criminal offenses. Evidence also suggests that police abuse of minority citizens comes close to being an organized practice within some departments... between 1950 and 1973, blacks represented approximately 45 per cent of more than 6,000 killings by policemen... Hispanics were most probably counted as Whites in these statistics.
National Minority Advisory Council on Criminal Justice, 1980

The U.S.A. is clearly a racist society. For information about Britain, see pages 26-29

Sentenced by Race

According to the *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics*, Whites receive an average sentence of 53 months for the federal offense of assault. Minorities, however, receive an average of 65 months for the same offense.

Death Penalty by Race

A detailed study of homicides in Florida over the period 1973-1977 showed that the taking of a Black life, even by another Black, was one-and-a-half times as likely to be punished by death as the taking of a White life. Yet, a Black who took a White life was five times as likely to receive the death penalty as a White doing the same thing.
National Minority Advisory Council on Criminal Justice, 1980

Of 385 persons on death row in the U.S., 97% were in Southern prisons and half were Black, although Blacks comprise less than 1/5 of the South's population.

Mortality Rate

1978: BLACK WOMEN die in childbirth at a rate almost four times that of White women. Black women lack prenatal care at a rate twice that of White women.
Children's Defense Fund, 1980

State of Minority Health

INDIAN MALNUTRITION — It should be remembered that disease, malnutrition and obesity were foreign to the aboriginal Indian. Today most elderly Indians are affected by these problems, with malnutrition heading the list.
Insights on Minority Elderly, 1977

Life Expectancy

NAVAJO MEN: Life expectancy for men on the Navajo reservation is 44 years compared with 67 nationally.
New York Times, 2/4/79

Infant Mortality

NAVAJOS: The infant mortality rate on the Navajo reservation is 8% compared to a national rate of 2%.
New York Times, 2/4/79

Children's Death Rate

The INDIAN SUICIDE rate is twice the national average. On some reservations, it is 5 or 6 times the national average, with rates tending to be highest among young people.
New York Times, 2/7/78

Black Aged

1979: There was 1 Black doctor for every 728 Black persons, compared to 1 White doctor for every 494 White persons.
Children's Defense Fund, 1980

Only 3% of private, government-subsidized housing is inhabited by the Black elderly, though 8% of the elderly population is Black.
National Center on Black Aged, 1977

Discrimination in Housing

Rental audits conducted at some 40 randomly selected apartment complex and private rental sites in urban and suburban areas of Summit County found that prospective Black renters can expect to encounter racial discrimination 3 out of every 5 times they apply for housing.
Trends in Housing, Aug., 1981

Navajo Housing

More than 82% of the homes on the Navajo reservation do not have indoor plumbing and 80% are without water and sewer facilities.
New York Times, 2/4/79

N.Y.C.

Although the overall number of substandard rental units has declined, the percentage occupied by Blacks has risen. 7.5% of Black households live in housing units which lack facilities, compared to 1.7% of White households.
New York Urban League, 1981

Television Writers

There are 65 Black writers belonging to the 4,410-member Writers GuildWest. Almost 90% of all Black comedy shows on TV were written by Whites. ABC's highly profitable "Roots" series had no Black writers in its production and reportedly only one Black director for one segment.
Black Enterprise, June, 1978

"American Blacks are facing an ongoing process of genocide. The infant mortality rate for American black babies is higher than fifty seven percent of the world's nations. Harlem's 4.3% is typical and is as high as the rates in El Salvador. The blacks are third world regions in the midst of a nation teeming with luxury yachts."
William Bunge 1983

No Rat Walls on Bewick

An Autobiography

Gwendolyn Warren Feminist and Folk Geographer, Santa Cruz



Well, the kind of neighbourhood it was, you had piles of kids. The house had two bedrooms and an attic for sleeping, and you had to go outside and upstairs to get to the attic. There were eleven people, my mother, my father and my grandfather, all living in that house.

The whole neighbourhood was infested with rats, and not one house within blocks of there on either side had a rat wall. And that is where I got my thing about rats. I was ten, in fifth grade.

When you move into a new house, they usually paint the house. We had just moved from Ruessdale which is down close to Van Dyke where all the bums and everything else was living, so we were supposed to be stepping up in class, closer to the white side and further west than we were. We knew we would be crowded but it was bigger than the house we had just moved from. And the school was not far out and it was lucky for that because we had been used to walking twelve blocks to school. So we moved in.

And we used to have mice, little dirty mice. I was really freaked out by the little animals, but they did not bother me that much. I could still sleep and eat and come into the house. It happened about six months later. These mice matured into rats. I guess the rats just ate off the mice. It all just changed overnight in the whole neighbourhood. The whole place was infested. And these were not those little rats, the kind you see in encyclopedias. Water rats, slight front, bodies and eleven inch tails, those were the kind of monkeys living over there. We had a lot of cats hanging around there and you could see the cats and the rats fighting on the curb, on the front porch, in the street. If you are sitting down at the table eating, do not turn your head to look at the TV — the rats would be on the table. They would leap up off the floor, onto the chair and onto the table and grab a piece of meat and run and jump back down. And they would not run and hide with that meat. They would look at you and eat your dinner at your foot. The first time we had a TV, we would sit in the living room and we would sit on the floor and look at Bonanza when it first came on and all the kids in the neighbourhood used to come down and we used to be sitting around scooping the box and these bad boys — you used to put your hand down on the floor because we did not have any furniture but we had a carpet which we thought was cool — you would find somebody sitting on your hand. And there is this rat, weighing a good four or five pounds sitting right there like a little puppy, a little German Shepherd puppy.

Me and my sisters, Sharon, Mylene and Jeanline, and my two brothers stayed upstairs. And my mother, father, grandfather and two older sisters stayed downstairs, and we used to have to go outside and up the back stairs to get to bed. I mean, getting up those steps. The monkeys used to sit on top of the steps and when they were nice you could just take a brown and bam it and they would run, but they did not do that any more. They would just look at you. And there was not any stamping your feet and making them go away because they would not go.



When you used to go to sleep at night you could hear them. And that was one of the reasons that all the Warren kids used to pee in the bed because we didn't go down those stairs to go to the bathroom, because when you put your foot on the floor, they were there. We used to sleep four in the bed sometimes instead of sleeping in different beds to protect each other. They used to get up on the bed. My sister got bit in the ear and I have a scar on my side. They would get in your bed at night and they bite you to eat meat. The heaviest experience I ever had with a rat was once I was sick. But I never went upstairs by myself. Whenever anyone else decided to go to bed, that was when I went to bed. My mother would be by ourselves and we would just sit in the living room with all the lights on in chairs with our feet drawn up. We had to sit in hard back chairs. We could not sit in cushion chairs because the rats would lay babies in the cushions of the couch and we were really terrified of them. This time, I got sick and I was going to go upstairs to bed. I just could not sit up. So I went upstairs, got into bed and it was really comfortable. I went to sleep and for some reason I woke up, and to this day I do not know what woke me up, but when I work up he was looking me dead in the face. Just like this close.

I just freaked, completely. I jumped up and I was walking backwards off the end of the bed shaking my head saying, 'This ain't happening, and I went off the end of the bed, backwards, and hit my head on the corner of the dresser with the whole impact of my body falling backwards on that dresser, on the edge of it, but do you know, I did not feel it till the next day. Because by the time I hit the floor, I bounced. I was up and running and I jumped in Sharon's bed and she told me to get up, that I couldn't sleep in her bed and I said in a whisper, 'There are rats in my bed, OK?' She said, 'No. So I slept on top of the chest of drawers that night. In Black neighbourhoods, it is much different with kids playing together than it is in white neighbourhoods. The feeling is different. I went to school with white kids in elementary school but it was not the same. Every Black was sisters and brothers. We had something in common. At seven o'clock, we would be up and on the street sitting on the corner on the store stand. Everybody was there. And everyone was leaving for the same reason. You had to get out of the house because they were going to start arguing. You did not want to stay there because all you wanted to do was get your clothes and beat the rats out of the door. You know you were not going to eat any breakfast. No need to hang around for that. We used to all get together on Jack's store and pool our money and go in and get potato chips. And then we used to go over to the baseball field where we used to play baseball. Every summer, Parks and Recs would bring people out who would be nice to you and give you ping pong balls but make you leave your coats there in exchange for it, or your shoes or something very valuable — all you had in the world — in case you lose their little dirty thing.

At night, we stayed outside. And we did not play around the house like some kids play hide and seek around the house. When you do not have a rat wall, you do not play hide and seek around the house. You play around the cars or around the trees but do not get too close to the house because at night the rats come out. And they would walk up and down the steps, just like little people, and just do their thing. In bed, it was their house. At night, we used to go on Clifford huns. Clifford is what we called our rats — Clifford. That was just our family name for them. Everybody gave their own rats a name. The Richards, who used to live down the street from us, used to call their rats, The Jones. You know about the Jones having more than you have got, well, every time you used to get something, the rats would take it if you had food, they would eat it, if you had clothes, do not hang it up in the closet because they would tear paper, put it in the pockets and the lining and have their babies in them in two weeks. So we used to hang our coats out on the front porch. And your shoes, when you wake up in the morning and have left your shoes beside your bed, first thing you do before you put them on, you throw them at the wall and if there is anything in them they will run out and several times you hang them against the wall and a rat or somebody came out of your shoe.

So we used to go Clifford hunting. And we would only do this when everyone was at home, like my brothers and sisters. And my mother is terrified of rats, too. I think this is why she has two jobs. That is not the real reason, but it would help! The rats used to stay in the kitchen and the back porch so if you go into the refrigerator the rats would be in there. We had an old refrigerator and the door would not close right in the food cabinets we had on the back porch, they would gnaw holes in the wood. They would crawl up in there and eat the flour, sugar and potatoes. They would just eat everything. So we used to go on hunts at night. We would go into the kitchen and everyone would get a broom, mop, shovel, baseball bat, and some people would get up on the stove, on the sink, up on the refrigerator, chairs, then you would cut the light out. And you would leave it off for about ten minutes and you put some bread on the floor and they would come out, and then somebody would tick on the switch and just go to work. And we used to sweep up with seven or eight big rats every night, that you had to shovel up with a shovel. There was not any sweeping them up on a piece of cardboard and you could not flush them down the toilet. They were the kind you threw out in the alley. And in the bathroom, they would get up on the toilet and be crawling around the edge of the tub and they would fall over and if there were water in the tub, you used to see dead rats around there sometimes. Just sick stuff like that.

I do not like rats, specifically. Also, I do not like cats. I can look at a cat and I will not really have nightmares about it, but I can not stand it when they come near me. The cats and the rats used to be fighting. And you would see cats walking down the street with rat hairs in their mouths. You could see cats asking rats in vacant lots. And you could see them just nip them to pieces, if he could beat him. He could not beat him if a cat went up to a pack of rats. He would always get whooped. Cats never came around the alleys because the rats were too heavy around there. The alleys were rat domain, and the cats did not go in there.

The only thing that could put a rat down was a dog. There must have been thirty German Shepherds in that neighbourhood. Black folks love German Shepherds and Great Danes and Doberman Pinschers. We had two German Shepherds. They used to chase the rats. If a dog caught a rat, he would not eat him. He would kill him and leave him there. But a cat would sit there like a little nasty yammi and have blood dripping all over the place, which was really gross when you tried to eat. On Ruessdale, the place we moved from, we did not have any rats, but they had cats, thirty, forty cats in the backyard at night running wild. They used to jump on kids, if your windows were open, they just went all in your house. In the cabinets, if you had babies' milk, they really would go after it. They would lick babies in the face. They are really nasty animals.

Everybody loved dogs, if there were dogs around, the cats and the rats would not be in too much control because if you had a big dog he could keep the rats at least away from your bed. I can honestly say that even though we had lived in places that were smaller than Bewick, where the school was much farther, I can not say I have ever lived in a place where I was hungrier than Bewick, or that I was more raggedier than on Bewick. I used to wear snow pants to school. It is summertime, June, and we are hopping along in snow pants, gaiters, boots, and it got to be such a pattern, all the kids would do it, the teacher used to ask, 'Won't you take off your snow pants? Won't you take off your boots?' but pretty soon she just got the hint that you did not have anything else on, so don't be asking to take it off. We did not have any other clothes.

They did not have hot lunches in school. You could bring your lunch and eat in the lunch room, but since we did not have any food, what we used to do, we use to tell them we were going home to eat lunch and then we used to go home and sit up and look at TV for the forty minutes and then go back to school. Everyone was always sick because we were not eating anything. You did not eat breakfast, and you did not eat lunch. You probably ate one meal a day, usually that was comprised of baloney and bread, or beans and corn bread. But that was the basic meal.

I have stolen from the store one time in my whole life. That was when I was living on Fairview, down near Southstream. It was a pretty nice house. It was really super crowded but it was warm. When you talk about a 'pretty good house' in the ghetto, you mean one that is solid. If they put storm windows in and the ceiling was not falling in, regardless of what color it was or how it was built, it was a nice house if it was warm. It was a pretty nice house, but we were really hungry. It was going to Lombard Elementary School which is almost all while elementary school. We were hungry. God knows we were hungry. So my sisters, Mylene and Sharon, they used to go to the store and steal bananas and eat them for lunch. It really gets bad every time some one else coos off of you and you ask for dyes and they do not want to give you any and they give you a lot of mouth service. Because you were hungry too and you just did not feel like begging. So this time, I was going to get my own Hostess Twinkles. I am really afraid on the inside, and I put those Hostess Twinkles under my coat and I got to the door and the dude picked me up, just lifted me up off the ground — DROP THAT HOSTESS TWINKLE! I pissed all over myself. Don't put me in jail. Don't put me in jail. Don't put me in jail. I just started crying and Mylene and Sharon who were also in the store at the same time, pleading said 'Let my sister go.' All right, I'll let you go, but I don't ever want to see you back in this store again. (I thought then that this dude was letting me off for murder for free!) If I ever see you on Mack again, I'll call the police. I'm six, you know? The just blew my whole life so I ran home crying. I was really shook up and from that day on I have never stolen anything from the store. Not that I did not want to and not that all my buddies do not, and not that I see anything wrong with it, but basically, I'm a chicken.

In elementary school, everybody is copping food. And then they start with things like a yo yo, hoola hoops, jacks. You want to play with them. Then when you get to junior high school, you are still wearing your brother's pants and you are a girl, you start going out to department stores and copping skirts. Nothing expensive, I have friends that go there and steal underwear. They do not have any. When you are in high school, then you start stealing fashionable clothes. By the time you get to college, you are a professional. It starts with stealing food and as you get more socialized it goes with social needs. Pretty soon, you are copping cars. Take the girl for a spin on the weekend.

I moved from the East Side when I was eleven. We used to run in packs on the East Side. Life was more dangerous on the East Side. When my mother told us we were moving to the West Side of Detroit, we thought we were moving to Bloomfield Hills. Even now, things that people do to people to meet their needs on the West Side's not like the East Side. It was like a jungle on the East Side. You get down there on the East Side on Warren and Canfield and Ingot, people are heavy; they were deep. They were doing some stuff if you would not believe. We had a patent thing for the police.

We kept moving into bigger houses, and we had less kids because everybody was growing up. But when we had so many kids, we could only live in small places because we could not afford any more. We were living on East Grand Boulevard. And we were up in class. They have now converted it into a convalescent home, but it was really a huge, nice, out of step pad. Of course, we could not foot the bills and that was when we started our parties. And a panic is, one, no food in the house, absolutely none. We used to eat corn bread for dinner. We could take a dollar and buy two packs of beans, a package of corn bread and a stick of margarine and feed the whole family. One dollar bill. We used to live like that, seven dollars a week. We could survive; it had just gotten down to that. We had a little gang going around there and it was a lot of the kids from the old neighborhood. I was seven. Those were hard times. We were not eating anything. And you did not get dressed up to go anywhere. My brother, Martin, was fifteen and never had a bike and that is when he went out and copped him a bike because he wanted to ride one. He did not even know how to ride.

This lady who lived right next door to us had this Great Dane. She was white. And she used to serve her Great Dane ground beef. We were watching her go to the store, go to the meat counter, get this food take it home, cook it, and give it to her dog. And what we used to do, while one person entertained her dog, the other would steal her food. And we used to eat like that. And we never saw anything like that on the West Side. You did not even talk about it either because once you moved from the East Side, you hardly ever mentioned you were from the East Side of Detroit. Because the Black people would say, "You from the sticks, huh? Because they know what the deal was — the jungle."

I was talking to a white graduate of Michigan State University and she was telling about how she was just horrified when she first went to State and she had to figure out what kind of classes she was going to take and what she was supposed to do about her program. She just did not know what she was to do. And she really wished her parents were there to help her through and get her registered and talk to her academic adviser about her career. I remember when I was in the first grade, Sharon registered me in school; I was in 1 (b) and she was in 1 (a), nine months older than me, and my mother, my older brothers or sisters never registered me in school since then. We moved about every six months and every time we went to a new school, I filled out all my own forms and my parents never put me in school. I did my own forms in school. Even registration this semester at State, I knew kids whose parents were up there. And I was saying, "Wow! Talk about lame, I can not imagine it! Oh my God! It's just mind blowing! Black little kids just go through all the formalities by themselves, even picking up your records."

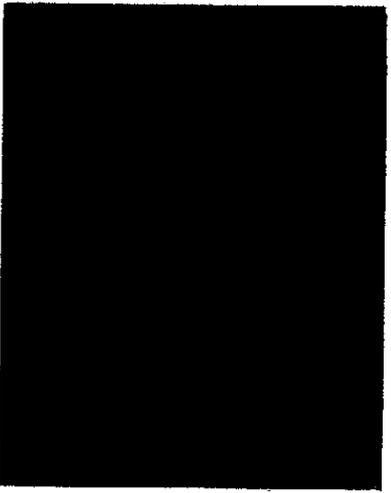
There was one thing about living on the East Side that I did not encounter on the West Side and that was the distance between houses and school. When we lived on Bewick, the elementary school was only two blocks away, which was cool. When I went to Foch, that was a good two miles and we used to walk in the rain, in the dead winter time; we used to wear this little jacket and we used to put two shorts on, your brother's socks and gym shoes, and we used to walk down Warren to school. My God, there was the days.

And you went to school because it was always warm there. I never skipped school when I was on the East Side.

The rats, the hunger and the cold, the natural elements — those were the monkeys. Not the people. Everything that was going on, you knew what was happening. Whoever killed Jack, who was running the party store on the corner, you knew his older brother, you knew the dude. And you knew he did it. You knew he was

probably going to do it. You knew who ripped off the hardware store. When Reggie Hardest* and all of them used to be down Snooker's Pool Room and everyone was pulling out forty-fives and shooting each other, the pool sharks used to come down there and set each other up; me and Sharon used to wait outside the pool room door cause my brother, Walter, used to be in there all the time. It did not bother me.

We used to walk down the street and we knew everybody. Everybody was somebody else's older brother or younger brother whom you went to school with. I was not afraid of crime at all. Especially if you are a kid with a large family. You do not fear anything. I had too many older brothers and sisters to say necessarily protect me but nobody else knew that. As a matter of fact, they never did help me in a fight. Sharon let me get beat up once.



People in the suburbs are looking at what is happening in crime as the outcome of this situation. They are not looking at the causes of the situation. And if you are in the situation, you know it makes you do certain things. One of the heaviest things was when we were living on Bewick and Walter got sentenced to go to Jackson (State Prison). But I understood why he did it. I was living there. By that time, there were all those kids, and my two older sisters had kids. Walter was married and had a child; my mother had had a heart attack and was at home and father had run off some place and Walter was the oldest man in the house at seventeen. He had dropped out of school at thirteen. He could not get a job. Three weeks before then, Sharon, me and Melvin had just got out of the Receiving Hospital suffering from malnutrition. What was he going to do? He went out and he stole to get some. Cause we did not know he had stole — right? And he came home one night and this guy just came walking in the door smiling. Like a Chester cat. We wondered "What's the deal?" And he just came marching in with groceries, bags, and bags, and bags. And I think that within two days we must have eaten half of what he had bought. It was just the fear that it was going to go away. And we just started eating and everybody's jaws were bulging. What else you got over there? I swear it. We just started eating. Melvin was in junior high school and Walter brought him a suit and we really dug Melvin's grey suit because Melvin never had a suit before. And we used to go up and down the street and tell all our friends how cool our brother was because he had a suit. And Melvin was going to be in the play, and she was a cheer leader, and she was working in Chet's, the ice cream place, and she wanted to go to college. And Walter bought her some clothes so that she could go to school and be dignified.* Because at that time there were about twenty percent Black at Southeastern and the rest were white and these whites came from the suburbs some place because they would drive up in their new cars and all their pretty clothes and the Black folks would be coming off of Warren and Shoemaker

and Mack; all of them off of the welfare roles, and they put them all in the same school. And at that point, we wanted to get in tight and do things and you could not do it because you were too raggedy, and you probably smelled bad because you had not had a bath because you had no water. Those were some of the heavy experiences of going to school. Everyone used to talk about your appearance.

I always had ring worm from not washing my face. And, of course, they tell you, you can wash your face in cold water. I do not particularly care for cold water. And if the water happened to be cut off we used to go to the park to the city park, with buckets at night. Me and Sharon had a little water-pail and would go to the fountain and fill them up with water so we would have water to drink in the house. That was in the heart of the city.

The thing that we used to say all the time was, "We may not be as smart as white folks." We used to believe that, you know — "We might not be as smart as them, and we might not drink as good and live in the best place, but we can beat them." The thing that kept us going was that we were madder than Hell. Just mad. Ten of us could beat an army of them, because we had just that much hate built up. You know that physically you could beat them. They told you mentally that you could not do it but there was one thing they could not lie about and that was that the hate inside your fist could break a damn jaw and you knew it. And they feared you for that.

The thing that kept you going was the whole thing of survival. Everyone just wanted to survive. And people did it in a whole lot of ways. A lot of people who wanted to survive took the man's road. They went to working for the man. Not in terms of becoming teachers and getting a college job, but in terms of pushing dope, numbers. They were still getting over. They were trying like Hell. That was the only way they knew how. It is not their fault as far as I am concerned. If they are not aware of what is happening now we can tell them, run it on them, and they can change their ways. But right then it came down, "I'm going to eat because I'm going to deal in the numbers. I'm going to make me some bread."

You had other things, the eligible young bachelor. All right, in the White community he may be the guy with a college education with the most prominent future, right? "The eligible bachelor" in the Black community is the guy who has got him a gig at the factory. Not a post man, not a store clerk, not a college student, but a guy who has got a gig at the factory, and you know damn well he is going to get a check every Friday. Every girl, from the age of fifteen on up, they hawk him, you know. And you survive by getting married at the age of sixteen so you can leave your family so your parents do not have to support you but your husband does. And that is how you start and you just keep going. Every sister I've got, got married like that.

We had a lot of things going for us that we enjoyed. One of the heaviest parts of living at home on Bewick was when you used to walk down the street about twelve o'clock at night, and it is really black outside, so you can not really see the dirt, everybody is sitting on their front porch and from one end of the block to the other end of the block everyone is singing. That was the beauty.

Little kids used to walk down the street harmonizing. Just like an opera, the whole place was lit up with sound. That was the thing. That was the part I really dug about it; the music. Because if there was not a radio going or a record player going, in this area block there must have been sixteen singing groups. In this area block, hood kids and everybody would try and out sing each other. And they would rehearse and they would practice and then they would go show off by walking from one end of the corner of the block to the other, just singing. And they would dress up and put on their best clothes and walk down the street and sing. And it was cool. It was cool. It was really cool.

On the main drag, like Warren, you had to be older to hang out on them. You had to reach a little more maturity to be accepted out there. But when you were below sixteen, you hung out on the side streets. But when you got to a certain age, you were cool enough to get out there, and when you got out there, you were somebody. I mean you were not anybody to the world, but you were somebody to us. We had a lot of idols. Of course, all of them are in jail now, but we had a lot of idols.

As far as the Warrens are concerned, we got over, it tickles me, cause I think we got over too. I do. We are all patting each other on the back. But the thing that got us through it all was that we stood together, maybe not as a whole total community, but as a family we did, and the thing that kept us together was the mother, naturally. She kept us together. I am not going to holler any Horatio Alger, because it did not happen like that. Everyone in my family got over because they were dealing like Hell. They did their time; they served from dope pushing, to number rackets, to rip off; they all did it. But they all said, "Look, I know what happened to me when I was a kid and I'll be damned if it's going to happen to my kids. And they do not care what they do. I have come to realize why my preaching Black politics to my family just does not work. Because they have got one thing in mind, 'My kid is not going to go hungry. And if he has got to go to a doctor, I'm going to take him to the best. So I am not going out here and fight the man so he can kill my ass and then my child is going to be sitting in some orphanage home or have to live with some old relative who is still down there in the ghetto. So they prefer to live quiet lives and work for people to assure their kids' future, with no risks. They do not want to take a chance. Looking at it from one perspective, it is good. It is healthy. The kid is going to survive, they know. But what we have got to do is figure out an alternative so that both of them will survive. That will be cool."

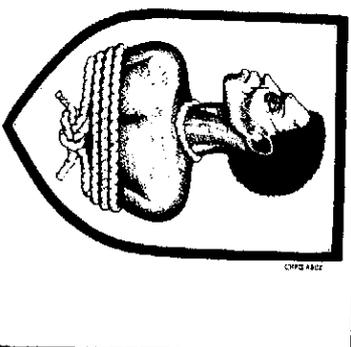
But I think the next generation of Black kids, we will all be Elites, because the people in the city are working. I can remember times when brothers were holding down two jobs, one at Chrysler's times one at Ford's, and then went out and got him a job for Kentucky Fried Chicken delivering chicken on weekends; putting money in the bank, or to buy a house, or to pay a doctor bill, or to be able to drive a new car. Detroit has changed a lot. But I would say that the city is the exact same for a kid living on the East Side of Detroit now as it was ten or twenty years ago. I do not think that is changed because I have been over there and there is still a family living in the house that we lived in on Bewick with no rat wall. No rat wall.

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The Rich as a Minority Group

Anne Simpson

Multi-cultural Education and Development Education focus on the poor. However, the dynamics of the situation are determined by the rich. In order to understand poverty and deprivation amongst groups at the local, national and international levels it is necessary to examine wealth and privilege. In order to understand powerlessness in some groups, it is important to focus on the ways in which power is maintained by others.

This article argues that we need to revise our thinking about minorities. The rich is a minority group which deserves specific attention. An explicit economic understanding of the term "minority group" enables us to disassociate culture from ethnicity. This reconceptualisation makes clear that "multicultural education" has developed along other axes — class, gender and region — we can see that a focus on race alone is, by its very nature, divisive.

Teachers these days have a hard time fitting in all the deprived groups they're meant to teach about. However, there is one group above all others that deserves attention.

The rich. They are the most important minority group of all. Whether we are trying to understand the dynamics of deprivation, or any other aspect of society, their actions, ideas, assumptions, failures and successes — are paramount. There is a plethora of research and observation on the poor. Social science has had a virtually pathological interest in those who lose. It's time to stand current advice on its head and look at those who win.

There is nothing new in this idea. R.H. Tawney wrote over 50 years ago:

'A student of poverty will be wise to start much higher upstream than the point he (sic) wishes to reach; that which thoughtful rich people call the problem of poverty, thoughtful poor people call with equal justice, the problem of riches.' (Tawney 1931)

It tends to be, of course, thoughtful rich people who fund or carry out research, write or provide textbooks. It should come as no surprise therefore that there is very little information available about this minority group.

"Multicultural education" has added to the stream of information about the deprived under the heading 'minority groups'. However, it only takes a quick glance down any list of the disadvantaged to realise that they in fact form a majority of the population. Women, the working class, old people, even the Third World have been presented as examples of 'minority groups'. The term 'minority' is now commonly defined to mean not the 'favoured' but those without access to power. David Hicks in his teaching handbook on minorities quotes two definitions which make this clear, and says himself:

'It is interesting to note that in neither of these definitions is there a reference to numerical criteria. Certainly the size of a group may have some effect on its status, but it is lack of social, political and economic power that are the key elements here: in South Africa under apartheid most of the population suffers from minority status. (Emphasis added) (Hicks 1981)

By riding the term of its reference to numbers we are confined into thinking that it is actually a numerical minority who are disadvantaged. Secondly by associating the term minority with disadvantage we forget even to look at the privileged, who do in fact number very few. The *New Internationalist* opened its editorial on minorities with the following question and answer:

'When is a minority not a minority?'
When it's a privileged elite. (N.I. 1983)



Someone has smelled a rat. It is clear that those who suffer from a lack of social, political and economic power, make up the majority of the world's population. But the terminology masks the situation it seeks to describe. It enables us to labour under the illusion that there is a privileged, perhaps homogeneous, majority and a series of underprivileged minorities whose deprivation can be addressed in isolation from the system within which they are disadvantaged.

It must be acknowledged that the privileged are a minority, and one that warrants attention. In order to understand poverty and deprivation at a local, national or international level, it is necessary to examine wealth and privilege. In order to understand powerlessness for some, we need to look at the means by which power is maintained by others.

It is an extraordinary act of double-think to confront the majority of powerless people with the term 'minority'. It is a politically explosive assertion and realisation that they are in fact a majority, and that this majority is relatively oppressed, powerless and undervalued.

It is said that teaching about minority groups should focus on those who are culturally distinct, be this in work, leisure, family life, values or behaviour. The advantage of introducing the rich into the spectrum of multicultural learning is that we start from an explicit economic understanding. The lack of this has fatally dogged other 'multicultural' work.

With an explicit economic basis, we can disassociate culture from ethnicity. This reconceptualisation makes clear that 'multicultural education' has developed along the axis of racism. In Britain, Black resistance has prompted a liberal white response in the tradition of studying the disadvantaged in order to work out how disadvantage occurs. On the issue of racism, the term 'minority group' still sounds plain enough. It refers to numbers. The term professes an implicit explanation. The numbers bully the few: it is a case of democratic tyranny, based on ignorance and prejudice. The main point is that the majority can get away with it because there are more of them.

In this analysis there is no examination of power and disadvantage in relation to class, gender, region or political outlook for the beneficial role that racism plays for western capital. Racism is somehow a cultural accident. The term 'minority group' implicitly asserts the homogeneity of 'white' culture. The answer to the problem of racism, therefore, can be found with the 'positive image'. The white majority in Britain can be persuaded to respect the culture of minorities, who must be presented in a good light.

We need to challenge the notion of a homogeneous, consensual white culture which is implicit in the study of 'other groups' in the classroom. Looking at them, presumes that there is an 'us' who are all the same. This masks inequality. In Britain as surely as elsewhere a racist concept of culture. Through looking at the rich as a minority group, we are automatically looking at the ways in which power is exerted along several axes at once.

There is another advantage for anti-racist and development education. Sharp contrasts are often pointed out between the West and Third World. We are quite rightly told that the West has 10% of the world's population, but controls 80% of the world's wealth (World Bank 1980). But our understanding of underdevelopment becomes markedly different when we realise that in a country like Britain 80% of the population only sees a mere 14.5% of the wealth (Townsend 1979).

BRITAIN

Distribution of total personal wealth 1974	
Top 1%	owned 25%
5%	50%
10%	60%

Bottom 80%	owned 14.5%
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(Townsend Poverty in the United Kingdom 1979)

Distribution of Assets 1976

	Shares	Land	Houses
Top 1%	54.2%	52%	8.6%
10%	89%	84.1%	37.5%
Bottom 90%	10.4%	15.9%	62.5%

(Royal Commission and Labour Research in CS Wealth Report 1980)

In El Salvador 2% of the population own 60% of the land

Few people in the early Wilson years would have predicted that in 1982 the Chairman of the BBC, the editor of the Times, the Foreign Secretary, the heads of both the Foreign and Civil

services, and half the chairman of the big four banks would all be old Etonians while the Home Secretary, the Chancellor, the Director-General of the BBC, a bevy of Judges and other two bank chairmen would come from the Royal Foundation, Winchester. Such a lasting dynasty must surely have some significance in Britain's anatomy... (p.428) Can they, it might be asked, really effectively represent the other 99.5% of the people in this diverse country, who went to neither medieval foundation? (p.127) (Anthony Simpson, 1982 p.127).

How is it that a relatively small group of people, who are so culturally distinct, own or control the greater part of industry, land, stocks and shares, government, civil service, leisure and their own public relations organs — and yet do not make an appearance on the school timetable? Whether or not we presume an appearance on the situation is inevitable, natural or even efficient, shouldn't we know something about them? If we are to move from the teaching about the symptoms of poverty, to an understanding of its causes, then the rich are nothing short of an unavoidable as a focus of attention.

By studying the global rich we can move on from comparing and contrasting disadvantage internationally (is it worse to live in a slum in Manchester or Nairobi)? We can look at development as something enjoyed by the rich of different countries — a cosmopolitan layer who control the flow of resources. The four thousand millionaires in Britain (Davis 1982) fall into this group as do the millionaires of Africa, Asia, the Communist world, and North and South America. The thousands at risk of death from hypothermia in Britain due to lack of adequate heating, do not (help the aged 1984). We are talking then about 'underdevelopment' as a phenomenon co-existing in the same societies as 'development' — a phenomenon reflected in the skewed distribution of power and resources across the world. In studying this we can learn about the common struggles for prosperity among the poor of different countries — between those linked in a global system of impoverishment. The 20 million people who go hungry in the United States (U.S. Senate report 1975) can be grouped with the millions who go hungry elsewhere. We can acknowledge that agribusiness makes its mark in the 'developed' as well as the 'underdeveloped' world. A Californian wheat farmer summed this up in talking about the threat to business being made by tomato companies shifting production to the Caribbean.

They tell farmers and farmworkers 'You'd better straighten out or we'll go to South Africa or somewhere...'. As long as there's some new area, they're going to do it... And sure enough they've got everybody fighting everybody else... nobody's focused on who's really controlling the national economy. Everyone's focused on this little group, or even that big group. But we all have basically the same problem. Who's doing this to us? (Tom Stevenson, Californian wheat farmer quoted in *Threats/strat* ed. Holly Sklar 1980)

The standard terminology of development education works against these kinds of links. It trades on racism through an implied superiority — First world/Third world, developed/under- or less-developed. The new terminology of the Grand report (North and South) still divides the world in two with similar ease and complacency. The unintentional lures under the red squiggly line. However, is this really the most significant division to be made? Wouldn't we do better, for instance, to group the employees of a multinational together and the employers together in another, in order to look at underdevelopment? And within that wouldn't we learn a lot about the situation by studying the decision makers — that is, the rich? In a global economy marked by the transnationalisation of capital and communications it no longer makes sense to look at nation states — or perhaps even, the continental spatial distributions so beloved of development studies. We need to shift to a horizontal, rather than vertical social framework (to borrow the multinationals' own lingua franca ...). For as a Dutch trade unionist remarked last year,

'Whilst the workers of the world are singing the Internationals, the employers are going off and doing it.' (Meyenfeldt 1983)

INFORMATION

The information presented below is intended as only a brief starter. For all the failings of providing a partial and fragmentary picture this information is starting to nurture the air of egalitarian democracy, in which we have been schooled. The notions of meritocracy and accountability become strained. Power and decision making are concentrated in very few hands.

ANONYMITY

The upper classes in Britain have been unduly neglected in both social research and everyday social imagery... Popular interpretations of the distribution of power in terms of the powers that be or 'the establishment' have done little to destroy the anonymity of the privileged class. (John Scott *The Upper Classes* 1982)

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND OXBRIDGE

The public schools were meant to create a rather specialist non-specialist gentleman who would hand on the British civilisation throughout the world. (Sir James Goldsmith ex-Eton, p.428, Sampson 1982, op cit.)

Senior civil servants, barristers, diplomats, BBC Executives and merchant bankers are still preponderantly from Oxbridge. (Sampson 1982 p.143, op cit.)

Within the incomplete network shown above, the families of at least seven Governors of the Bank of England, the chairmen of seven separate merchant banks and two clearing banks, and some of the richest landowners and businessmen can be located. Further elaboration of marital links lead directly to the Royal Family (through the Bowes Lyon, Ogilvy and Knatchbull-Hugessen connections) and to the rest of the upper stratum. Process of inclusion and exclusion are complex and sometimes subtle. It is certain that vast wealth (preferably inherited), social honours, haute bourgeois life style, public schools, elite Oxbridge colleges, access to power, and astute marriage play their part in gaining acceptance among the upper stratum. (*Contrivances in the English financial elite* 1980-1980 Michael Usher-Williams 1982)

- Average income in Britain is £5,300 a year. The annual cost of sending a child to one of the older public schools is £4,000. Around 2.6% of children go to public school. For the elite professions public school background in the early 70's was as follows:
- Top civil service 62%
- High court and appeal judges 80%
- C of E Bishops 67%
- University heads and professors 33%
- Directors of 40 major firms 68%
- Directors of clearing banks 80%
- Directors of major insurance companies 83%
- Conservative M.P.s 73%
- Conservative cabinet 78%
- Labour M.P.s 9%
- Labour cabinet 29%

World Bank 1980; Sampson 1982 op.cit.; *Field Inequality in Britain* 1979)

The Inland Revenue on its own estimates loses £4,000 million a year through tax evasion (*Thatcher's Britain: A Guide to the Rules* Pluto Press 1983)

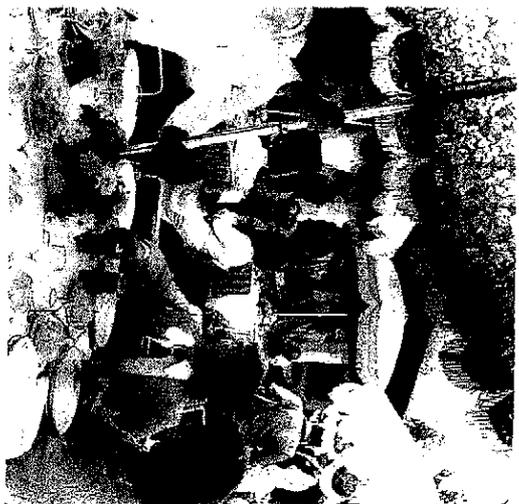
Eton is still the chief nursery for merchant banking diplomacy; the Guards; and there are always shrewd and flexible Etonians waiting in the wings to chair the BBC or a bank, or to take over the Foreign Office, or 'The Times'

(Sampson op.cit. 1980)

On Oxford and Cambridge: "There is no comparable elite" (Sampson op.cit. 1980)

"This book is about the people who are responsible for running the country... It is not about minorities" (Sampson op.cit. 1980)

DISCUSSION



Society wedding, Mexico City.

INCOME

British American Tobacco's pre-tax profits for 1980 were £479 million. The top director's weekly pay was £2,237. The average British B.A.T. employee's weekly pay was £101. (Labour Research 1981)

Top management's average annual pay in 1980 was £21,400. Perks such as private health insurance, company cars, public school fees, lunch allowances, low interest loans, added another £5,178 a year — more than the average annual pay for British employees. (Labour Research 1980)

The top 10% of the population owns 69% of the personal wealth, 89% of stocks and shares, 84.1% of the land and 37.5% of the housing. (Royal Commission on Income Distribution, quoted in Labour Research 1981-82)

"122 late middle-aged men control the destinies of 1.7 million workers through their position on the boards of Britain's major nationalised industries." Their average annual pay is £33,900 (Labour Research 1981)

Before tax, average earnings in 1980 were £101.40 for men, £63.00 for women. Managers and Directors of the top 50 firms "earned" £368 a week. (Labour Research 1981)

NEWSPAPERS

Three companies own 71% of Fleet Street's dailies and 82% of the national Sundays. The biggest papers were launched by the aristocracy — when Baron Matthews took over Lord Beaverbrook's newspaper, the Express, he donated £40,000 as a company donation to the Tory party campaign. In 1979 over 70% of papers recommended their readers to vote Conservative. (Labour Research 1981)

LEISURE

"About 10% of Londoners went to the opera in 1982... audiences tend to be white, well-educated and in the professional/managerial occupations. Public subsidy per Royal Opera House seat per performance is more than weekly unemployment benefit." (Hutchinson 1983 *Eastern Express*)

"Grand names have rather grand possessions and ideas and that is why I am a snob. But it isn't just grand names — it comes with a whole life-style, a good restaurant, a good hotel, sheets, pillows."

DISCUSSION



Rain or shine, the rich do well.

DAILY DAY

tables and lamps. It is the choice between one thing and another. Yes I am a snob about things of quality. David Hicks, Interior Designer (Tatler, December/January 1984)

Advert in Tatler magazine, December 1983 "Yellow and white diamonds... £3,000,000."

A baby born to unskilled manual workers is 5 times more likely to die in the first year of life than a baby born to professional workers. (A Guide op.cit. 1983)

HOUSING

1.2 million people are on council house waiting lists — one measure of homelessness. Sigismund Berger is said to own over 100,000 houses and flats through 350 companies over the country. (A Guide op.cit. 1983 *The Guardian* 18.10.83)

"We're normal people — we live in a castle O.K." (Princess Gina of Anhaltstein) "5 million people live in unfit dwellings in Britain." (A Guide op. cit. 1983)

HOMES

The contents of one of the homes of the Guinness family, Elveden Hall in Norfolk, are to be sold by Christie's in May and are expected to fetch at least £2.5 million." (The Guardian 7.2.84)

Did you know...

That Mosley's most useful support came from Lord Rothmere, proprietor of the "Daily Mail". The Mail gave the British Fascists editorial support: the Mail's correspondent in Rome was the channel by which £3,000 per month came from Mussolini to Mosley.

The fascists received financial support from, among others, Lord Nuffield, the car millionaire; Lord Inchcape, the shipping magnate, and Sir A. V. Roe, the aircraft manufacturer. (Source: Daily Express 10.11.83 p.8)

PRACTICAL STRATEGIES

What follows are some key questions that might provide the framework of a classroom approach to learning about the rich. In future issues we shall develop these. Please contact us if you're interested in contributing ideas and materials.

- (1) Who are the rich? What do we mean by the word rich? Small groups brainstorm and then discuss — our initial ideas and stereotypes about the rich.
- Distinguish between relative and absolute wealth; what is the difference between wealth and income; inherited, corporate, rights-to-fines wealth; ownership/status; different types of assets (land, stocks and shares).
- (2) How do we find out about the rich? Project on information gathering — What sources are there? How do we evaluate them? (Newspapers, magazines like Tatler, Labour Research, Inland Revenue statistics, wills, books, the Diamond Commission (on distribution of wealth — now abolished); interviews, urban trails through rich areas).
- (3) How do the rich live? Choose a case study — e.g. A Family (Rockefeller, Rowntree Ford, De Sola Sainsbury) and/or a company (Ford, Lever, Woolco, Coca Cola). Work, leisure, family life, schools Housing, food, clothes, transport Beliefs, religion, special characteristics
- (4) Where did their wealth originally come from?
- (5) What are their links with other groups? Who do the rich effect? In what ways? — Through their disproportionate use of resources; through setting the limits for others.

- Who affects the rich? In what ways? (Trade unions, political parties, laws, pressure groups, other rich groups, liberation movements).
- (6) How do people become rich? How do they stay rich? Profit, inheritance, winning a game (pools), crime, fame, Which is the most important? Once people are rich, how do they stay rich? Overview of project and evaluation. What else do we need to know?

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Structural Silence:

Aborigines in Australian Geography Textbooks

John Fien



Aborigines remain the worst discriminated (sic) group in Australian society. . . . Most Australians have never met an Aborigine. . . . There is, however, an easy assumption by the non-Aborigine Australian that he knows all about them. The dominant part of this so called knowledge is contempt.

So read a summary of the White experience and perceptions of Aborigines in a report prepared by the Australian Commissioner for Community Relations in 1977. Unfortunately, the situation has changed little in the community at large over the last seven years. This is despite widespread promulgation of guidelines for Aboriginal studies in schools and the development of curriculum materials. The dominant focus of these guidelines and materials is the development of positive images of Aborigines and their cultures through emphasis on:

1. the spiritual nature of Aboriginal society (land and kinship relationships) and not the material culture of spears, boomerangs and gnyahns;
2. the hostility and violence of the White colonists;
3. the destruction of Aboriginal society through contact with non-Aborigines and through dispossession of their land and culture;
4. the geographical placement of people, events and legends in Aboriginal studies so that the diversity of the Aboriginal experience is highlighted;
5. the provision of models of Aboriginal success in terms of the values of both the dominant White culture and Aboriginal culture;

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6. the contemporary life of Aborigines, especially through a structural explanation of urban poverty, the maintenance of kinship relationships in Aboriginal urban life, examples of self-determination and self-help, and the issue of land rights.

Such guidelines are an attempt to redress the many myths associated with the recording of Australian history through the eyes of Europeans. These myths lie at the roots of racism in Australia. They encourage teachers and students to view Australian society from the other side of the frontier (Reynolds, 1982).

Despite the initiatives of Aboriginal leaders and anti-racist teachers in Aboriginal studies, these guidelines and the curriculum materials based upon them have had little impact on the great majority of schools, running as they do against the values of the dominant culture. Indeed, schools have been shown to be a place where racism is encouraged. In 1982, the Commissioner for Community Relations reported:

The experience of my office in combating racial discrimination in Australia during the last six years is that a great deal of the prejudice and bigotry which leads to acts of discrimination is generated in the schools of the nation. This arises from ethnocentrism among teachers, prejudice among students, and teaching materials which are often inaccurate or biased or both (Grassby, 1982)

The experience of such an education inspired the following poem:

*'At the white man's school, what are our children taught?
Are they told of the battles our people fought?
Are they told of how our people died?
Are they told why our people cried?
Australia's true history is never read,
But the blackman keeps it in his head.'*

Structural Silence

Australia's true geography is never read either. A class of ten PGCE — equivalent students and I made a close reading of 64 lower secondary school geography textbooks produced in Australia since 1970 as a basis for this article. We were shocked by both the minimal coverage and the way in which Aboriginal issues were dealt with in these books.

Only eight mentioned Aborigines in any way at all. Of these, three books provided less than 20 lines, and two other books less than fifty lines on Aborigines. The longest reference was around 220 lines!

Machery's (1978) term, 'structural silence' can be applied to the way a minority people and their views are excluded from the syllabuses and textbooks of the dominant culture, especially when such views are not a part of what Williams (1977) calls the 'selective tradition' in the curriculum. There are two insidious side effects of structural silence in the curriculum. One is the hegemonic effects on the ideas and cultural identity of the people, and most especially the children, of a minority group when their culture is ignored or diminished in the official curriculum of the school. The second is the resultant misinformation that children of the dominant culture receive, and the foundation it provides for racist beliefs and attitudes.

My comments in the rest of this article seek to expose the ideological and racist bases of the misinformation and omissions in the eight geography books that contain sections on Aborigines. (But, it should not be forgotten that 56 out of the 64 books surveyed did not consider Aborigines a topic worthy of study in geography at all.) These eight books are examined in two groups. One group of three books may be described as ideologically liberal, while the second group (five books) are quite racist in effect, if not intent.

The Three Liberals

These three books, along with the five in the second group, focused on Aborigines as inhabitants of desert lands. Not one discusses the life of urban aborigines and the structural causes of their poverty, or the successes of the outstation movement, Aboriginal health and legal services and their land councils, issues relevant to Aborigines, mining companies, and the land rights movement are ignored, as is the donation of the beautiful Kakadu area to the National Estate by Aborigines after its award in a land rights hearing. Even the book by Palmer and Frede (1980), called *Ezra and Man (sic)*, which devotes around 220 lines to Aborigines and satisfies the first four of the guidelines on Aboriginal studies described earlier, does not give consideration to even one of these aspects of the contemporary experience of Aborigines.

A second book, Scott's *People and Change* (Scott, 1983) contains a mental map of Aboriginal perceptions of the Sydney area prior to 1788 when the first English convict camp was established. Scott even acknowledges Aborigines as 'Australia's first geographers', but then ruins the image by noting that:

*'We Aurukun people will not allow any mining at all on our land.
We will not accept any money for our land.
Our land is sacred to us.
We hunt on it and have our Sacred Places on it.
We want Comalco, Billiton, Pechney and Tipperary to leave our land alone.
We must protect our culture.'*

- Signed
 Donald Penkinnu — Chairman
 Frank Yunakopora — Adviser (Former Chairman)
 Eric Koo-yoh — Adviser (Former Chairman)
 Bruce Yunakopora — Councillor
 Fred Kerindun — Councillor (belongs to land which is major part of southern Comalco lease)
 Albert Chersidun — (of Norman River) — where the mining port and refinery man, well go
 Myrtle Chersidun — (of Isa Creek) — adjacent to Albert's land
 Arthweald — (also of land in Comalco lease)
 Violet Yunakopora — (of the Watson River — in the centre of the mining lease)



'Today, Aboriginal people living in Sydney have no memories of these mental maps. . . . the Aborigines view of the land and their geographic skills were lost' (p.16)

Scott promotes the 'noble savage' ethic in not explaining the causes of the 'lost' (not destroyed) culture. Her benign liberalism is evident also in a section of her book in which she contrasts the perceptions of the semi-arid grasslands of New South Wales held by traditional Aborigines, nineteenth century squatters and present day graziers, in a way favourable to the environmental ethics of Aborigines. However, Scott refrains from value judgements about the squatter who said, 'When I herded by sheep over the vast plains there were no hedges or fences. There were no signs that Aborigines owned the land so the land was for the taking.' (p.130), and thus misses an opportunity to explain the non-rational bases of Aboriginal land rights or expose the imposition of a materially based European system of land ownership on a pre-existent Aboriginal one.

The third book in this group is Johnston's 1980 text for the less able geography student, *Learning from Living*. It devotes 94 lines to Aborigines, and after introducing the section with:

'Not many Aborigines today live their traditional way of life. Most have been influenced by white people, but we will look at the way they used to live.' (p.98).

proceeds with 78 lines on traditional tribal life (material and spiritual), and 16 on 'Aborigines Today'. And those sixteen lines conclude with the naive question:

'Do you think the Aboriginal people should be left to live their old way of life or do you think they should be encouraged to change to the ways of white people? Think of the problems that would come from either of these alternatives' (p.100)

The dangers of such values relative in geography (about which John Huckle (1983) has warned us) abound in such a question, especially with a less able class (for whom it was designed) for whom few library resources at the appropriate reading level exist.

The Five 'Others'

Nevertheless, the weak liberalism of *Earth and Man, People and Change* and *Learning from Living* sets them apart from the other five books that mention Aborigines. Quoting examples from such books leaves an impression of a foul taste in my mouth but doing so does bring their students, if not intentional, racism to the attention of teachers and students.

These five books accept unquestioningly the White invasion of Australia and the changes brought to the continent and her people in a way very similar to that described by Wright, in his analysis of textbooks on Africa and Australia (Wright 1983).

Conolly and Cox (1973) tell us that along with nomadic herders, irrigation farmers and miners, *deserts are also used by modern societies for tourism* (p.155), and that the Simpson Desert of Central Australia was one of the last of the world's deserts to be explored... as recently as 1939 (p.156). The racist arrogance of the latter claim is obvious; less obvious is the way that "non-modern" societies are implicitly dismissed, and the notion that the area occupied by "non-modern" people should be the tourist playground of "modern" people.

After explaining subsistence lifestyles through the Heyerdahls' experiences in *Fatu Hiva* (I), Wilken and Courtenay (1978) declare:

Some scientists have recognized different levels of organization of subsistence lifestyles. The simplest people live (or lived) like the Heyerdahls — doing little more than *living off what the country provided*. Such people are often called hunters and collectors; before the European settlers arrived, the Australian Aborigines were hunters and collectors. (p.1)

Spicer et al. (1973) devote forty lines to the most miserable people on earth in north-west Australia (p.55), while Pask (1970) speaks of the *only 200,000 Aboriginal people living in Australia in 1788*. The 200,000 figure is widely quoted, but recent estimates place the 1778 population at closer to 315,000 and maybe up to 1,200,000 — but then as Jan Roberts (1981) notes, 200,000 conveniently saved explaining the massacres. The whole tone of Pask's fifty lines is one of a pathetic people who have accepted life in the desert and remotest areas. Perhaps this is because over half of his section on Aborigines is a quotation from a patrol officer's report in 1964! The remaining book of the five, *Communities by Davey et al.* (1980), has ten lines on Aborigines — as one stage in a sequent

occupance study of Richmond, New South Wales. The section is bereft of any of the issues relating to Aborigines. In that state, *Communities* does lamely acknowledge however, that along with the early colonial farmsteads around Richmond, the community has 'inherited... the relics of Dark Aborigines' which are cared for by the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service! What are students supposed to think about that? Or, maybe, they are not supposed to think at all!

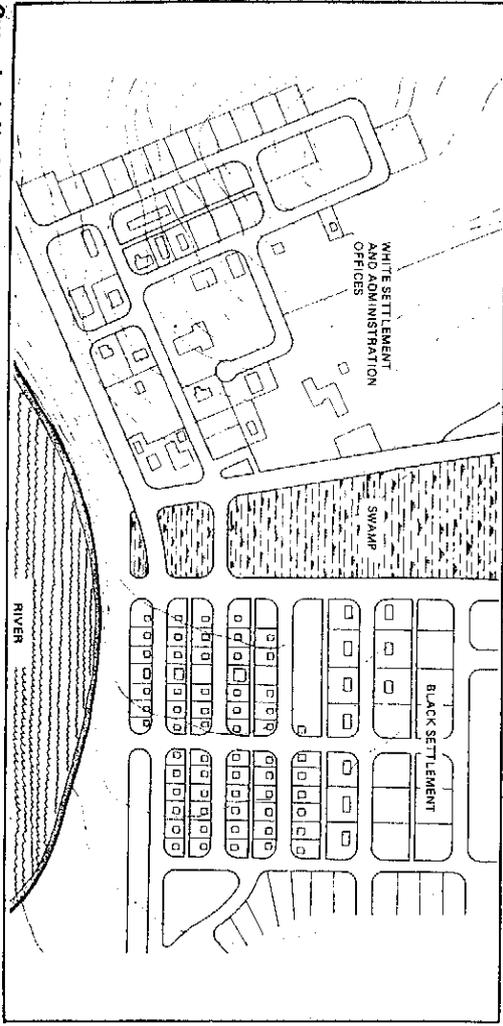
Conclusion

Out of 64 textbooks surveyed, only the eight reviewed here have sections on Aborigines. The structural silence is almost deafening! And even these eight perpetuate the misinformation and stereotyping that sustains White cultural supremacy and racism. Between them, they confine Aborigines to the desert margins of the continent, calling them 'simple' people and the most miserable people on earth, in denying the sophistication of Aboriginal history, culture and livelihood; they rob Aborigines of their heritage and self-esteem and non-Aboriginal Australians of the opportunities to rise above racist stereotyping that the nation so desperately requires. Given such views, I can't help but agree with a colleague who lamented, 'These books would've been better off not mentioning Aborigines at all!'

Such is the position with respect to lower secondary geography textbooks in Australia, I have not studied the range of books used in the upper secondary school, but a review of the syllabuses available at this level indicates three areas of possible study related to Aborigines.

- These are:
1. Aborigines as the first stage in the sequent occupance of Australia!
 2. Aborigines as an urban problem!!
 3. Aborigines, mining companies and land right.

Sometimes, one out of three just isn't good enough! However, a book is presently being written by Athol Chase, an Anthropologist and land rights campaigner, on the topic 'Aborigines and Land'. This book is designed to redress the lack of suitable resources at the upper secondary level — but the book is unlikely to be available until late 1984.



Queensland Aboriginal Reserve Settlement: Match the following words to the white accommodation and the black settlement: Road prone, undulating high ground, road grid planning, open planning, low population density, low population density, high population density.

Source of map: P. Wilson (1982) *Black Death: White Hands, Allen and Unwin.*

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A Guide to Further Reading

Until the Athol Chase book is ready, students and teachers have access to a range of general and specialist books on Aboriginal issues. The most useful of these include:

NEWS

RUSSIA AND CHINA LEFT OUT

In an interview with Ron Johnston (*Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 7, 2, 1983), Professor Johnston decided the 'switch off' among students when he talks about something outside of Britain. In his role as Chairperson of the JMB syllabus he criticised syllabus C for only putting over one model of economic development and asked the JMB Board how they were going to teach Russia and China. The response was that they wrote that part of the world out, leaving a syllabus without a quarter of the world!

NEWS

U.S. TO LEAVE UNESCO

The United States has recently announced its decision to leave UNESCO (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). The organization, set up to promote international collaboration through education, science and culture, has been accused by the U.S. State Department of politicizing virtually everything it did, exhibiting hostility to the basic institutions of free societies and losing control of its budget. In an article on the issue, the T.H.E.S. notes (*The Times Higher Education Supplement*, 13, 1, 84) that many of the accusations levelled at UNESCO "smack of the paranoid", and are a response to UNESCO's call for a "new international economic order" — a "major shift of resources from the affluent to the poor countries."

NEWS

U.S.-STYLE Ph.D.s?

The E.S.R.C. (Economic and Social Research Council) is currently considering a package of proposals to shake up postgraduate training in the Social Sciences. Among other proposals are U.S.-style Ph.Ds involving taught methods courses and a shorter doctoral thesis modelled upon the U.S. system. Concern that these proposals may lead to "second-rate" work is now leading E.S.R.C. officers to reconsider their original proposals, with 4-year programmes rather than 3-year ones being introduced for social science postgraduates.

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Important addresses for teachers interested in obtaining

1. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies
 PO Box 553
 Canberra, 2801
2. Australian Council for Overseas Aid
 Research and Information Service
 PO Box 1562
 Canberra, 2801
3. Northern Lands Council
 PO Box 3046
 Darwin, 5794

Such books and sources are the most reliable guide to the Aboriginal perspective in Australian geography. The enormous majority of geography textbooks certainly aren't.

Teaching about Australia and New Zealand — see issue 4 for useful lesson content

The Centre for Peace Studies

The Centre provides a national information and advice service as well as lectures and occasional publications. It has many local, regional, and national contacts in particular at primary, secondary and teacher education levels. The Centre also deals with membership for the Peace Education Network.

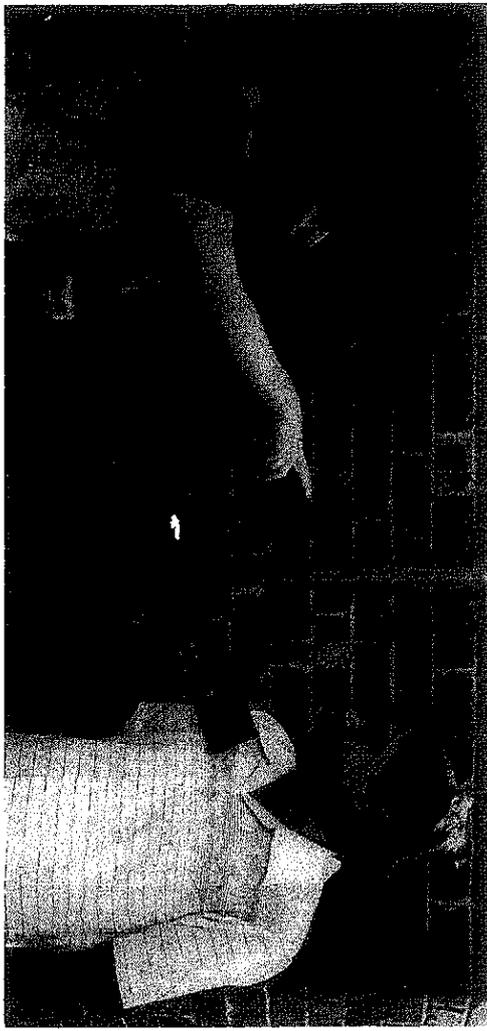
Its main work at present is the curriculum project *World Studies 8-13*, jointly run with the One World Trust's World Studies Project and financed by the Schools Council and the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust. The project is developing approaches for teaching World Studies in the 8-13 age range, and is in contact with many Local Education Authorities some 30 of which are now running World Studies in-service courses. The project's four themes: Getting On With Others, Learning About Other Peoples, Understanding the News and The World Tomorrow provide an important contribution to education for peace.

A range of other activities are planned. These include initial and in-service courses for teachers on handling peace-related issues in the classroom, a series of publications for teacher and classroom use, and a project on participatory and co-operative learning. For further information, contact:

Dr David Hicks, Director
 Centre for Peace Studies, St Martin's College
 Lancaster LA1 3JD. Tel: 0524 37698

Is Anti-Racist Education really necessary?

LEA Centre for Anti-Racist Education



Below: this racist argument occurred on the Rumber and Lumb picket line. Black workers went on strike for the reinstatement of a black shop steward who had been sacked. White workers crossed the picket line and hurled racist abuse. The black worker is holding his British passport.

BRITAIN'S TOY FACTORY — PICKETS ARRESTED

Police made ten arrests at Britain's Toy factory in Walthamstow after 80 pickets formed a blockade outside the main gates of the Blackhorse Lane plant. Two of these arrested now face allegations of assaulting police officers. (Waltham Forest Guardian 2.9.82)

On 29 July 200 workers at the Blackhorse Lane plant went on strike. The workers, who are mostly Asian, were protesting about the compulsory 50 hour week. The strikers have now returned to work having failed to achieve any of their demands.

The pickets have complained of harassment on the picket line by both management and police. After an incident in which a worker was knocked down when a white charge hand drove straight through the picket line. The police, who had been standing nearby and had witnessed the incident, merely told the strikers that it was up to them to take out a private prosecution.

TURBAN

A Sikh youth leader claims that he was banned from entering a new wine bar in West Bromwich — because he was wearing a turban. Although Dal Singh was wearing a suit and tie, he was told he could not go in because of a ban on any form of hats or headgear. He now plans to take the matter to the Commission for Racial Equality, because he says that the ban is unfair, and amounts to discrimination against Sikhs. A turban is not just a form of headgear. It is one of the five symbols of our religion, which are sacred to Sikhs.

West Indian Mirror, Wednesday October 12th 1980

BUILDING SOCIETY IN RACE BIAS HEARING

It has been alleged that the management of the failing Grosvenor branch of the Abbey National Building Society discriminated against Asians when recruiting new staff.

The assistant manager is alleged to have said that 'these Polish and conservative people would not like to see Asian faces behind the counter' and that it was the head manager's policy, not to employ non-whites. The statement was made to a college lecturer who was checking up on a 17-year old student, Seema Khosla who was on a work experience scheme at the branch. It was when the lecturer asked whether or not the young girl could be employed as a cashier that the alleged conversation took place.

Crusader Times 31.8.82

PANORAMA REPORT ON DRIVING

Drivers who had killed people while driving discussed their feelings about this: imposed on them. All except one said that they felt the penalties were not severe enough. All except one expressed feelings of guilt and remorse in relation to the fact that they had been responsible for the deaths of other people.

The driver who did not express remorse had killed seven Asian people who had been waiting on the side of a motorway for breakdown services to attend their vehicle. He said that death on the road was 'just one of those things that happened'.

It emerged during the interview that he had received letters from racial groups, congratulating him on having killed 77 people. Seven down, millions to go... was the message of the letters.

The interviewee suggested that the driver had sympathy with the views expressed in the letters. He replied that he sympathised not with the racial sentiments, but with the comments which referred to immigration.

Foreword, 286. TV Monitor 12th December 1983

'NF' CARRIED ON MARCH

Deepak Arora, a young Asian medical student is lying paralysed in hospital — his back broken — after being slashed on many times that his clothes were in tatters and nearly all his body covered in deep scratches. The attack happened on Saturday 3 September at Arnold Circus, Shoreditch. Deepak managed to crawl to a telephone kiosk, where he was found two hours later.

Community groups are angry that the police seemed to have ruled out a racial motive — despite the fact that 'NF' had been carried on Deepak's wrist. Detective Sergeant Mori of City Police told the Hackney Gazette: 'we would assume the motive was robbery because money was stolen'. The police also asked the Hackney Gazette not to publish in their initial report the fact that NF was carried on the arm of the victim as it might put off white witnesses with racist sympathies from coming forward.

Hackney Gazette 6.8.82. 385 See also Newsmag of Defence Campaign Bulletin No. 2

GLC REPORT

The GLC report singles out Tower Hamlets as a 'noticed' of racist violence, and blames police for not taking tough enough action.

A Bangladeshi from the Ocean Estate Stephen told the inquiry that most tenants had suffered racist attacks. Women and children become virtual prisoners at home, she said.

The report says that 'Incidents, range from verbal abuse to violent attacks on the street to regular attacks on people's homes and children'. The report concludes that policing racial harassment still appears to enjoy a low priority.

A police spokesperson said: 'We welcome the recommendations made in the report.'

587 London Advertiser 11.11.82

BLINDED

An Asian community worker was blinded in one eye when he was the victim of a racial attack at the hands of two skinheads. Vin Syed Rahim, 45, was battered to the ground then kicked repeatedly in the face with steel-capped boots. Although he was rushed to hospital, where he underwent a desperate five-hour operation, doctors were unable to save his eye, the Old Bailey heard. James Parker, of Ganning Town, and Peter Jamnou on Northgate Dale, were each sentenced to four years youth custody. Judge Edward Sutcliffe, QC, told them: 'There is no possible justification for this attack. This was straightforward and unreasoning racial hatred and violence.'

West Indian Mirror, Wednesday October 12th 1983

RACIAL HARASSMENT ON HOUSING ESTATES

The final report of the GLC Police Committee panel of enquiry into racial harassment on local authority housing estates states that:

- attacks were not taken seriously
- victims were treated with suspicion
- some staff members may have sympathised with the views, if not the methods used by the attackers
- several new policies aimed at dealing with racial harassment have not been implemented
- the level of harassment against Bengalis in Tower Hamlets is increasing
- monitoring of attacks by staff was negligible
- tenants lacked confidence in the staff, and therefore reported few attacks — for example the housing department had no records of racial incidents at Shadwell Gardens estate, but the Tenants' association has records of 111 incidents between June 81 and February 82, and 110 for the rest of 82
- on many occasions housing officers would refuse to take action because they believed Bengalis were dishonestly trying to get a transfer

Tower Hamlets' No. 25 Dec 1982

BACKGROUND BACKLUSTING

'Black people in the London borough of Hackney get a raw deal out of council housing. Research done by the Commission for Racial Equality has revealed that although half the people on the council housing list were black, only 21 per cent of them got houses, rather than matchmakers or flats, while 79 per cent of white people got houses. Only 12 per cent of black people were allocated new property, compared with 88 per cent of white people. 75 per cent of black people got pre-war property compared with only 25 per cent of white people. In the two worst housing estates in the borough, half the tenants were black, even though black people represented only 24 per cent of council tenants in Hackney. That there was a significant racial difference in housing allocation was therefore undeniable, and the CRE asked itself why this had happened. Having eliminated all other reasons, it concluded in its report, published yesterday, that the difference was caused by active racial discrimination by council staff.'

The Guardian 13.1.84

Research published some years ago in Lambeth revealed exactly the same state of affairs there and concluded that it was the product of 'institutional racism'.

RACIST ATTACKS

Scotland Yard statistics for May to December 1982:

An analysis of 1,346 racial incidents confirms that Asians were victims of 65% such incidents.

The 1,346 incidents included 480 cases of violence against the person and 488 instances of criminal damage.

Asian Times 11.11.82

DOG POISONED

A white mother of four black children has complained that Camden Council were too slow in moving the family away from a housing estate where they suffered racial harassment. The children were beaten up, their dog poisoned, and herself branded a 'nigger lover' by neighbours. Councils are slow in moving the victims of racial harassment. It took eighteen months for Camden Council to transfer a white woman.

Camden News 14.10.82

FRIES

In late October and early November there were three serious fires in London at the business premises of black families. A total of 14 people died in these blazes, including a number of children.

In July 1981 an Asian mother and her young family were killed by racist arsonists in Walthamstow. The police at first dismissed the killings as accidental (percol had been poured through the letterbox and lit). After a wave of protest from black and community groups the deaths are still on file as unsolved murder.

Southwight December 82 No 102.2



Victim of racist attack. Coventry

Never Run in the Dark

**Wind blows cold,
Feet shuffle in the dark,
Apprehensive of Babylon
Tearing the streets for the brethren.**

A goin' bounce up Stokely tonight,
But a haint goin' run through the night,
You see Babylove got a thing:
(Nigger running in the dark) = CRIME
'Hey boy, what have you just done?'
'Me hafficer? — Nat a ting.'
'Why you running then?'
'Late sa', gotta meet de dartist.'
'Sorry son, going to have to take you in,
Lots of crimes in this area,
Come on down to the station for questioning.'
Nex' morning, black boy come from station,
No bookings, no charges,
Jus' a heapful a bruises,
Man, a goin' bounce up Stokely tonight,
But a haint goin' run in de dark.

music resounding
walls vibrating
body shaking
capture in de making

Outside, the wind blows cold,
Feet shuffle quickly in the dark.
No! Don't run!
NEVER RUN IN THE DARK
IN STOKELY NEWINGTON!

Hugh Boatswain

STOP AND SEARCH

Much of the evidence available of the police use of Stop and Search powers (the 'SUS' laws) suggests that 'SUS' damaged relationships between ethnic minorities and the police. 'Members of minority communities were so alienated by what was happening to younger members of their community that they refused to co-operate with the police on even the most trivial matters.'
The re-introduction of police Stop and Search powers through the Police Evidence Bill will cause massive damage to police-community relations, particularly with young people, according to Tim Clement Jones, Chairman of the Liberal Lawyers.

Liberal Lawyers, November 21st 1983

CRIMINAL RECORDS

The Policy Studies Institute Report on the Metropolitan Police has totally vindicated the charges of harassment, racial prejudice and illegal arrests, made by the black community against the police for many years. The tragedy is that countless numbers of black people, but in particular black youngsters, have already been given criminal records and have had their future blighted by racist members of the force.

Children's Times 25.11.83 pp. 3 & 4

BLACK: PROSECUTE WHITE CAUTION

The chances of white juveniles receiving a caution (rather than being prosecuted) are greater than for black youths. Black youths are more likely to be prosecuted than cautioned.
In relation to crimes of violence, auto-crimes and public disorder and similar offences black people were twice as likely to be charged as white people.
S. Lander and G. Nathan. *Sending defendants for sentencing in the London Metropolitan Area*. British Journal of Criminology April 1983.
The authors note that a large proportion of Britain's black population live in conditions very likely to be defined as detrimental or problematic by juvenile justice agencies. These conditions include a general 'lower economic status and worse housing than their white counterparts.

P.S.I. REPORT

The Policy Studies Institute Research states that one third of all stops made by police were illegal because there was no 'reasonable suspicion for stopping suspects'.
About 1.5 million stops are made each year, but only about 1 in 12 leads to the detection of an offence.
West Indian youth figure high in the those-to-be-stopped group.
The P.S.I. found that racial prejudice was pervasive and that the Met was pre-occupied with ethnic differences. Racist language was even used in radio messages.
Labour Herald 25.11.83 pp. 8 & 9

POLICY STUDIES INSTITUTE REPORT

Racial prejudice is the accepted norm within the Metropolitan Police, according to a 1,000 page confidential report prepared by the Policy Studies Institute (P.S.I.) at the request of the last Metropolitan Police Commissioner Sir David McNee.
The report was published on November 18th 1983.
With regard to attitudes displayed by senior officers the findings state that 'Senior Officers seldom try to set a different tone (though they do on occasion) and there were some cases where they initiated racist talk and kept it going.'
The P.S.I. concentrates the weight of its criticisms on Police attitudes rather than behaviour, but the researchers did observe examples of racial prejudice in action.
Asian Times 15th November 1983 issue 41

COLIN ROACH

Colin Roach, the 21 year old black man found dead in Stoke Newington Police Station on 18th January 1983 killed himself, a jury decided in June (Majority verdict 8 to 2). The verdict was dismissed by the Roach Family and their supporters.
After the inquest the jury wrote to the Home Secretary, Leon Brittan, criticising the police handling of the case, and in particular the treatment of Roach's parents after their son's death. The jurors said they were 'deeply distressed by police behaviour.'
By early May 1,000 people had been arrested as a result of demonstrations organised by the Roach Family Support Committee, including James Roach (Colin's father) who was arrested in March but acquitted in May.
Race and Immigration No. 158, August 1983.

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF JOURNALISTS COMPLAINED AT POLICE BEHAVIOUR TOWARDS PHOTOGRAPHERS ON THE MARCHES

Their alliance obstruction, harassment, and assault by the police.
The Journalist February 1983

SINGLED OUT?

Nearly 80% of West Indian youths consider the police to be over suspicious while 76% think they deal 'roughly' with young people. More than half thought the police singled them out, this applied to only 15% of the white people interviewed and 16% of the Asians.
Young People in the 1980s, Department of Education & Science July 1982.

LAWYER KILLING

Winston Rose, a black man, died while police were attempting to take him to a mental hospital. He had a history of mental stress, but no history of violence.
Twelve police officers were involved in Rose's apprehension; some had gone to Rose's house believing that they were looking for an escaped criminal, other thought that he was violent.
Rose died to asphyxiation, having choked on his own vomit after being held in a strangle hold by police.
Police stopped a passing ambulance to try to revive him, but the ambulance workers were unable to release his hands from the handcuffs as one of the police had driven off with the key.
An inquest jury returned a verdict of lawful killing.

Mind Out December 1981

MENTAL HEALTH

According to Research by Hitch and Glegg black people are much more likely than white to reach a mental hospital through the involvement of the police.
Access: all admissions, people born in the New Commonwealth and other foreign countries are three or four times more likely than white patients to reach hospital through the involvement of the police or a Mental Welfare Officer.
P. J. Hines and C. Glegg. *Medical Officers of Overseas Immigrants and Native Born First Admissions to psychiatric Hospital*. Social Science Medicine 1980

REPARATION FOR THE MENTALLY ILL

Section 90 of the Mental Health Act 1983 gave the Home Secretary power to repatriate any alien requiring treatment as an inpatient in a mental hospital. This was extended by the Immigration Act of 1971 to cover all non-patriates. There is no right of appeal against a decision to repatriate. The Home Secretary must be satisfied that removal is in the best interests of the patient.
In Jamaica one in seven re-admitted psychiatric patients were immigrants who had returned home to do so. Nearly two-thirds said they had strong regrets, and would have liked to return to the UK.
A. Bulke. *The Consequences of Undelivered Repatriation*. British Journal of Psychiatry 123 1973.

THEATRY

Electro Convulsive Therapy (E.C.T.) may be used on people diagnosed as depressives.
70% of those diagnosed as depressives are women, 39% of black patients receiving E.C.T. had not been diagnosed as depressed, compared to 18% of the whites receiving E.C.T.
Black patients are also more likely than whites to have at least six consecutive E.C.T. treatments.
Black patients appear... to be perceived by the staff as in greater need of physical treatment than the white British born... there appear to be assumptions that:
(a) E.C.T. is suitable for non-depressive reactions in black patients.
(b) Black patients require more E.C.T.
(c) Intranquillar medication is more efficacious in black patients.
— from research carried out at a hospital in East London.
R. Llewellyn & S. Cross. *Ethnic minorities and psychiatric services*. *Sociology of Health and Illness* Vol. 2 July 1980.

CULTURE: THE CAUSE OF MENTAL ILLNESS?

The Transcultural Psychiatry Unit at Lyffield Mount Hospital in Bradford has been criticised for concentrating on 'culture' to the point where the problem is located in the individual or his or her culture, and the racism of wider society is ignored.
Rumoured from Bulletin August 1983.

MENTAL ILLNESS

Llewellyn and Lipsedge note that mental illness among immigrants often takes on a persecutory aspect. More than half of the psychiatric black patients they examined had some type of persecutory delusion. They suggest that such 'delusions of persecution may be merely a strong reiteration of the experience of discrimination' (page 30).
In relation to West Indians they suggest that mental illness may be a consequence of the chronic stress caused by competing for upward social mobility in a social system which ostensibly encourages all its members to strive, but in which this mobility is largely blocked by racial discrimination.

R. Llewellyn and M. Lipsedge. *Racism and Mental Illness and Psychiatry*. Penguin 1981.

TRANQUILISERS

Black patients are more likely than white to be referred to less prestigious hospitals. They are more likely to see a junior member of staff than white patients.
Black patients on medication are more likely to be receiving major tranquilisers than their white counterparts — 55% compared with 38%. This cannot be explained by the seriousness of diagnosis, in the case of 'psychotics', blacks are more likely to be receiving major drugs: 84% compared to 67% of white patients.
R. Llewellyn & S. Cross. *Ethnic minorities and psychiatric services*. *Sociology of Health and Illness* Vol. 1982 July 1980.

COMPULSORY DETENTION

In one hospital black 'psychotics' were twice as likely as white to have been detained under Section 136 of the Mental Health Act of 1983 which allows the police to detain people compulsorily in mental hospital. Black people were twice as likely as whites to have been sent to their own hospital.
R. Llewellyn & M. Lipsedge. *Racism and Mental Illness and Psychiatry*. Penguin 1981

SKINNING AWAY RIGHTS

The Government has admitted that an Indian woman of 90 was only admitted to Britain to visit her son on condition that she sign a document saying that she would 'not use her statutory right to apply later for an extension of her stay'.
Mr Grenville James, MP for Leicester West is pressing the Home Office to say how often the document has been used. The Home Office claim that such information is not collected centrally.
A statement in the annual report of the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants said that the Home Office was controlling immigration through measures not ostensibly designed to control it. Mr David Widdingham, the Immigration Minister, denies this.
The Guardian 17.11.82.

PASS LAWS IN BRITAIN?

Black groups complain that pass laws system is evolving in Britain. It is common for registrars to ask black people to produce a passport when they go to register a marriage.
In October 1983 after an official inquiry, Camden Council apologised to a British citizen of Asian origin who was asked for her passport when she applied to a marriage certificate at a registrar office.
The Guardian 19.10.83.

VOLUNTARY REPARATION

Mr Harvey Proctor, MP, for Billerica urged the Government to end all future permanent immigration from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan.
He put forward a motion for debate which called for an increase in financial aid for 'voluntary repatriation and resettlement' and an end to all race relations legislation.
Conservative Party Conference, 13.10.83.

ADMISSION TO THE UK FOR SETTLEMENT

In 1982 passengers from India were 25 times more likely to be refused entry than passengers from Australia, while Nigerian passengers were 34 times more likely to be refused admission.
The Guardian 15.12.82.

INSTRUCTION 4992

From January 1984 Social Security claimants will be 'visually assessed' for their 'colour' at the counter.
Part of the new proposal is 'instruction 4992 which instructs clerks to contact the Home Office if they suspect someone of being an illegal immigrant.'
'Considering the effect on minority groups of the new Police Bill, the racist Nationality Act and the passport checks in hospitals, the real intention of this scheme leaves very little to the imagination,' says Mr Urnesh Desai, of 'Newham Rights'. He added that he felt the aim of the scheme is 'to make life harder and untenable for black people in this country.'
Asian Times 25.11.83 p. 43.

HEAR ABOUT THE WELSHMAN WHO HAD A FRONTAL LOBECTOMY SO THAT HE COULD UNDERSTAND THE IRISH JOKE?

HOW DO YOU STOP A WOLF FROM BOWING AT HIS HEEL? TAKE YOUR FOOT OFF THE GASL DOWN!
HOW DO YOU STOP A FAKISTANI FROM STIRTING UP THE GOALS DOWN!
HOW DO YOU STOP A MINISTER SLAMMING GUY'S TAG MAG AS 'FACTS'?

Minister slams Guy's Tag Mag

A medical student's tag mag has been condemned in the House of Commons for its 'racist references'.
Peter Brooke, junior education minister, said during a question time that he found the School magazine 'unpleasant'.
It was appropriate for the Government to intervene. Instead, the r... should be dealt with under the relevant credit publication laws, he said.

"Class" from the Rag and a racist from South and Social Services Journal 15.3.84

Sexist Jokes

Local and national newspapers provide an enormous quantity of material which shows the way in which humour is used to denigrate women's intelligence and women's contributions. A collection of sexist jokes is a useful way of showing how humour works to promote the interests of men, and undermining the self image of women. See the first issue of this journal pp 30 and 31.

Insults

There are more insults which refer to females than to males. Bitch, cow, tart, slag and whore have few male equivalents.

The parts of a woman's body are frequently used as swear words. It is illuminating for children to list all of the sexist insults they can think of under the headings male and female. They will find not only that women are insulted more than men, but that male insults are frequently less insulting. Dog, for example, is less offensive than bitch — it often has overtones of compliment because it refers sometimes to a man who is 'successful' with women.

Male insults are generally used as a means of making boys conform to certain behavioural norms; they may make boys afraid of seeming effeminate.

An analysis of swearwords can be followed by an examination of the sorts of comments which are frequently directed at girls and women as they go about their daily lives. 'Nice legs, shame about the face' and similar comments can be used to illustrate to children the way in which men feel free to comment on the physical appearance of women; the comment shouted from the building sites and out of car windows may be intended as compliments; but men are seldom subject to loud mouthed judgement of their personal appearance as they walk down the road. This is a useful topic for discussion. Girls may like to think of appropriate retorts; they may also benefit from sharing ideas about how to deal with the men who are more aggressive in their approach — the ones who grab and lunge, or the ones who put a patronising hand on the shoulder while issuing a judgement on a woman's physical appearance.

Women as Sex Objects

Newspapers, magazines, comics, films, TV programmes and adverts can all be analysed for the images they present of women. It is useful to examine sexually exploitative advertising in the mildly pornographic pictures in newspapers like 'The Sun' in the context of discussions on the issue of sexual violence against women. The teacher can easily make a collection of articles on rape and sexually motivated murders; it is helpful if these come from local as well as national newspapers.

The Bargain

*It walks and it talks, it smiles and beguiles,
It cooks and it sweeps and it cleans,
It opens its legs, sends you to work on an egg,
And is a pillar on which you can lean.
It comforts and advises, it sews and tantalizes,
It can look pretty and shiny and sweet,
It will function 'til insane, bear all of the pain,
And when battered will only retreat.
It is loyal and obedient, strong and expedient,
It will breed future generations, re-arrange the geraniums,
And, no matter what, is always agreeable.
If a breakdown threatens rewind with presents:
A new dress, a foodmixer, a day trip to Southend.
A new baby will sooth it, perfume will retell it,*

Sexism in Geography

Brekke Larsen's work demonstrates how geography teaching operates as part of the system of socialization which ensures that boys and girls have different expectations, and experience different realities. She suggests that girls are more often supervised than boys, and more likely to be instilled with a fear of rape or murder; they respond to wilderness with a strong element of fear or suspicion. This, she suggests, may affect a girl's response to physical geography and mapwork. She writes: 'There are likely to be differences in the size of areas boys and girls can imagine from their own experience. Many maps and studies generally exceed the home range of girls. It is an accepted educational principle to take children's existing knowledge as a starting point for education. Perhaps boys and girls have different 'starting points' which we, as teachers, ought to take into account.' (Larsen 1983).

It may be interesting for pupils to examine gender differences in perception. The range covered by mental maps may be different; significant features of the local area may not be the same for boys as for girls.

Brekke Larsen points out that geography textbooks focus on the world and work of men, while ignoring women's worth. It may be illuminating for pupils to test this hypothesis.

Women are stereotyped, made invisible and marginalised. The way in which these processes operate through geography teaching can easily be examined by children once they become sensitised to the idea.

Perhaps part of our work as geography teachers should be consciousness raising on the issue of sexism.

References

Larsen, B. The Gender Gap in the Geography Curriculum, in *Racism Society, Geography Curriculum Association for Curriculum Development in Geography*, March 1983.

Suggested Reading

Sarah E. and Spender, D. *Learning to Lose. The Women's Press*, 1980.
Spender, D. *Invisible Women: The Schooling Scandal*, Readers and Writers Publishing Cooperative, 1982.
Spender, D. *Man Made Language*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980.
Wilson, A. *Finding a Voice: Perspectives of Asian Women* in Britain, Virago, 1978.
Slinton, J. (ed) *Racism and Sexism in Children's Books*, Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative 1979.

*And it has been programmed to do it again and again.
It is a bargain, gentlemen, a wonder at the price of a sacrament.*

*Some white lace, a gold ring, and fifty identical loasters.
It will love to be conquered, enslaved and dishonoured,*

And it will hide all the scars behind brick walled smiling plaster.

*The contract awaits you, make your proposal,
This bargain is extraordinary and guaranteed for life.*

*You can control all of the switches and ignore all of the wishes of
This ingenious product: a wife.*

Christina Jenkins (Aged 14)

Studying Maps

(Dawn Gill)

Objectives

1. To consider how maps represent reality.
2. To compare Mercator's with Peters' projection.
3. To think about whether our ideas about the world may be influenced by the maps we use.

You will need an atlas

A Story

Imagine a balloon which is round (a sphere). It has not been blown up. There is a picture of Father Christmas on it. You are bored. You decide to make the balloon into a flat picture of Father Christmas. You have a pair of scissors.

You cut into one side of the balloon, like this:



You try to make a flat picture of Father Christmas. Your family are out, so you get some drawing pins, and pin the balloon to the table. What has happened to Father Christmas?

His forehead and chin have been stretched, his nose looks small in comparison to the rest of his face.

There is a knock on the door, it's the little kid from next door. You know that her parents have got unusual ideas about bringing up children. They refuse to tell any lies to little Jackie. They don't believe in Father Christmas so Jackie doesn't know anything about him.

You tell Jackie about Father Christmas and say 'This is what he looks like'. She stands on the chair and stares at the flattened balloon.

All her life she will believe that Father Christmas has a little nose; a wide forehead and a fat chin!

The earth is a sphere. (Like the balloon.) It has land areas on it. The balloon had a picture of Father Christmas.)

Your tasks

1. Explain how the Peters' projection compares with Mercator. What are their disadvantages? What are their advantages?

Look how these places are shown:

the USSR	Africa
the USA	India
Europe	South America
Britain	Greenland

What impression would you get about the size of these places if you used only a Mercator map?

Do you think it is possible that children would imagine the big or central land areas to be more important than the others?

A person who draws maps is called a CARTOGRAPHER. A cartographer who wants to draw a map of the world has a problem: how to represent a sphere on a flat piece of paper. Some land areas may be stretched, and others made smaller so that the earth can be shown in the shape of a rectangle.

Look at this map of the world.



Mercator projection

It was drawn by a cartographer called MERCATOR. Which land areas may have been stretched to make a flat picture? Which areas are likely to have been made smaller?

(Think about Father Christmas, with the wide forehead and little nose.)

Look where Mercator put the equator. There is mostly sea in the southern hemisphere, so he has not shown much of it on his map. On the Mercator map, Europe looks quite big and central, North America looks very big — bigger than Africa.

The Mercator map is the area we usually see in textbooks and atlases.

Look at this map of the world.



Peters' projection

This is a Peters' EQUAL AREA projection.

The SHAPES of the continents have been distorted, but this map gives a better impression of their SIZE. The Peters' map is not much good for measuring distances.

Is it possible that ideas about the world (about the size and importance of countries) are influenced by the maps we use? Did you know that the USA would fit into Africa almost four times? If not you've been conned, just like little Jackie.

2. Look through the atlas. Can you find any other map projections of the world? How do they compare with Mercator and Peters'? The USA is a country. Africa is a CONTINENT with many countries.

3. Study an atlas map of the USA and make a list of the States you have not heard of before. Study an atlas map of Africa. Make a list of the countries you have not heard of before. What CONCLUSIONS can you draw from this work?

4. Look through the objectives of this assignment, skim the story and look at the work you have done. Make a summary of the things you have learned.

GYSL Education or Indoctrination?

by Dawn Gill

To indoctrinate is to present one viewpoint to the exclusion of others. Education would involve the examination of alternative viewpoints, and alternative explanatory frameworks.

The most widely used and influential syllabus in Britain is G.Y.S.L. "Geography for the Young School Leaver" is taught in about half London's secondary schools and is widespread throughout the UK.

Readers may be aware of criticisms in relation to some of the older teaching materials which have been described as racist (see *The Teacher* 28.11.83, *The New Statesman* 17.12.83 and *The Guardian* 24.1.84). Little has been written, however, of the new teaching materials associated with the course.

This article introduces several areas of concern. It is the first in a series of critiques which will examine the ideological implications of the new G.Y.S.L. books. The critiques demonstrate that the books present ideas and information consistent with fostering western capitalist ideology to the virtual exclusion of other information and ideas.

The books lack a clear explanatory framework, and fail to provide alternative viewpoints. It is therefore argued that they are part of a subtle system of indoctrination. The current system of power relationships — globally and nationally — is presented as natural and inevitable. The books fail to encourage critical questioning of these power relationships, thus they support an inequitable status quo in world affairs.

We point out that in this respect the G.Y.S.L. materials are typical of geography textbooks used in Britain. The reason we choose G.Y.S.L. as a focus of criticism is that the syllabus is so influential. We accept that in many ways — in pedagogic terms, for example, and in terms of teacher involvement — the course is better than many others. But change in G.Y.S.L. would affect a greater number of pupils than would change in other syllabuses. One of our aims is to speed up the process of curriculum change by raising the debate on political implications of curriculum content. A focus on G.Y.S.L. seems to be an effective way to start.

The Context

A look at the context in which the new materials were produced may be illuminating in terms of the content. The six textbooks are published by Nelson. They were written in association with a project funded by the Overseas Development Administration as an extension to the Schools Council G.Y.S.L. course.

The ODA is a British Government organization and would be likely to reflect central government concerns; the Schools Council is also a government-funded organization. Nelson is a multinational company with offices in Britain, Kenya, Singapore, Australia, Canada, Hong Kong and Nigeria. Production and distribution of the books is controlled from London. They were printed in Hong Kong and have been advertised in Africa. The initial project received government funding. The way in which the books have been produced and marketed provides a classic example of a multinational company in operation. Multinationals typically have links with the state; they are associated with international division of labour — concentrating production where cheap, non-union labour can most easily be employed — and their goals are marketed internationally. If we take into account the implicit ideological message of the books we could describe sales in Africa as 'ideological imperialism' — exporting ideas and values of dubious benefit to the Africans, but supportive to Western business interests.

Context influences Content?
The way in which the books were produced is interesting: the ODA financed the Schools Council; the Schools Council then made links with the publisher; the authors dealt with representatives of Nelson.

John Simpson, one of the authors of the book on Peru, is less than happy about the ways in which his work was circumvented: he is currently writing up an account of his experiences as an author for the G.Y.S.L. series; it will be published in the next issue of this journal.

John Simpson explains that after a draft text had been researched and written it was discussed with a Nelson representative. At the Nelson level changes were made. The work then went to a monitoring committee at the Schools Council, and was further changed. He feels that the ODA may have had some influence on content: the published draft had a section on aid which he had not been involved in writing, or even seen before publication.

The original idea for the book was to compare a socialist developing country (Cuba) with one undergoing capitalist development (Brazil). A series of changes were made, so that eventually what came out was a study of one capitalist country. In the light of this information it is interesting to note that the textbook entitled *Developing Cities* (Jones 1981) mentions 27 multinationals/companies are mentioned in two paragraphs, one of which explains that wages are often well above the national minimum and as a result workers are loyal.

Such observations are made here not to suggest a sinister manipulation of the authors by the funding and publishing organisations, merely to stimulate questioning about the relationship between the information presented in British schools and the means by which it is made available. This may be an interesting area for further study.

The Textbooks are:	
'Developing Cities'	Melvyn Jones
Tourism	Robert Prosser
The Middle East	Christine Peters and Penelope Tuson
Food, Farming and Farming	Barbara Jones and Richard Wales
Patterns of Underdevelopment	John Bale
	Rex Beddis, Robin Gildersteeve and John Simpson

An Analysis of the Textbooks

An analysis of the textbooks is extremely important since they are being marketed internationally and, in Britain, are likely to find their way into all schools where the G.Y.S.L. course is used. Below are some initial comments on the series as a whole, these are followed by detailed examination of part of Jones' *Developing World*. The critique is fairly damning but directed less at the author than at the value system within which he operates, and the stodgy and insidious nature of school geography textbooks generally. In addition to the critique of Jones' work there is a detailed outline of how the topic *Developing Cities* could have been dealt with in a more coherent and accurate way.

It is the intention of the Association that alternative learning material be produced for use in schools where G.Y.S.L. is taught. We are currently working on two subject areas: cities and urbanization, and multinational companies. *Contemporary Issues in Geography and Education*, the Association's journal will provide information on developments in this work.

Some general comments:

Each of the textbooks has a set of teacher's notes at the back. The key ideas, skills, values and attitudes which the book aims to teach or foster are made clear. It is extremely useful to have a book's aims laid out in this way if teachers wish to evaluate the learning experiences provided. In particular it is valuable to have the values and attitudes exposed; those remain hidden in most learning materials. The values and attitudes themselves, however, are nebulously worded and frequently begin with phrases like 'an awareness of...', 'an appreciation of...', 'a consideration of...', 'a recognition of...', 'a realization that...'. Among the 104 values and attitudes listed in the six textbooks 50 are listed as 'an awareness of...' but its awareness a value or an attitude? It may underpin or determine these things, but it seems to be neither. This is not merely semantic nit-picking; the point is that the books do not fulfil the claims that they make in terms of an approach to attitudes and values. A teacher concerned to examine value and attitude positions must be wary of this.

Many of the phrases listed as values and attitudes seem likely to prevent their development; for example 'A realization that the poor sections of society are relatively helpless (Jones and Wales 1981)'. An appreciation of the nature of a rigid class structure within a country (Beddis, Gildersteeve and Simpson and 'Recognition that Britain is part of the richer area of the World' (Bale 1981)). These statements suggest an inevitability about the relationships between people and countries. There is a laissez-faire approach to the situation implicit in the statements. Perhaps this can be described as an attitude. If so, we should perhaps ask if it is one which schooling should aim to foster.

Some of the values and attitudes are essentially expressions of well meaning liberalism, such as 'sympathy towards conquered peoples' (Bale). 'Understanding the position of homeless or displaced peoples' (Peters and Tuson). But like all liberal sentiments, unless sympathy and understanding are translated into something more dynamic, they are utterly pointless. The sympathy for disadvantaged peoples' suggested in the Peru book might be better translated into 'anger at inequality'.

The Key Ideas

Key ideas are listed in the teachers' guide to each book. These are presented as statements of fact. Elsewhere it is argued that using key questions may promote a more active approach to teaching and learning (Gill 1981). Ideas like 'Islam is a complete way of life' (Peters and Tuson) 'Population growth is putting pressure on World Resources' (Bale) 'Famine is the product of natural or man made disasters' (Jones and Wales) could all usefully be presented as questions.

An examination of these key ideas calls into question the knowledge/values dichotomy. For example the notion that 'population growth is putting pressure on world resources' reflects a value position. People have large families in areas where there is a high incidence of infant mortality. Areas which are poor — for whatever reason — tend to be those where many children die of starvation and deficiency diseases. We could equally argue that the unequal distribution of the world's wealth is 'causing a high birthrate in some areas. Thus it can be demonstrated that the key ideas are not separable from values and attitudes. The dichotomy is a false one. The whole of the G.Y.S.L. syllabus and all of the new textbooks rest on the assumption that 'key ideas' — 'knowledge' can be distinguished from values and attitudes. A particularly worrying observation in connection with the key ideas approach in the new G.Y.S.L. books is that in some instances, when one turns to the section where a key idea is to be re-emphasized, there is little more than a restatement of the idea. The books are not evidence based; they are information oriented. Information is presented in support of the key ideas but it is seldom clear where this comes from. It is presented as fact. Thus the information transmission model of teaching and learning — in which the learner is a passive recipient of information which is not questioned — is the model generally used.

Idea 1.1 in the Peru book is one which many teachers may be keen to explore in the classroom. 'Many factors influence a nation's development: interests, viewpoints, experiences, ability to stimuli, media coverage, etc.' However, when they turn to 1.1 in the text, they'll find the idea restated. And that's that. 'Even any 'factual' information to support it.

The Realisability of the Textbooks

The six books cannot easily be compared in terms of linguistic complexity. There are differences within each book and between the books. In general, sentences are often longer and more difficult than they need to be in terms of language the books may be useful for 'O' level teaching (20% of the student population); they may be less so for other groups.

They are advertised as designed primarily to meet the needs of students in the 14-16 age range.

John Simpson's forthcoming article explains that his work was changed in terms of language. He presented ideas in short sentences in order that the content of the book be accessible to all pupils. When the scripts were returned the style had been altered so that short sentences were combined into longer ones. He now feels that the book on Peru is not suitable for use with mixed ability classes because of the complexity of the language.

Other aspects of the use of language in G.Y.S.L. textbooks also give cause for concern. Phrases like: 'a massacre took place... when the countries of the third world were governed by once Europeans started settling America...'

Horrible events are described in bland and formal language so that to say 'a massacre took place' becomes like saying 'and we all had tea'.

The G.Y.S.L. textbooks — not all parts of all of them but probably on most occasions when gruesome and contentious issues of the past or present are touched upon there is a conspicuous use of 'unspoken' — the language which avoids the issues, neutral and bland language which allows the reader to read on to the next paragraph without actually registering that a massacre took place.

A detailed examination of the language in these textbooks must be undertaken in order to expose its function in preventing the reader from making a connection between the words and the very real events which they purport to represent.

A group of teachers in Nottingham has begun to do some interesting work on the issue of language use in connection with the G.Y.S.L. texts. *Working Document* available from the Curriculum Development Centre, Cottingham School, Derby Road, Nottingham. This group adapted a 'clear' technique for analysing sentences from the books. They took sections of the text, and deleted certain of the words or phrases used by the author. People were then asked to complete the sections using words or phrases of their own. The value-laden nature of the words which appeared in the initial text then became apparent. The implicit associations and assumptions that lie behind certain words and their use could then be analysed, and their implications in terms of attitude formation examined.

Discussion in this group has also focussed on the passivity of some descriptions: 'Asians were migrants from the Indian sub-continent' is not fully accurate, and it begs many questions about why migration took place, whose interests it served, and that, inevitably, discussion on the issue of language would lead to questioning the political assumptions underlying not only the G.Y.S.L. course, but much of the teaching in British Schools. Below we substantiate the above points by making specific reference to Jones' *Developing Cities*, a text which could have been much improved had it been placed more specifically within the wider context of underdevelopment in general. Detailed critiques of the other books will appear in future issues of this journal.

'Developing Cities'

A worrying feature of the book is that it operates within a framework which is consistent with fostering capitalist ideology, but nowhere is this made clear. The exposition of key ideas, values and attitudes (on pages 46 and 47) create an impression that its value system is made explicit. This gives a veneer of objectivity to ideas which are far from objective. Twenty-seven countries are mentioned by name, all but one are capitalist. Twenty-five of them are ex-colonies; this is acknowledged in only one case. Neo colonialism is ignored.

Problems are internal to the city

Developing Cities' fails to address the on-going process of underdevelopment (Hodney, 1973) in many Third World Cities. Relationships between the city and the country within which it is located are ignored. Relationships between the first and Third Worlds—Colonialism and neocolonialism—are not mentioned. Jones writes as if Third World Cities and people exist in an economic and political vacuum. Problems seem to be internal to the city—not determined by dynamics outside the control of city dwellers. Problems may therefore seem to be of people's own making: the solutions may seem to be in their own hands. 'Failure' is thus 'individualised'.

The book focuses on the problems of Third World Cities while neglecting their causes. This superficial analysis is typical of geography texts at school level, and of many texts written for use in colleges and universities. This sort of intellectual blinkering is a feature of our entire education system.

Developing Cities' presents many generalizations about 'The Third World' as if it is a homogeneous unit. These generalizations are supported by examples from countries which operate as capitalist countries or whose economic structure is determined by international capitalism. Only one socialist country is mentioned—and that not in the text, but as part of a list. It is arguable whether some of the cities mentioned by Jones actually are developing in any commonly accepted sense of the word. What does 'Development' mean? It is not defined in the book but clearly the definition implicit in the work is that implicit in many of the geography syllabuses mentioned in issue 1 of this journal (pp 21-22). To develop means to become more like Britain and the USA!

'Legal' and 'illegal' practices in the Capitalist City

Jakarta is presented as a city which represents those in the Third World. But—like all of the book's examples, it is in a capitalist state. It would be useful to see whether or not Jones' generalizations hold in connection with a study of socialist countries. Cuba or Grenada could have been taken as a comparison.

To illustrate the 'formal' sector of industry there is a photograph of a Volkswagen factory, a paragraph about manufacturing industry, and a table which shows the differences between the 'formal' and 'informal' sectors. The formal sector is defined as 'manufacturing employment, employment in the Army, Police, professions, Civil Service and public services.'

It has been estimated that the formal sector employs between 40-60% of the employed population in many Third World Cities' Jones writes. (He does not make it clear who is responsible for this estimate.)

If so many people work in the formal sector it seems odd that the work of multinational companies is dealt with in only two paragraphs—one of which suggests that working for such a company is so good that workers are loyal—'while the life of a food seller is used as a long case study to illustrate the "informal" sector.'

The 'informal sector' consists of 'distribution... taxi drivers and rickshaw men play an important part in this activity. By transporting material round the cities for the many small businesses... industrial activity, for example food preparation, and processing, furniture making, clothing manufacture, provision of services, for example, car washers, self-employed mechanics, carpenters, shoe repairs, scribers, barbers and taxi-drivers' financial activity for example, renters of living spaces, money lenders'.

The characteristics that make up the informal sector are their small scale... their frequent use of hand labour or out dated equipment, their great reliance on local resources (including waste), and the irregularity of hours of work and wages. In many cases these workers also operate outside the law, without a license. Given this information, useful questions to ask may be who defines what is legal and illegal?

By whose definition is the work of 40-60% of the working population described as 'informal'? By what processes are licenses obtained, and by whose power and authority are they given?

What determines who gets a license and who remains outside the law? Page 19, which describes the life of a food seller in Jakarta mentions 'Trader cleaning operators' organized by the army. Jones writes many of these informal enterprises are extremely efficient and with official encouragement and assistance they could make a significant contribution to economic growth. To ban them would cause mass unemployment, yet they are often harassed, punished or ignored.

It would have been useful to explore the links between elements of the formal sector in helping children to understand why 'informal' industries are often harassed, punished or ignored. The army, the police, the civil service and the owners of 'formal' industry—how are these connected? In whose interests are the 'trader cleaning operators' mounted? and at whose request?

The issue of harassment and punishment of 'informal' industries is one which could usefully have been explored at greater length—Jakarta itself is subject to a repressive political regime. The processes at work in the city are as much determined by that as by anything else—but this consideration is omitted from the analysis.

In the context of the section on informal industries the following is presented under the heading 'values and attitudes in the teachers' guide (p.46 and 47).

An appreciation of the work involved in running an informal economic enterprise in a Third World City. This is clearly an articulation of the idea that British children should be taught to respect the skills and abilities of Third World peoples and as such it is laudable. But when we consider the enormous collection of highly political and highly emotive issues implicit in an analysis of the formal and informal industrial sectors, then the objective of appreciating the work involved in running an informal economic enterprise seems sadly limited—and limiting.

The section on formal and informal industry in Jakarta asks the student to sort out a list of occupations as primary, secondary and tertiary. Apart from reading the text and looking at the statistics this is the only intellectual response demanded from students in connection with the six pages on industry. Perhaps the teacher is expected to provide more. Pupils will no doubt be asked to draw graphs of the statistics on page 15. Unfortunately these statistics are not dated.

The Use of Data

Photographs are acknowledged; the source of maps and statistics is not. The book relies heavily on sets of statistics to make its points: many of them are not dated.

There are nine pieces of text which are presented as quotations from inhabitants of Third World Countries or as what seem to be first hand descriptions of their lives. It is extremely difficult because of the reiterating method, for the reader to work out who is responsible for which quote, and to find out, for example, whether they are autobiographical; they may be fictionalised representations of what a western author believes to be typical of the lives of certain other people.

Two of the quotations come from D. J. Dwyer's 'People and Housing in the Third World'. This book was published in 1974 and based on earlier research. This is not acknowledged, in fact the essay by Birmingham Kaye, from which one of the quotes is taken (page 27), was written in 1957 and based on research which took place in 1936. This comment on Singapore in 1955 is presented as comment on a contemporary city. Reference to Singapore is omitted; the comment is presented in such a way that it seems to be representative of Third World Cities in general.

The comments here are not a criticism of the author of Developing Cities in particular. It is not common practice for authors of school textbooks to acknowledge quotes or the sources of statistics or to make it clear where their information comes from. This is something of which we as teachers should be more critical, and an issue on which we should encourage the critical awareness of our students. The selection and recording of data is not an objective exercise. Facts should be taken to ensure that information is presented in a context which makes clear where it comes from. By failing to present information in such a way, textbook writers are selling their readers short. In addition to encouraging sloppy academic practice, they are discouraging critical questioning and further enquiry.

The use of quotations is a useful pedagogic practice in that it adds human interest to accounts which may be otherwise dry and formal. Using prose which allows Third World Peoples to represent themselves is also very positive in terms of encouraging respect for them. Jones must be very cagey for this. However, we must be wary of the practice. Quotations are often chosen to support a certain point of view which reflects that of the author; this gives a spurious validity to the viewpoint. When we look closely at the account of the life of Issaho Kaadli, on page 11 of Developing Cities it becomes clear that the reasons given for increasing rural poverty in Upper Volta are the weather and the increase in population. There is more than one theoretical position on the issue of increasing rural poverty; the low price paid for agricultural food products, the use of large areas of land for plantation crops—the profit from which is siphoned off of the area; the disparity in prices paid for labour at different stages of the production process. Barbara Rogers (1980) for example,

argues that land redistribution which takes place as a result of western inspired and western managed 'development projects' is responsible for land shortage for some people, and land increase for others. Ideas like these could also be offered as part of the explanation for rural poverty.

When we examine the reasons given by Issaho Kandisi for rural poverty what becomes clear is Melvyn Jones' theoretical position on the issue. Unfortunately, the 14 and 15 year olds for whom this book is intended are unlikely to be sufficiently experienced (or well educated) to recognize this.

Using the Checklist

A teacher's guide is provided free with the 6 Nelson textbooks. It includes the following checklist to help teachers assess learning materials.

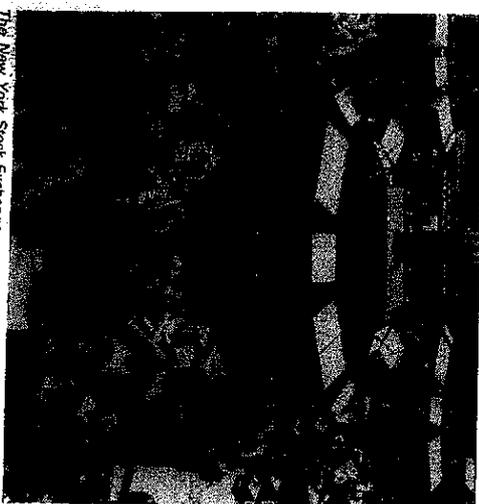
- deal with spatial variations in the levels of human welfare, measured on a variety of scales? Does it consider the validity of measures of human welfare, e.g. GNP?
 - indicate ethnic and cultural diversity and the plural nature of many societies?
 - show any awareness of the cultural achievements of developing countries and the cultural debts that industrialised countries owe to them?
 - discuss the physical environment in terms of constraints upon, and opportunities for, development?
 - deal with the history of the developing countries concerned, with reference to their colonial background?
 - deal with the world distribution of resources and production?
 - deal with the content and direction of international trade, its changing patterns and the ways in which it affects the internal structures of developing countries?
 - discuss occupational structures and the kinds of work that people do?
 - present a range of agricultural situations in developing countries and discuss questions of land ownership and land reform?
 - deal with the population increase rates, age structure and densities and explain the cause of change?
 - look at migration flows within developing countries (e.g. urbanisation) and at international migration, past and present?
 - discuss different types of human settlements and their characteristics and functions?
 - discuss the nature of aid relationships?
 - look at alternative strategies for development?
 - examine the economic, social and cultural effects of tourism?
 - include any discussion of the role of large multinational corporations?
- Having read this checklist in the teachers' guide, teachers probably expect with some confidence that the six new G.Y.S.L. books measure up well to its criteria. Unfortunately, the books do not fulfil the criteria.
- Below, Jones 'Developing Cities' is examined in relation to the checklist.

When we ask 'does the book... consider the validity of measures of human welfare; indicate the cultural debts that industrialized countries owe; deal with the world distribution of resources and production; deal with the content and direction of international trade, and the way in which it affects the internal structure of developing countries; discuss the nature of aid relationships; look at alternative strategies for development?' We find the answer is no. The book does not do any of these things. Perhaps that seems fair enough, if some of the other books do them.

However, when we examine in detail some of the checklist questions, to which 'yes' is the answer for Jones' book, then suspicion is thrown on the whole course.

For example—

Question 5: does the book deal with the history of the countries concerned with reference to their colonial background? In a sense, for Developing Cities the answer to this question is yes. But 25 ex-colonies are mentioned. One of them, Kenya, is recognised as such in the text. Fair enough, one may think to use as a detailed example, however, what of the detail?



The New York Stock Exchange

Thus dealt with is the colonial history of Kenya: its racist laws, its practice of dividing African families and exploiting the labour of those most useful to the European and colonial economies. Kenya before 1960 was very much like the South Africa of today.

An examination of the study section for this part of the book reveals no further mention of the issue of colonialism.

Question 9: Does the book present a range of agricultural situations in developing countries? The answer is yes. But the range is limited. Large landowners; plantation workers; small farmers who own their own land; tenant farmers and landless labourers are mentioned as representative of people in agricultural situations (see p.6). However the book fails to mention that in some parts of the world areas are farmed co-operatively or collectively.

This is surprising in view of the large percentage of the world's agricultural population which farm in this way. (It is interesting to note that urbanization is less marked in China than in capitalist developing countries.)

Does the book discuss questions of land ownership and land reform? Yes, in terms of inheritance patterns: Fragmentation of holdings is presented as the reason that farms become too small to offer a living. It is this fragmentation which eventually creates landless peasants. The suggestion is that inheritance patterns are the real problem in terms of creating landless peasants — although there is also mention of the influence of the green revolution in encouraging Indian landowners to evict tenants. But with respect to the question of land reform, should it not also focus on the fact that large multinationals own big areas; rich individuals own big areas; if some people have a lot and some have none this is an issue which could be considered as part of the question of land reform. Also the very concept of land ownership — this is one which could be examined closely, who introduced it to Australia? to North America? to parts of Africa? It is a concept which in itself is questionable. Could land ownership patterns be significantly altered? Is communal ownership possible or desirable? Does the land, like the air we breathe, rightfully belong to all?

When we consider alternative questions which could be asked in relation to these issues we became aware of the book's narrow perspective — a perspective determined almost entirely by capitalist values.

Language

The language of the text is formal; sentences are often very long. This makes the text accessible only to students with a good grasp of formal language.

Although the language level seems to make the book suitable for 'O' level teaching, the conceptual content is frequently trivial; as are questioning responses on the part of the reader.

Some of the tasks are little more than comprehension exercises, where the student is required to present a note from the information which has been presented as fact in the text — see questions 7a and 7b on page 13.

Conclusions

'Developing Cities' has been heavily criticised here. This is not because it is an example of an exceptionally bad textbook. As British Geography textbooks go, it is probably better than most. Jones has tried to present a positive image of 'third world' peoples, which is more than many other authors do; the book is well illustrated and beautifully presented. The reason that I have taken it apart in such a way is to show that this book — which was produced with the support of O.D.A. money, its content monitored by the Schools Council, widely reviewed as a good book and widely advertised for use in so many schools — works in a way which could be described as indoctrination.

It distorts history and gives a biased view of the present, while operating under a cloak of 'objectivity'. It supports an inequitable status quo by failing to ask critical questions.

I hope that a closer look at 'Developing Cities' — a relatively good book by some standards — has served to demonstrate how ill-equipped is the notion that education should be politically neutral. Education cannot be neutral, and attempts to make it so by failing to explore the political dimensions of issues, merely miseducates.

Developing Cities

An Alternative Approach

Ian Cook

The overriding weakness of 'Developing Cities' lies in its failure to present the key area of debate in a cogent and lucid form. There is a certain amount of good material within the text but its impact is diluted by a confusing and disorganised treatment of major themes, such as the role of the formal/informal sector and of spontaneous settlement. For example, the author in his presentation seems unclear as to whether spontaneous settlement should be encouraged or discouraged and consequently fails to present clearly the advantages and disadvantages of such a type of settlement form for their residents and for the local authorities required to control them. This confused approach makes it extremely difficult for the pupil to assess the strengths and weaknesses of a squatter settlement for there are no clear guidelines presented to guide him/her towards an evaluation. Similarly, on what criteria should the pupil judge the role and nature of the informal sector? On page 40 the pupil is told baldly that the formal sector will only be able to employ a fraction of the potential workers in Third World Cities in the foreseeable future but no reference is made to the reasons why this may be the case, and the defence of the informal sector which follows is assertive and lacking in context. In general, the text fails to grasp the nature of the nature of underdevelopment and the role of the city within underdevelopment. As a consequence the text replicates and fosters Western stereotypes of Third World cities, foists their failures upon the indigenous population, and almost completely ignores the role of the capitalist-dominated world-system in creating a set of preconditions in which Third World Cities have such burgeoning growths. A more dynamic approach might be presented along the following lines:

Firstly, the key areas of debate should be identified. These include the answering of questions such as:

- (a) To what extent is the Third World City developing along Western lines?
- (b) To what extent are Third World cities parasitic or symbiotic upon their hinterlands?
- (c) What is the role of a Third World City in relation to Western capitalism and the indigenous population respectively?
- (d) Are there alternatives to the rapid expansion of Third World Cities?
- (e) How do the contrasts between rich and poor in these cities manifest themselves and what are the reasons for these inequalities?
- (f) To what extent should 'informal', 'self-help' options be encouraged in Third World Cities.

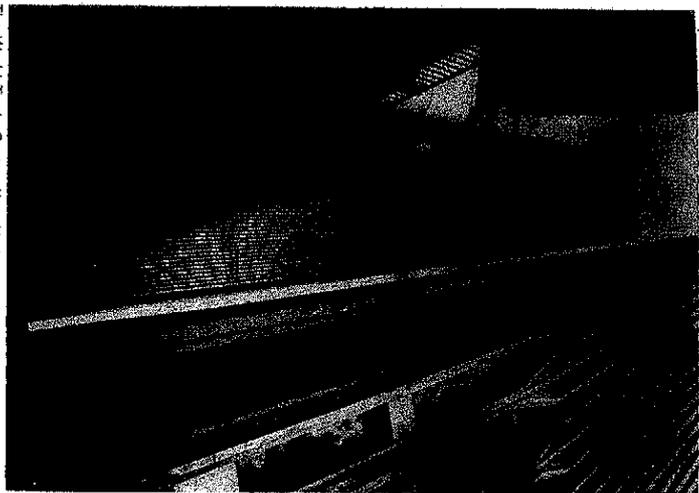
Secondly, appropriate material should be presented in order to enable the pupil to develop an understanding of these questions and their ramifications.

Thirdly, a set of criteria should be given to enable the pupil to evaluate the pros and cons of each issue dealt with. It would be pedagogically desirable to request the pupil to evaluate the answers to these questions from different standpoints such as a Shanty-town dweller, a local government official or a property speculator, for example.

Let us take the first two questions posed above, and illustrate how they might be tackled:

- (a) To what extent is the Third World City developing along Western lines?

This question is important for it determines the appropriate mode of analysis required to study the Third World City. If the city is largely a Western-derived phenomenon then we can apply Western-type solutions to their problems. If the Third World City is unique, however, then the Western models are invalidated and we must seek for alternative theories by which their development may best be explained and understood. What type of evidence can be presented to the pupil to help him/her answer this question? Well, some of the evidence is given in Jones' text, but it needs to be presented in a more coherent



The World Trade Centre, New York

and systematic fashion. Firstly the rapid rate of growth of 3W cities might be referred to, noting the fact that the proportion of population in urban areas is still less than that in the First World but that growth is rapid and, more importantly, recent. The concepts of 'over urbanization' and 'pseudo-urbanization' might be introduced here for discussion. Some authors have suggested, for example, that because these (3W) cities lack a manufacturing base in comparison to those in the First World that they are 'over' or 'pseudo' urbanized. The evidence on the composition of the labour force could be presented here, noting the importance of the service sector in the 3W context. However, it must be realised that these concepts are themselves Western in origin and implicitly accept the view that the 3W city should be developing in a Western image and are somewhat deviant if they do not do so.

More evidence is required in order to answer this question. One could, therefore, illustrate the primary, which is characteristic of 3W cities and attempt to highlight the contrasts between Western and non-Western cities in this respect. Further, one could present material on the internal structure of 3W cities to show that the classical ecological models of land use fail to fit the 3W context, in part because of factors such as the colonial legacy which has left European Quarters, Chinatown and the like in many 3W cities, as well as different perceptions of the desirability of a central location among the rich in, for example, many cities of Latin America. Plus, of course, the spontaneous settlements to which Jones refers, which are such a marked feature of these cities.

The presentation of such material will lead the pupil to a realisation that 3W cities differ in many respects from those of the West. Similarities are found, but there are great contrasts, also. Why should this be the case? The reasons are complex, but can be simplified as follows: First World cities developed as essentially independent centres of production, exchange and consumption of goods and services, whereas 3W cities have developed within a colonial and neo-colonial context in which they are essentially subordinate to the metropolitan

centres of the West. Their central function is much more closely linked to production and exchange than it is to consumption. High consumption levels are found, but only among a small and privileged elite (except in a few socialist societies where consumption is less conspicuous). The majority of the people live in the essentially subsistence sector, referred to by Jones as the 'informal' sector. This is essentially inward-oriented, but in contrast there is the 'formal' sector which is Western-oriented in its activities. Jones introduces these concepts but fails completely to relate them to the broader processes of underdevelopment. Even though the quotes a Table (p. 15) which is obviously derived from the very important work of Milton Santos who uses the terms 'Upper Circuit' and 'Lower Circuit' rather than 'Formal' and 'Informal' sectors, respectively, and who relates these two circuits to the national and international contexts, no mention is made of the wider processes at work. Now, the concepts of upper and lower circuits may be considered to be too difficult for children of this age range, but even if this debatable point is accepted, there is absolutely no reason why pupils should not be introduced to the simpler, related concepts of dualism and the dual economy in order to aid their understanding of the Third World city.

As shown in Figure 1 in the article on 'Alternative Perspectives' (this issue), the main flow of goods, trade, capital, etc., between the Western metropolises and the Third World city are directed through the formal sector of the city. In turn this sector is linked closely with the Plantation Sector of Agriculture and any Mining Sector which may be found in the country. The links which the Formal Sector has with the indigenous masses engaged in subsistence agriculture are weak, and are generally channelled through the informal sector where the processes of migrant flow, exchange and sale of agricultural products and so on are formed. This latter sector can be regarded as the country in the city for it contains people who cling primarily to traditional rural values, who are often transient, and who live in an essentially subsistence fashion within the spontaneous settlements which are found there. In contrast, the formal sector is highly urbanised, wealthy, and the world of the highly educated elite of government officials, military officers and business people who have generally adopted the consumption patterns of western elites and aspire to the material satisfaction of a consumer oriented society. They will have little contact with, and probably little sympathy for, the peasant masses who form the bulk of the population in the shanty towns and the hinterland beyond. Jones hinted at some of the contrasts between the two groups but more could be done with the type of material he presents in order to highlight contrasts in the life styles, values and attitudes of those in each sector as will be shown in the next section.

- (b) To what extent are Third World cities parasitic or symbiotic upon their hinterlands?

This question is important for it relates to the wider questions of 'what is development?' and 'how can development be achieved?' Writers who follow the now largely discredited Rostowian notion of development as a series of stages through which all countries pass eventually, firmly believe the city to be symbiotic with its hinterland. Similarly, writers in the 'Geography of Modernisation' approach (such as Gould and Soli) believe the city to be the transmitter of 'progress' and 'modernisation' and urban centres to be the sources of diffusion of modern ideas which will cascade in waves down the urban hierarchy and eventually to the 'backward' agricultural sectors. The city is regarded in these two approaches as being in benevolent interaction with the countryside, giving out flows of manufactured goods, advanced technology, education and so on, and in return receiving the primary products from the rural hinterland in 'fair exchange' process; in contrast, more radical authors (such as Santos, Frank, McGee) suggest that the city in the Third World is parasitic rather than symbiotic upon the countryside. These writers suggest that the city operates primarily to exploit the rural areas by engaging in an 'unequal exchange' in which agricultural and other primary products are bought

cheaply from the rural dwellers, and expensive manufactured goods are sold back to them. Also, the better educated and more dynamic elements in the rural population are drawn and syphoned off by the 'bright lights' and perceived opportunities in the city, leaving a residual and warped demographic structure in the rural areas, which lacks the crucial age group in the 20-40 age band. In addition, such writers suggest that the 'modern' values introduced via the city are out of tune with traditional values, create aspirations and expectations which derive from the materialist, consumer-oriented ethos of the West, and which cannot realistically be fulfilled in a poverty-stricken rural economy. In essence, in this approach, the city destabilises the countryside via the introduction of alien values and ideas.

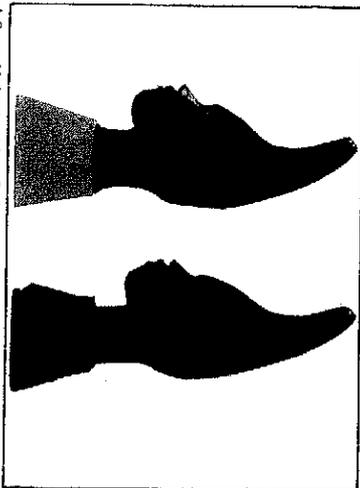
How can these ideas be presented to pupils in the 14-16 age group? Firstly, one could focus upon the products associated with the city, and contrast these with the products in the countryside. The city is associated with 'modern' products such as the television, radios, motor cars, high-rise flats and so on, whereas the countryside is associated with coffee beans, traditional craft products, simple farming utensils and the like. One could focus upon the prices of such disparate products, allowing for transportation costs as appropriate. The marked contrast in prices will be clearly evident. It could be suggested that these price differentials merely reflect the sophisticated nature of urban production methods in contrast to rural production and pupils could discuss this issue. One could then examine income levels of different types of urban dwellers and contrast these with those of selected rural dwellers. Geoffrey Lean in his book and television series 'Rich World, Poor World' provides the type of material which could be presented here, such as interviews with a male Bangla Deshi labourer in the countryside, a female tea picker in Tanzania and a female Brazilian favela dweller in Sao Paulo. The wages of rural and urban teachers, doctors and the like could also be contrasted and the differentials noted and discussed.

The focus would then move on to demographic evidence for urban/rural inequities. Jones presents some demographic material which could be employed here, and this could be contrasted with the presentation of material on the demography of selected rural villages in different countries. Finally, the contrasts between urban and rural values could be illustrated by interview material gathered from new urban dwellers experiencing the 'culture shock' of life in the city, older established urban residents and villagers in more remote areas. Dwyer, for example, suggests that in spontaneous settlements one can grade residents from the newcomers who are 'bridgeheaders' seeking to establish a foothold in the city, through to the more established 'status seekers' who have acquired the trappings of success in the shape of better housing, televisions and so on and even land rights won from the local authority. Contrasts in the life styles of people in these different categories could be examined in order to illustrate the extent to which rural values are adhered to, including evidence for the number of returns to the countryside the urban dweller makes annually, asking whether the presentation of such material the pupil will be led to question the idea that the city is a good thing and come to his/her own conclusions upon the impact of the city upon the countryside.

The above outline has been planned in haste. It will be considered more carefully, before a textbook is written for use in schools. The Association for Curriculum Development in Geography would value reader's comments on the work so far. Please send them to Ian Cook via the Association, London School University Institute of Education, Bedford Way, London, WC2Z.

References
Aldridge, J. and Hay, R. J. (eds.) *Third World Urbanization*, Methuen, 1980.
Dwyer, D. *People and Housing in Third World Cities*, Longman, 1975.
Simpson, M. *The Shared Space*, Methuen, 1975.

40



A Queen Mother, based from Berlin, kept in the British Museum

Black people's history has been 'fragmented and destroyed'

The African People's historical monument Foundation plans to open Britain's first archive of black history and culture in Britain. The archives will store historical data, and will also preserve films of everyday life to provide future historians with an accurate picture of what life was like for black British people during the 20th century.

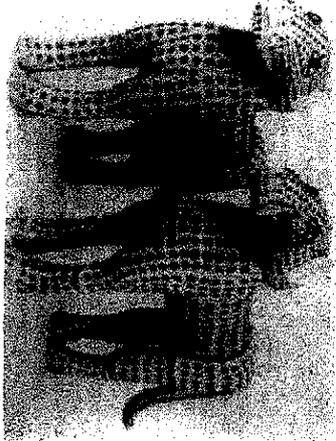
Len Garrison, chairperson of the Foundation, comments: 'Until now black people have not been able to make sense of our own history. It has been fragmented and destroyed as a way of maintaining white people's sense of superiority.' The foundation declares that the archives will enable our young people to trace black presence in Britain as well as make connection with Africa, the Caribbean and other black communities elsewhere. This will help them to build a stronger self image and identity in this society.

The African People's Monument Society would be pleased to hear from people who have memorabilia such as old photographs, documents, diaries, or wartime mementoes which may be of interest to the proposed archives.

The archive is concerned with the collection and documentation of black social history as well as artefacts. The organisers would welcome contact from elderly black people who wish to record their experience for future generations.

For further details contact
The Black Cultural Archives
c/o 152 Fernhead Road, Paddington, London.

Howe, Leobards: early 19th century. Lent by HM The Queen to the Museum of Mankind



Practical suggestion: students could do a 'pilgrage trail' in the British Museum and others, to find out which exhibits have come from Britain's ex-colonies.

Effects of Racism on Chinese Kids in School

Chun Nok Fung,

Student Quinlan Kyraston School

I am a British citizen. I was born on British soil like most English babies. I have a British passport and the right to live here like most English people. Yet I have suffered from racism because I am Chinese!

Racism exists in Britain and occurs frequently in schools. Many non-English children suffer from racism. The extent to which racism operates in school depends on the degree of prejudice. Racist attacks in schools range from name calling and graffiti to physical violence. While children are not the only racists, children from different parts of the world may also be racist in the way they treat each other. Asian and West Indians often hold prejudiced views about each other.

The children of a whole nation cannot really help being racist as this is one of their behaviour patterns. This is of course associated with politics and the media. The children pick up stereotypes of people of different cultures from newspapers, magazines, radio and television. Also, books play a vital part because some of the books the children have encountered during their early schooling life contain materials which are outdated, sexist and racist. Very young children start building and collecting images of 'different' people who are not English.

When finally they do meet non-English people, their minds will go searching for the images they have gathered and built up, and these images will be attached to the non-English people. Being children, they will start to call names and make fun from the stereotypes and pictures processed in their minds. These so-called images are related to the way non-English people speak, their languages, the way they dress, religions, habits, food and so on. Speaking from past experience of racist attacks at school, I can say that the effects are great. It is hurtful and absorbing to the heart. This, I'm sure applies to the majority of Chinese in schools today. The fact that I am British makes no difference; it is my appearance, not clothing, but my Chinese looks which trigger off the racism. Being in a small minority of Chinese students in the school who are constantly made fun of is depressing.

We are made to feel rejected, not by our own friends, but by society. We are biased with the impression that we Chinese are inferior to the English and that we can be laughed at. The effects of the name calling drove me to try to be as English as possible. By this, I mean that I went around with English friends and tried to keep away from my Chinese mates. Never once did I speak Cantonese (one of the Chinese languages) to my Chinese mates in front of non-Chinese at school. This is because I was in fear and was afraid of being laughed at, as the English seem to find our language rather amusing. I had no pride in being Chinese.

During that time, the abuse had made me feel embarrassed about my native language. When it came to after-school events such as parents' evenings, I just couldn't mention them to my parents because I didn't want them to be there. This is so because neither of my parents speak English and if they were to be there, a translator would be needed. Cantonese would have to be spoken and heard by English people and classmates.

In most cases there is a lot of suffering due to the language problem. This is because some Chinese people can't communicate in English, therefore they are forced to speak their own language. It even here they speak Chinese they are laughed at, they will be confined to speak only in front of Chinese people. This happens of course only if they take it to heart and most of them do. I can say, therefore the extent of the effect depends on how conditionally one takes it. Some people just withdraw and stop trying to communicate.

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School cannot control racism altogether, but it can do things which go towards a result which might take years. What I mean is, throughout the children's compulsory schooling years, there should be more talks and discussions on racism, religions and the different cultures and customs. These should include class discussions and assemblies talks with all reasons and objectives looked into so that customs are not viewed as 'weird' and without reason or meaning. Children must be educated about the way people live today and not just the costumes, the images and stereotypes picked up from books and media of yesterday.

There should be more value given to non-English languages and people. Schools must lead, and show in plenty of ways that school is not just for English speaking or English people. More up to date books on the differing cultures in the world today and a wider variety of language classes could be made available. Maybe, projects on people's working lives and religions should have a star role in one of the English or Social Studies syllabuses. Children could then compare their projects in class and talk about them. Also, there should be more involvement of parents and communities in the school. For example signs in English such as 'NO SMOKING' should be accompanied by other language prints such as Chinese or Arabic. The parents could do this. They could be valued by the school.

School should slowly mingle all these cultures together until children realise there's nothing strange or odd in the way people live. With acts and words of encouragement from the teachers themselves, schools would be a much better place for all minority races and the English to develop their education and themselves.

We should not be made to feel left out!

This should be a vital part of our education and when the time comes, say when pupils are about 15 to 16 years of age when most children can become sensible, after hearing and discussing much about racism they can decide for themselves whether they are racist or not. For most young English people today the decisions are already made, before they can think for themselves. They take in stereotyped images and live by them. They treat other people not as people with feelings, but as objects of fun. This is only because they do not know any better. The school could teach them better, and give them a chance to make up their own minds.

數員休息室
地理課室

Staff Room

DIALOGUE

Dear Editors,

It was with eager anticipation that I opened the first issue of *Contemporary Issues in Geography and Education*. I skipped the editorial and rushed on to the articles. Great here was what I wanted to see. A more radical approach to Geography. But on returning to the editorial, I grew concerned about the aims of this journal, surely something was missing, but what was it? The answer was there, stark and obvious. Primary schools — no mention; integrated studies — no mention; cross-curricular studies — no mention.

The new Association and its journal appears to omit certain important items from its agenda. Primarily an association of teachers concerned about multi-cultural education should, in my opinion, be looking very closely at the role of geography in the curriculum and the role that geographical education has to play within it. A large number of educationalists argue that the compartmentalisation of schools is not helpful to a child's learning and that a more co-ordinated and even integrated approach would be valuable. Longer blocks of time devoted to specific issues can lead to a greater depth of understanding. The Association would be helping many people if it considered carefully the arguments for geographical education within integrated courses or within topic work in the primary school.

My impression of the journal is that it will appeal to the specialist geographer. If this is the case, I hope that the editorial group will give serious consideration to the role of geography in the school curriculum and how meaningful relationships can be developed with other subject areas which share a concern over issues such as the environment, peace studies and multi-cultural education.

I wish the journal every success and I hope it makes educators think about current issues.

Yours sincerely,
MARTIN CHIBB
Humanities Adviser
London Borough of Waltham Forest

Dear Martin,

Our "open space" section awaits your contributions! We welcome articles which explore the concerns which you raise.
Eds.

NEWS — OR PROPAGANDA

I am sad that I find myself forced into the position of criticising G.Y.S.L. because I have always felt that G.Y.S.L. was, on balance, a good thing. But recent activity by G.Y.S.L. has blurred a most important distinction: the distinction between news and propaganda.

We all know how to handle propaganda. For example, publishers' catalogues are recognisably propaganda, and most people handle them as propaganda. The catalogues provide useful information on the good aspects of the books they list, and it is up to us to spot the bad points: "Let the buyer beware" is a familiar precept. By contrast, items labelled "NEWS" are not normally subject to such suspicious handling.

But is 'G.Y.S.L. News' news — or is it propaganda? I responded to issue No. 1 by raising this question, and they were good enough to publish my letter on the back page of G.Y.S.L. News No. 2 — though there was no reply to my letter, either personally or in the newsletter. So lots of people know that the question has been raised, but no answer has been given as yet.

- Six questions may help to clarify the issue:
1. Does Nelsons Ltd pay for G.Y.S.L. News?
 2. Do they pay the Editor?
 3. Is the Editor asked to promote G.Y.S.L.?
 4. Is he required to stave off criticisms of G.Y.S.L.?
 5. Is he expected to misrepresent criticisms?
 6. Is he asked to ignore criticisms of his misrepresentation of criticism of G.Y.S.L.?

Doubtless the expected answers might be 'Yes' to the first two or three questions, 'No' to the next one or two, and 'definitely not' to the last two. My impression is that 'Yes' appears to be the answer to all six questions. If I am right, this is a matter of grave concern.

The evidence for my impression is below.

G.Y.S.L. News No. 2 (June 1983) used page one to defend itself from two items of criticism. This is understandable — but the amount of misrepresentation seems extraordinary. Their statement 'Dawn Gill's ... report focused only on racism in school geography' is demonstrably, obviously, totally untrue. Does freedom of speech include the right of freedom to misrepresent people? Does it include the right to send out propaganda labelled 'News' to every school in the country, and to label it "for the attention of the Head of Geography"?

The second item on page one is, even stranger. A largely favourable mention of G.Y.S.L. in a TES article six months earlier was extracted, a criticism selectively quoted out of context, and demolished. The demolition was based on a complete misrepresentation of the context of the article. The misrepresentation is obvious if one looks at the original article — but how many people will look up a TES article six months old?

The comments in 'G.Y.S.L. News' make it look as if it is the author of the TES article, not the editor of G.Y.S.L. News, who is guilty of misrepresentation. The scornful explanation mark reinforces the point: the author is, apparently, both ignorant and out-of-date.

This was an astonishing review of G.Y.S.L. in the context of 16+ because the author appeared to have no knowledge of the content of the paper's 16+ syllabus! (G.Y.S.L. News No. 2, page 1, column 2)

The facts were sent to the editor of G.Y.S.L. News on 8 July 1983, with a request for a reply. A second letter was sent in September. Neither letter received a reply, nor even an acknowledgment.

- The facts are these:
1. The article in question dealt entirely with the present-day (1982-4) situation for fifth year examinations. Even the title made this clear: "We're all shorts now".
 2. The G.Y.S.L. new "16+ syllabus" was only available in four English schools (Source: 'G.Y.S.L. News No. 2, page 3) and so was 99.9% irrelevant to the article.
 3. Therefore current G.Y.S.L. syllabuses, current Bristol 14-18 syllabuses, and current "Joint 16+" syllabuses in East Anglia and a few other regions are the only opportunities for joint teaching of GCE and CSE candidates at present. (Sheep and goats together — hence the shorts in the title)
 4. The TES article said "for many schools, G.Y.S.L. is still the best choice" (High praise, one might have thought — but not good enough to escape attack in G.Y.S.L. News.)

This issue is much more important than the destruction of one person's reputation by misrepresenting what he said. Propaganda needs to be distinguished from news, and G.Y.S.L. News has blurred the distinction in a most unstarfactory way. 'G.Y.S.L. News No. 1' stated "The main aim is to provide a vehicle for the exchange of information and views about G.Y.S.L." (page 4). Fair enough — but what are the unstated minor aims? It was permitted to know *all* the aims, to know the financial structure, and to know the answers to the six questions raised above.

But doubtless these questions will be ignored, along with the letters sent directly to the Editor of G.Y.S.L. News. Have we no means of influencing great G.Y.S.L.? It seems such a pity: in its early days G.Y.S.L. was so responsive.

David R. Wright
Lecturer, School of Education, University of East Anglia



The Launch of 'Contemporary Issues' Press Conference 14.11.83

Keep note of follow articles published

Present (clockwise left to right): Margaret Nauer (Daily Telegraph), Rick Rogers (Guardian and New Statesman), Derek Leather (The Geographical Magazine), Amanda Milligan (Oxman News), Paras Gauner (Third World Review), Anne Simpson, Dawn Gill, Frances Slater (Editorial Board), Gerry German (Commission for Racial Equality), Ian Cook (Editorial Board), Our of picture, Chris Rowlands (Daily Mail), Mary Cashe (The Teacher), Liz Hurst (Bulletin for Environmental Education), Diane Spenser (Times Educational Supplement), Vailash Kavras (Asian Express), Malcolm Clarke (Photographer, Daily Mail, and Roddy Molyall (Editorial Board) with Roddy taking the photo shown here. Syd Fudge (London Broadcasting Corporation interviewed Dawn and Ian after the Conference.

To date, favourable reviews of our work have appeared in The Teacher, the TES, The Geographical Magazine, The New Statesman and the Guardian; the LBC interview was broadcast soon after the Press Conference.

Copy Copies?

Can You Help?

In setting up this journal we have been given a great deal of help. We've been meeting together as a group since April 1981 when we first decided that, since the existing geographical journals were not meeting our needs, we'd publish our own. We started with very little experience of writing, publishing, costing, or marketing, and have learned about these things as we had to.

The biggest problem has been lack of time. We are all in full time work of some kind, and at certain times of the year it is difficult to meet each other, let alone spend time on writing, proof reading, or responding to mail.

The next biggest problem was — and still is — money. We were lucky in the beginning. We were given £700 by the Commission for Racial Equality, to run a conference on the issue of Racism in geography teaching. This took place in March 1983 and cost us almost nothing. Each workshop organiser made a contribution to a conference document.

We sold these documents for £2.50 each; they have been a good source of income, and are still selling well.

The conference made it possible for us to get the first issue out. But if this journal is to survive, we need more subscribers. Could you help to sell subscriptions?

We will put a leaflet inside each journal in the hope that each reader will encourage another person to subscribe. If you want more leaflets, we can provide them.

OUR POLICY ON ADVERTISING

We intend to use advertising to encourage good practice.

Only will advertise only those books and materials which we feel can be recommended to teachers and students, and which further the aims of the association.

The CRE's involvement

A synopsis of Gerry German's opening to the press conference:

Our association with the launching of 'Contemporary Issues in Geography and Education' goes back to our decision to publish the Schools Council report which was rejected by the Schools Council. We took that decision because we felt that the report was an invaluable contribution to the debate about an education suitable for Britain's multi-ethnic society. Nearly 700 copies have been distributed — throughout the UK, European continent, North America, Australia and Africa.

Arising out of that exercise, we were happy to be very closely associated with a working conference entitled 'Racist Society — Geography Curriculum' — in March 1983. That was a conference that excited a great deal of interest and support, and there are plans for our further participation in regional, and future national conferences.

The culmination of all that activity is the first issue of this Journal which we find stimulating and thought-provoking. It looks in a critical way at the specialist field of geography while placing that in its educational context; in turn relating that to the larger network of social, economic and political relationships, nationally and globally.

The Journal appears at the right time. It continues the Government-inspired Great Debate. It gives significance to the wide range of recent reports. Rampton, Scarman, House of Commons Select Committee, Little and Wiley — and it looks forward very positively to the appearance of the Swann Report. Indeed it follows the British tradition of presenting another point of view in a courageous, challenging way.

It is very relevant to the Commission's duties under the Race Relations Act of 1976, namely the Elimination of Discrimination and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and good relations between different ethnic groups. The Commission is particularly concerned with the subtle effect of indirect discrimination or what might be termed unwitting, unintentional discrimination due to a combination of deep down attitudes and powerful unquestioned procedures and structures leading to the institutionalisation of disadvantage, especially where black people are concerned.

The Journal makes its appearance at a time when more and more people are willing to look at racism and its effects; to look at themselves and their own institutions in a critical way with regard to the perpetuation of disadvantage — in short, to look at their world in terms of the ill effects of long established negative attitude to race, gender and class. At the same time one finds a willingness among an increasing number of white people to examine the stunning effects of racism on their own lives.

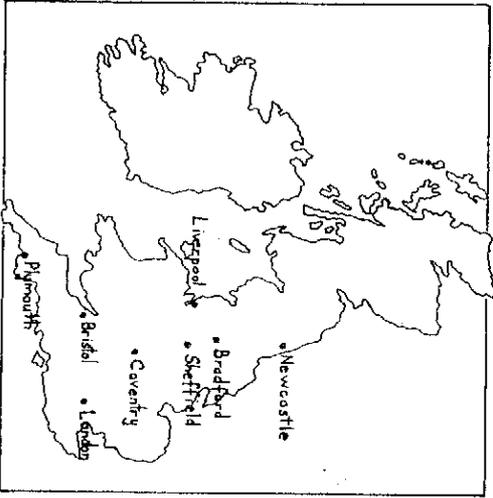
We welcome the appearance of such a Journal, and we congratulate the Editorial Board on the excellence of its first issue. We feel sure that people will benefit greatly from reading it. It explores the issues cheerfully and convincingly, and it will do a great deal to enable people to refine the relevance of their own worked out principles and practices in an educational system that must move forward to adjust itself to the needs of everybody throughout the country if there is to be genuine equality of opportunity.

R.A. German
Principal Education Officer, Commission for Racial Equality

Regional Coordinators

Association for Curriculum Development in Geography

The Association for Curriculum Development in Geography is a network of teachers, students and others involved in education and research. It is relatively new and provides a forum for debate on the political context and ideological content of geographical education. Local groups are developing in the North East, North West and South West of England, Yorkshire and Australia. It is intended that, eventually, groups will build up in other areas also, around 'Regional Co-ordinators'. The names of those who have already taken on this role are given below; we need more. If you wish to become involved in this work please write to the editors of this journal.



THE NORTH EAST
Don Harrison, Oxtam, 3rd Floor, Balbeck Hall, Westgate Road, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 1SE

WEST YORKSHIRE
Peter Tate, Westborough High School, Stockhill Street, Dewsbury, Yorkshire

SOUTH YORKSHIRE
Paul McGreavey, Myers Grove School, Wood Lane, Sheffield, S6 5HG

THE NORTH WEST
Ian Corless, Quarry Bank Comprehensive, Harthill Road, Liverpool 18

THE MIDLANDS
Andy Smart, Gilbank Teachers' Centre, Mile Lane, Coventry

AVON
John Simpson, Resources for Learning Development Unit, County of Avon Education Dept, Bishop Road, Horfield, Bristol

THE SOUTH WEST
Roger Featherstone, Estover Comprehensive School, Miller Way, Exeter, Plymouth

EAST ANGLIA
Linda Peake, University of East Anglia, Norwich, Norfolk

LONDON
Duncan Whitley, Leyton High School for Boys, London E10

AUSTRALIA
John Fien, Brisbane College of Advanced Education, 130 Victoria Park, Kelvin Grove, Queensland, 4059 Australia

The work of regional groups varies but includes some or all of the following:

- to liaise with local community groups to develop materials relevant to local needs
 - to provide support for students and teachers who feel a sense of isolation in their work on such issues as racism, sexism, and the political implications of schooling
 - to hold regular meetings to discuss key issues
 - to set up writing groups or partnerships in which students and teachers can share ideas and work co-operatively to produce materials
 - to organise regional conferences on topics of current importance
 - to campaign for curriculum change via co-ordinated pressure on examination boards
 - to promote a dialogue with publishers to encourage publication of more sensitive and relevant texts
- Clearly, the pressures upon teachers are great, and the achievement of these objectives will depend upon the time and energy which people can commit to these tasks. We don't expect success overnight! However, to date the March 1983 National Conference, the recent West Yorkshire Conference and the appearance of this Journal are evidence that co-operative effort can achieve a great deal. Further, the Commission for Racial Equality has agreed to provide financial help for regional conferences on the theme of Geographical Education for a Multicultural Society. It is hoped that the Association can provide assistance with the organisation of regional workshops. If you wish to become involved please write to your local co-ordinator or to the Journal editors.

WEST YORKSHIRE CONFERENCE

A highly successful conference attended by over 100 local teachers was held at Trinity and All Saints College, Leeds on February 22nd, 1984. Organised by Peter Tate of the Association for Curriculum Development in Geography and funded by the Commission for Racial Equality, the Conference focused on Geographical Education for a Multicultural Society. It featured talks by representatives of the CRE, Asian Youth Movement and the Chair of Bradford Education Committee. Workshops were led by members of the Association and other contributors.

Forthcoming:
Our regional conference on Geographical Education for a multicultural society will be held in Liverpool during the summer term. This may be followed by a similar conference in Plymouth.

International Links

Australian geographers and teachers became involved with the Association soon after it was formed, and we are grateful for their participation in the work of this issue of the Journal. The publication of the first issue has attracted subscribers from Hong Kong, South Africa, the West Indies, Spain, the USA, Norway and Zimbabwe. We hope to promote the work of the Association in each of these countries and others. We are particularly keen to help establish groups in Britain's ex-colonies. If you are an overseas subscriber, and interested in taking on work as a co-ordinator please get in touch.

ERRORS

The worksheet on page 37 of issue 1 had an error. Brooke Bond no longer operates in Sri Lanka. Teachers who use the worksheet may wish to correct it. Here is a new piece of copy:

- (2) Someone working for Brooke Bond in Kenya may make decisions on wages, working conditions and hours of work. For page 18. Left column.

Many other European countries are more densely populated than in Britain, e.g., Germany, Belgium, The Netherlands.

Reviews

Review of Bias in Geography Textbooks' Images of Third World and Multi-Ethnic Britain'

by David Hicks, ISBN 0854721377 Price 60s. Available from the Centre for Multicultural Education, London University Institute of Education.

Hicks' paper is of enormous benefit to all those teachers who like myself give almost all their time to teaching and preparation, but who at the end of the day have the feeling that what they have taught has been inadequate to prepare pupils for the complexities of the world. One of the facets of a teacher's guilt is that we rarely make the time to be objective about the books and materials that we use. As hard pressed preparers of lessons, markers of books, and participants in meeting after meeting on issues of school policy, we seldom have enough time to select books with the necessary care and attention.

Bias in Geography Textbooks' helps to alleviate this guilt. It examines 34 geography texts commonly used in secondary schools in terms of their suitability for land contribution to education in a multicultural society. The books are assessed according to:

- (a) the images they present of the Third World
- (b) the portrayal of minority groups in the UK.

The Most Popular Geography Textbooks on the Third World

Hicks categorises the following books as Status Quo and Racist:

Authors	Title	Publisher	Date
Davies	'Problems Around Us'	Holtins McDougall	1970
Ferris & Toyne	'World Problems'	Hulton	1970
Long & Roberson	'World Problems'	Hodder	1969-78
Young & Lowry	'Regions of the World'	Arnold	1962-78

He lists the following as ethnocentric:

Rice	Patterns in Geography 2	Longman	1975
Rice	Patterns in Geography 3	Longman	1978
Crisp	Different Worlds	Nelson	1975
Church & Ford	'Focus on World Problems'	Nelson	1971-75
Fawcett	'Spotlight on World Problems'	Macmillan	1975
Dinkler et al	Farming	Harrap	1976
Beddiss	Africa and Latin America	Hodder	1967-75
Walker	Environmental Problems	Blackwell	1973

The following are classified as non-racist:

Young & Lowry	Book 10 The World: Systematic	Arnold	1979
Reed	The Developing World	Bell & Hyman	1979
Simons	Poverty & Wealth: in Cities & Villages	O.U.P.	1972
Maclean	Problems of our Planet	Hermes McDougall	1977
Morgan	Population and Food Supply	Collins	1969
Clare	The Third World	Macdonald	1974

David Wright analyses some of these texts further detail; see Issue 1 of this Journal

The paper identifies eight common themes in the texts which highlight ethnocentric and often racist images and attitudes. (The word racist is used in the broader sense and this is described below.) The eight common themes are:

- (1) Contemporary issues
- (2) Development/Underdevelopment
- (3) World food
- (4) World population
- (5) North/South interdependence
- (6) Colonialism
- (7) Minorities in the UK
- (8) Minorities outside the UK

To describe in detail the images and attitudes reflected on these themes is beyond the scope of this review, but I have picked two topics to try and exemplify the images and attitudes commonly portrayed.

Hicks found for example in the section on 'development/underdevelopment' that the books failed to answer (or attempt to answer) the fundamental question: 'Why are poor countries poor?' although many described third world poverty at length. Out of the twenty books surveyed one third failed to discuss underdevelopment at all. One third touched on the subject in a vague way, suggesting implicitly that poverty is 'just there', or 'by

'change' or is somehow to do with a lack of knowledge and ability on the part of the inhabitants of poor countries. The remaining third looked at factors/measures or symptoms of underdevelopment — without exploring the reasons why.

In the section on 'Food production', Hicks says that farming and agriculture are accepted as basic topics in school geography. He provides a checklist of questions to assess print and non print resources on food production. Using this checklist is a useful way to broaden any treatment of the topic to be found in teaching materials. Hicks says that descriptions of third world farming are a mixture of objective and subjective accounts. Often there is emphasis on climate and the difficulties raised by tropical environments. Poverty is often linked with 'problem climates' even though the climate is normal to those who live there. Other physical hardships e.g. poor soil, high relief or sparse vegetation are also invoked to explain starvation.

The basic farm practices in the 'Third World' seem the cause for alarm. Shifting cultivation is described as 'primitive' in some books with the following description suitable biased in support of this starting point. Hicks points out that Europeans often misperceive ecologically well balanced practices, assuming a linear progression from 'primitive' practices to technologically advanced farming. Textbooks seldom make it clear that it is this advanced farming which is ecologically (and socially) the most damaging.

The paper categorises the negative images portrayed showing how even the most respected and popular of geography texts exhibit bias. Some are racist by omission (e.g. books about Australia that don't make reference to the Aboriginal people), some by being paternalistic (e.g. referring to Aborigines as 'gradually speaking up for themselves') and some by being ethnocentric (labeling ecological-ly-minded minorities, like the Aborigines, 'backward'). The paper also points to positive attempts at dealing with such matters but it provides research demonstrating that these efforts are few and far between.

Dave Hicks takes considerable pains to point out that he is not trying to produce a list of 'bad' books. He puts the case that school books with a non-racist and anti-racist perspective are preferable to ethnocentric and racist ones. He also appends a very useful list of guidelines for reviewing books and assessing their suitability for use in primary and secondary classrooms.

Alan Power, *Hornton House School, ILEA*

Inside The Inner City

By Paul Harrison, *Pelican, 1983, £3.95, ISBN 014022419X*

This book is a bleak study of poverty and deprivation in the London borough of Hackney, which the author depicts as a symbol of Thatcher's Britain. It was published in August last year and the National Press were quick to latch onto the more sensational statistics and claims. Not only did the book receive prominent attention in the news columns of *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* but also John Piger, that selfless campaigner for truth and justice, scurried off to Hackney to do a piece for the *Mirror* on the plight of the broken-down borough — a piece that, oddly, failed to mention either Harrison or his book. The book has been discussed in the House of Commons and in the Council Chambers of Hackney Town Hall. It has been used by the Council as the basis for a video; it has inspired substantial projects in at least three Hackney schools, and has been alternately praised and condemned by those on both the left and right of the political spectrum.

It is a book that makes grimly compulsive reading. Harrison's belief is that Hackney is one of two or three contenders for the title of the Most Awful Place in Britain (author's caprice) and the statistics are certainly horrific. Hackney has one in five dwellings higher than average housing and transport costs, the highest female unemployment rate in London and the second highest male unemployment rate, by far the lowest levels of educational attainment in London, the highest proportion of disabled people in London and one of the highest proportions of mental illness in

the country; the highest proportion of single-parent families in London; the highest levels of smoke pollution in London; a robbery rate 12½ times higher than the national average; and Hackney is the only inner London borough without a tube station, with a specific urban problem. Harrison's method is to use each chapter an amalgam of statistical information, journalistic inter-views, and a rather impetuous line in social comment. Each chapter's heading clearly indicates its subject matter and leaves us in no doubt of Harrison's conclusions: 'The Dump Estates', 'Schooling for Failure', 'Growing Up Nasty' and 'The Roughest Beat' are examples. Sometimes, this recipe works well; the chapters on the closure of Sainsbury's and those on social services, health, unemployment and social security are excellent. Sometimes the recipe is less successful: the chapter on education gives a totally depressing and distorted picture of what goes on in Hackney schools. When dealing with accusations of racism against the police, Harrison performs some exasperating contortions in an attempt to be fair to both sides.

Harrison's professed aims ('... to paint a concrete picture of the everyday realities of life for the disadvantaged in Britain in the early 1980s, a woman's eye view of the welfare state, the mixed economy and representative democracy... to sketch the outlines of the inner-city phenomenon, to try to show the inter-relationships of the multiple problems, and to use the inner-city as a diagnostic pointer to some of the major problems of British society as a whole... to capture some aspects of the dark historical moment at which the book was written — to show the human costs of recession and public spending cuts...') are admirable and indeed the book is a fascinating attempt to fulfil them. The difficulty is that writing about Hackney — or any inner city area — at such length and in such detail, solely as a problem befalls Harrison's brief.

People in Hackney have suffered severely from poverty, unemployment, government cuts, etc. but they are not the collection of passive and miserable victims that Harrison implies — and race relations are remarkably good. It is the issue of race which perhaps most clearly demonstrates the failure of this technique. Harrison treats race, like everything else, solely as a problem. Implicit levels of racial hostility which simply do not exist; and cumulatively creates a dual image of black people as pitiable victims and incorrigible criminals.

Inside The Inner City, then, is an ambitious work, well-worth reading, but I echo the indignant reaction of a 4th year Hackney pupil: 'He's running us down, this isn't my idea of Hackney!'

Guy Dickens *Hornton House School (ILEA)*

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GEOGRAPHICAL EDUCATION: Reflection and Action

John Huckle (ed.), *Oxford University Press, 1983, 155 pages, soft, £3.50, ISBN 0 19 912387 X*

It is increasingly apparent that teachers have to appraise critically what they are doing to teach in this crucial decade of human existence. Among them, geography teachers have accepted traditional classroom roles, and have presented their subject with largely deterministic approaches to both human activity and natural features of landscapes. Geography teachers in many parts of the world are looking to curriculum change and it is timely that Huckle's editorial policy reflects a realisation that:

Schools and teachers do not exist in isolation and what happens in geography classrooms is to a considerable extent determined by the prevailing forms of knowledge and social relationships in the world outside.

GEOGRAPHICAL EDUCATION: Reflection and Action is an interesting collection of writings that draw the attention of readers to an analysis of the contribution that geography can make to secondary education in the 1980s.

In Part One, reflections on the material developed by major curriculum projects in the late 1980s and 1970s in USA and England make the point that the projects did not significantly change teachers' their content or their methodology. Beddis commented on 'Haggerty' and Charney Manor 1970 as the key to 'new geography' in schools, as giving geography more prestige in the education scene in England. He now recognises the sterility of the positivism that underlies such models as Burgess and Connors:

There is a danger that a largely conceptual geography in schools could be intellectually challenging but colourless and morally sterile.

- Beddis asserts that for geography to become a worthwhile subject for young people in the 1980s *geographers* must:
- re-establish an interest in and concern for PLACE;
 - offer explanations that will include not just the landscape, but the total social, economic and political life in places be complex... honest; and
 - relate to the major issues facing society which he then is brave enough to list. It is in later chapters that these areas of social and political concern are dealt with.

The Forms of Knowledge

One of the most useful aspects of Huckle's book is his careful summary in Part Two of the major tenets of recent movements within the discipline of geography at the academic frontier. Each of these is explicitly related to the domain of values and action that will counter the determinism of either economic or behavioural positivism, and bring geographers into direct contact with the knowledge needed in the 1980s.

Spatial behaviour and human-environment relationships have been the focus of *behavioural geography*. Fien and Slater develop the argument that 'the geography in people's minds does not conform to the realities of the physical world'. Their summary of the research methods and content includes reference to Lowenthal's work of the 1960s, and the recognition of PERCEPTION as the key to private geographies that comprise individual world views, *cultural views* and *personal views* of decision making about spatial behaviour. Fien pursues this theme in his chapter on *humanistic geography* which he aligns with the *humanists* rather than the *sciences*. He provides a useful list of reading and classroom strategies that exemplify this research area in geography. Eric Burrough's discussion of geography through art brings to the attention of readers the lost role of geography as an experience of aesthetic and creative interaction with the world around us.

Another dimension of the 'forms of knowledge' in modern geography is the philosophical debate within the discipline. At one level there is an examination of the work in *Welfare approaches to*

geography. Regional geography is considered very differently, since in the welfare approach it becomes the analysis of who gets what where in a specific territorial context.

John Bate's chapter recognises the use of well-known models and statistical techniques from the quantitative era by geographers such as Smith. The distinction he makes is that what is portrayed is socially relevant phenomena. He illustrates the methods appropriate to description, to understanding and to prediction of a more just pattern of social welfare with examples that relate well to Huckle's desire that geography classrooms must interact with 'social relationships in the world outside'.

However, the weakness of the Bate, Fien and Slater chapters is that they do not analyse the political nature of research and teaching. This is countered by the investigation of what geography OUGHT to be by Ian Cook. Under the chapter heading *Radical Geography*, Cook traces the development of research and teaching that is based upon '... two pillars of activism and theoretical development'. The journal *Antipode* is cited as the focus of writers who are concerned with the social relevance of their subject, geography, but who also:

... ask value questions within geography, question existing institutions concerning their rates and qualities of change, and question the individual concerning his/her own commitments.

The method of structural analysis, and the relationship of radical geography theory to Marxism are clearly set out, and the difficulties of curriculum development that is ideologically sound are dealt with briefly and honestly. Some of the major tenets of the New Left in Western Europe and North America are applied to a geographical method for studying the *GSL People, Place and Work* materials and will assist geographers who have shunned the writings of radical geographers in the past.

Social Relationships

It is interesting to note that Huckle's choice of writers about the interaction of geography with current social demands all relate to the key work of Cook. As well, the educational practice of confluent education models of curriculum are supported by each of the subsequent chapters on Political Education, Development Education, Environmental Education and Urban Studies. They provide, in fact, what Cook urged:

It requires the teacher to have a wider and deeper knowledge of social processes than is customary at present; it requires much of the pupil; and it will provoke considerable reaction from the establishment.

In the context of *Political Education* Huckle accuses geography curricula of an 'unritical respect for social values and institutions in the past. His advocacy of political literacy, action and participation is supported by challenging curriculum ideas. Access of pupils to information and explanation of the causes of unemployment, of organisation of nuclear warheads and the armaments industries, and to methodologies that enable people to investigate regional characteristics are proposed as high priorities for political education. David Hicks makes the point that study of Third World nations should not show them as poor and inferior, or as a hotbed of problems. We should be looking at North-South relationships and their inbuilt inequity.

The environment is in a worse state than it was ten years ago, to some extent because geography has contributed little to any mass education of the population. But that does not mean that our attempts should stop. Studies of agricultural industries should take note of Susan George, *How the Other Half Dies* and teachers could profit from consideration of how Chris's Seattle was able to lead pupils caught in racial tensions into writing and discussion that was analytic of their own and society's values. (His publication is *The World in the Classroom*.) Huckle sees ecological steady-state and disaster courses that satisfy the middle class ethic as naive and idealist. Likewise he sees the 1960 counter culture groups as retreatist, rather than ensuring that environmental well-being is the right of all. Huckle urges curriculum design to focus upon environmental education FOR the environment, rather than only ABOUT it.

In support of these contentions Chris Webb introduces Urban Studies which are like the Exploration Centre the curriculum school. In Notting Dale Urban Studies Centre the curriculum embraced three main areas:

- (a) being accessible, useful and welcoming as a resource for community groups that the young local pupils were able to foster, such as tenants' groups, local theatre groups, local action groups. The classroom became a place which was useful for offset printing, graphic and typing skills, and for meetings;
- (b) bringing a diverse array of primary urban materials together for educational use by the young pupils;
- (c) the curriculum being an enabling agent working with local groups on a range of issues.

The final section of the book offers readers pointers to the future and begins with a sensitive chapter from Robin Richardson, who affirms the critical role of 'Daring to be a teacher' and offers classroom techniques which fit with a more radical approach. John Huckle's own summary of the political climate for future curriculum change is sober, realistic for England in the 1980s, and easily relates to Australia as well. Nevertheless, it urges geographers to make education itself both reflective of the existing social and human-environment relations, and at the same time allow teachers and pupils to examine alternatives openly and critically. It is necessary for teachers to develop criteria in their choice of content that relate to the different philosophical basis of geographic research, and make critical use of them.

Huckle's book presents a readable and well organised study of the terms of knowledge that geographers are developing, and the ways in which geography classrooms can and should be soundly based in existing social relationships of the 1980s. It will provide a purposeful addition to the libraries of curriculum designers and innovators and assist teachers to analyse and evaluate their own contribution to geographical education.

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"Racist Society: Geography Curriculum"

A GEOGRAPHERS' BIBLIOGRAPHY ON EDUCATION FOR A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

Available from the Association for Curriculum Development in Geography, London University Institute of Education, Bedford Way, London WC1: E2 5JL.

The document contains:

- Articles which explore the issues raised by geographical education in multicultural Britain.
- A reading list — short articles which may form the basis of staff discussion.
- Geographer's bibliographies on racism and sexism, pedagogic issues, urban social and political issues and the Developing World.
- Information about organisations which provide teaching materials and support for teachers working on geographical education for a multicultural society.
- A list of bookshops from which useful materials can be obtained.

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The State of the World Atlas

M. Kidron and S. Segal. Published by Pluto Press 1981. ISBN 0330 26334 X. £5.95 paperback.

Using new and striking styles of cartographic presentation The State of the World Atlas deals with the facts and figures of our world in a stimulating fashion.

In more than just attention to detail, the atlas focuses the readers, and more importantly, the casual user, into the complexity of interrelationships which exist between resources, wealth, military power, quality of life, environment and people of whatever class, sex, or country. M. Kidron and R. Segal clearly saw the remarkable acceptance of traditional atlas format offered by other publications. The authors have constructed an alternative viewpoint with new ideas of layout and content.

Some of the twelve major subdivisions of information could be regarded as idiosyncratic, though they clearly describe their content. The Aggressive State' section alludes to the growth of individual nation states and the claims made by these states on the remaining 'unowned sectors of our planet on land, sea, and atmosphere. The territorial segments under dispute in Antarctica are shown as one example. Section two, 'Arms and the State' not only includes the military expenditure and value of armaments exported by country, it also shows the location of conventional and nuclear arms. In addition it locates centres of conflict during the 1970's in the Section State at War'. In contrast, Section six, 'Holds on the Mind', considers the supremacy of linguistic, or religious groups within countries (this includes Marxism/Leninism).

Section eight, 'Labour', brings together a comprehensive set of indicators which show the international movements of workers throughout the 1970's, the division of labour between agriculture and industry, the proportion of women in non domestic labour, the force of labour' by degree of unionisation, and an ingenious measurement of the levels of exploitation in manufacturing labour. This is achieved by subtracting the payroll in manufacturing from gross output, then dividing by the payroll in manufacturing, giving a range of 5 levels of exploitation.

Essentially a summary of life today throughout our planet, this atlas portrays a world of conflict and gross contrasts. It is realistic, forthright and hardhitting. There is a comprehensive appendix of explanatory notes to each map, which allows the reader to realise the full implications of the visual content. It is a valuable reference source providing information often requested by people with enquiring minds but unobtainable elsewhere. Read it, see its value, and use it!

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There is space in this journal for reader's contributions. We welcome your participation here and in other sections of the journal.

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