

**Power Discourse and the Curriculum:
Silences in the High School Geography Curriculum
of South Africa**

**By
Emilene Peters**

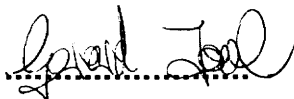
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Committee Chair: Dr. Robert W Morrill

GEOGRAPHY

ABSTRACT

South Africa is currently undergoing a process of political change. Educational renewal inevitably will be an important part of the restructuring of that society. This study examines the use of school textbooks as instruments of domination. It explores the proposition that the dominant ideology in a society is perpetuated by the discourse in school textbooks, while at the same time the voices of subordinated people are silenced within textbooks. To investigate these notions, the study analyzes the discourse in a South African high school geography curriculum and textbook, to search for discursive strategies which perpetuate the dominant ideology of apartheid. Apartheid ideology is dedicated to maintaining white supremacy. In practice apartheid means the spatial separation of

the population along racial/ethnic lines. Therefore apartheid shaped South Africa's space and environment. The study is informed by theoretical perspectives of power relations which explore the nexus among power, knowledge and discourse. Discursive strategies used in the text to silence the voices of subordinated people, are identified. This provides geographers, and others involved with textbooks, with a tool to analyze textbooks. Measures are proposed which could be implemented to give voice in curricula and textbooks to marginalized people.

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INTRODUCTION

THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

The purpose of this study is to analyze the discourse in the Standard 10 geography syllabus and accompanying textbook (Senior Geography), used in colored schools in South Africa. Standard 10 (the United States equivalent of twelfth grade) is the final year of schooling for students in South African high schools. Analyzing the way in which certain geographic issues are discussed in the textbook and the curriculum, will establish which perspectives are voiced in the text and what types of silences are imposed on the discourse. A major objective is therefore to identify discursive strategies used in the text to privilege certain voices while silencing others.

GENERAL HYPOTHESES

The following general hypotheses will be used as a framework in this analysis:

1. Power relations in a society operate in such a way that the dominant group in a non-egalitarian society produces and controls the discourse contained in school textbooks.
2. Perspectives contained in school textbooks, perpetuate the dominant ideology in a society.
3. School textbooks legitimate the voices of the dominant group(s) in a society and silence or distort the histories and experiences of dominated group(s).

QUESTIONS IN THE STUDY:

The following questions will give direction to the analysis:

1. Whose voices are privileged in the Geography text and whose voices are silenced?
2. Which discursive strategies are employed in the Geography text in the silencing of certain voices?

APPROACH TO THE ANALYSIS IN THIS STUDY

This analysis will be de-scriptive. The study takes the scripting of the geography of South Africa in the particular textbook and contests it. In the process of de-description, the script of apartheid as it is presented by the text, will be de-legitimized. This study will provide textbook analysts with a useful way of looking at textbooks. Once the discursive techniques used in the text have been identified, textbook analysts will be able to apply these findings to the de-description of other textbooks.

The concept of 'voice' is central to this study. Giroux and McLaren describe the concept of voice as "the discourse available to us to make ourselves understood and listened to" (Giroux, et al 1986, p. 235). With this understanding of 'voice', the discourse in the Standard 10 Geography text will be analyzed. The aim is to understand whose voice is presented by the discourse in this text.

Discourse is regarded as being more than the spoken or written word. Examining textual discourse is to examine a text within the context of social and political relations. It is to question the assumed meanings within the text and their connection to political practices. When and how does a discourse come to dominate? These are not easy questions to answer. For the purpose of this

study, the dominant discourse will be seen as the process whereby a particular self-constituted group uses the economy or the instruments of government to institutionalize its own discourse and perpetuate its dominance. (Van den Berg, .1985).

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

South Africa is at present undergoing a period of political transition. This transition will involve the restructuring of all societal institutions, including education. Curriculum renewal will constitute a large portion of educational restructuring. This study will contribute to the process of curriculum renewal and the rewriting of textbooks.

The study will sensitize curriculum developers and textbook writers to the fact that the content in school textbooks does not exist outside the power relations in a society. Therefore, every person who interacts with curricula and textbooks, such as textbook writers, students and teachers, is urged to focus on the voices that are represented in textbooks. They should pay attention to voices that are permitted to speak and voices that are silenced. This study will identify discursive devices which are used in textbooks to perpetuate the dominant ideology or to silence subordinated voices.

As a high school teacher in South Africa, this study holds specific significance for me. I am aware of the measures of control which are in place in South African schools. Subject advisors (supervisors) visit schools regularly to ensure that the "facts" of the textbook are taught according to curricular guidelines. Examination question papers have to be submitted to these advisors to guarantee that students' mastery of textbook knowledge is tested. I know the

frustrations of trying to present students with alternative views of "reality" while at the same time trying to teach them the "facts" in the textbook. I have on occasion borne the brunt of the coercive powers of the apartheid regime. In 1985 I was suspended from my job as a lecturer at a Teacher Training College together with a group of other lecturers and teachers who, in various ways demonstrated their rejection of the tricameral parliament.

Since the textbook holds such a central place in South African schools, it is imperative that teachers reflect on the ideological power of textbooks. That is why it is important to contest the types of meanings that textbooks make available.

STRUCTURE OF THE ANALYSIS

In the first chapter (Power and Pedagogy) I discuss the theoretical basis for the rest of the analysis. The first part of the analysis (chapter 2) comprises a brief look at the Senior Geography syllabus used in colored high schools (Standards 8 through 10). In this chapter the syllabus and accompanying textbooks are placed within the wider context of apartheid education. Specific attention is focused on the main aims and objectives set out in the Senior Geography syllabus.

The Standard 10 textbook which accompanies the syllabus, is analyzed in Chapter 3. (Contesting the Text) The sections on Human Geography and Regional Geography in the textbook were selected for analysis. Under Human Geography, the textbook deals with Rural and Urban settlements. In the Regional Geography section of the textbook, The Republic of South Africa Is studied.

The Standard 10 textbook was selected since the curriculum developers must have deemed the material contained in this text important enough for inclusion in the final year syllabus. Furthermore, apartheid ideology finds clear expression in the socio-spatial structures in the country. Settlement Geography in South African schools has to address the spatial configuration of people in rural and urban settlements. Socio-political factors contributed to the present spatial arrangements in settlements. It is important to see how textbook writers express (or silence) these factors. In chapter 4 (Giving voice to the Subaltern) the implications that this study holds for the education community are discussed.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Apartheid has its own language. A great deal of controversy surrounds the use of terms to define the different population groups in South Africa. Even though I do not accept the "racial" classification of people based on skin color, the categories used in the geography text will, for the sake of clarity, be used throughout the study. We are imprisoned by the very concepts that we use.

Derrida succeeds in capturing the essence of this evil system:

"Apartheid: by itself the word occupies the terrain like a concentration camp. System of partition, barbed wire, crowds of mapped out solitudes" (Derrida 1985, p. 292). This "untranslatable idiom" signifies separation and aptly describes the ghettoization of the South African landscape in order to ensure that people are restricted to confined spaces.

Part of the challenge of apartheid is the challenge to break with the dominant language . In order to do so, one inevitably has to reproduce the language to a certain degree. What I hope to achieve is to, in some sense, erode

the "naturalness" of this language.

Afrikaner: That portion of the white population descended from the Dutch, German and French settlers and who speak the Afrikaans language.

Black: The indigenous black population of South Africa. The term black is often used in South Africa to include people classified "Indian" and "Colored". I will, however, refer to these groups separately, to avoid confusion with the usage of terms in the geography text.

Colored: People of "racially mixed" origin.

Indian: The group which originated from the Indian Subcontinent and were brought to South Africa as laborers in the nineteenth century.

Whites: The English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking groups of European origin.

I am well aware that these "racial" categories are widely rejected.

However, I find the use of quotation marks cumbersome and have selected not to use them. One form of resistance to apartheid is a refusal by the oppressed to accept the definitions of the dominant discourse. The tendency among those who are not white is to refer to themselves simply as black and to reject categories such as colored and Indian.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Apartheid ideology depends on relationships of domination. The implementation of this ideology takes the form of a ruling class which manipulates the state apparatus to its own advantage. Relations of domination permeate all institutions of society such as politics, economy, religion, the family

and education. As in any society, the major institutions become the vehicles for the transmission of the dominant ideology.

Knowledge which is produced in schools, often serves to maintain asymmetrical power relations in a society through different types of discourse: "It is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together" (Foucault, 1978, p.100). Through school knowledge, the concept of what counts as "true" in a particular ideology, can be perpetuated. Dean writes:

... the importance of an ideological statement lies not in its truth or falsity, but in the function it serves in justifying particular social arrangements. As a matter of fact, demonstrably true statements make better ideology than falsehoods because their legitimating power is more difficult to undermine (Dean 1983, p. 19).

It is the contention in this study that the power relations in South Africa also find expression in the discourse in school curricula and textbooks. Predominant theories of power define power in terms of the ability to control others, to impose one's will on others (Kreisberg, 1992). The French Philosopher, Michel Foucault, broadens this concept of power. In his thesis power resides not only in the state or in the economy, nor does it operate only through peoples' belief systems, it is also present in everyday practices. He illuminates the relationship among power, knowledge and language.

Foucault's insights on the concept of power are useful for this analysis and will be discussed in more detail. The aim here is to use his conception of power to examine the force relations at work within modern societies. This in turn will give an understanding of the methods which can be applied in the transformation of societal institutions such as education.

The analysis of the syllabus and text will be approached with this

understanding of the nexus among power, knowledge and discourse. Apartheid ideology finds expression in such factors as population movements and the spatial distribution of people. The discourse in geography textbooks contributes to shaping the consciousness of students. Geographers have a responsibility, therefore to analyze geography texts and expose their potential for maintaining and perpetuating white supremacy and apartheid ideology in South Africa.

As a geography teacher I have over the years become painfully aware of the geography of apartheid. The "eye of power" in our schools makes it difficult to break free of the discursive constraints of textbooks. The language in our textbooks is complicitous with apartheid ideology in that it reinforces the social and spatial boundaries drawn by apartheid. By silencing the lived experiences of people, the textbook geography effaces the geography on the ground. Foucault's thesis which brings together power, knowledge and discourse, will provide me with the tools to uncover the discursive practices at work in geography textbooks.

CHAPTER ONE

POWER AND PEDAGOGY

INTRODUCTION:

"The role for theory today seems to be just this: not to formulate the global systematic theory which holds everything in place, but to analyze the specificity of mechanisms of power, to locate the connections and extensions, to build little by little a strategic knowledge". (Foucault, 1980, p. 145).

Prior to being exposed to Foucault's concept of power, I perceived power mainly in negative terms. To me power operated mainly in terms of oppression and domination. Furthermore, the tendency was to accept that power resided only in particular institutions such as governments, or in people in positions of authority.

Foucault's analysis of modern power, provides new insights into relations of power. I now have a much broader understanding of how power relations operate on a day to day basis. I have been sensitized to the multitude of techniques which are employed in modern societies in the proliferation of power. It is this broader understanding of power that I will bring to bear on my analysis of the Geography syllabus and the accompanying textbook. In my analysis I will explore the links between the power relations in our society and the particular discourse in the textbook.

This chapter contends that power has permeated a multitude of institutions within society. We need to understand how the mechanisms of power operate within these institutions. Foucault's thesis is based on the premise that power manifests itself in everyday living and that power, which is

exercised over bodies, creates subjectivities. Historically, the king had subjects, however modern states 'make' subjects. This chapter discusses the techniques employed by power structures in the process of subjectification.

This chapter begins with a discussion of Foucault's strategic concept of power and his thesis on power techniques at the micro-level. The omnipresence of power, the non-centeredness of power, power and resistance , power relations in schools, productive power, power and discourse and power and silences in school curricula, are considered. The discussions on productive power and silences in school curricula, will draw on the viewpoints of other critical theorists such as Giroux, Aronowitz and Freire.

THE OMNIPRESENCE OF POWER:

In his studies of modern societies, Foucault focuses on the nature of modern forms of power. His thesis is that modern power regimes operate within institutions and forms of social and political constraints which are different from those of previous power regimes. Foucault claims that power is not a property which could be owned by particular persons or classes and denied to others; power should be perceived as a changing network of relations in which everyone is an element:

Power must be analyzed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localized here or there, never in any body's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization.
(Foucault, 1980, p. 98).

According to this account, modern power, unlike earlier forms of power, is

everywhere - power, says Foucault, is local, productive and capillary. Power therefore does not merely reside in state institutions or in the forms of the law - these are only "the terminal forms power takes". In his thesis, power is everywhere and in everyone; it is present in everyday relations as well as in chambers of parliament and in corporate suites. It can be stated that Foucault has established a "politics of everyday life."(Fraser, 1989)

Foucault's analysis has important implications. If power is present in everyday social institutions such as families or schools, then efforts to dismantle an oppressive regime, should not merely focus on state-centered or on economic power. Transformation of an entire power regime calls for more than merely a dismantling of state or economic power. Local power relations should also be addressed as part of the whole process of transformation.

We therefore need more than merely an awareness of the localities of power relations. We have to be aware of the micro-tactics which are employed in the proliferation of power, what Foucault calls, "the specificity of mechanisms of power". One of the micro-tactics described by Foucault, is based on the concept of Bentham's Panopticon. The Panopticon is a central tower surrounded by "an annular building". The tower has wide windows and the surrounding building is divided into cells which extend the width of the building. The cells have windows on the inside which correspond to the windows of the tower and windows on the outside which allow the light to penetrate the cells. A single supervisor in the central tower can watch any individual in each cell. Foucault applies this concept of the Panopticon to institutions other than prisons.

The Panopticon functions as a mechanism of surveillance through "the

gaze". "The gaze" renders the population inside institutions such as schools, prisons and hospitals, eternally visible. This makes it possible for administrators of these institutions to monitor the inhabitants through constant surveillance. This surveillance is further facilitated by new forms of architecture - prisons are designed in a certain way (the Panopticon) or patients are separated in hospitals. This architectural arrangement makes it possible for "the gaze" to be fixed onto subjects.

Referring to the case of the Panopticon, Foucault talks about "positive power". Because the Panopticon allows visibility only in one direction, prison inmates are never sure whether they are being watched or not. Therefore, they reach a point where they "..internalize the gaze" and "surveil themselves". Hence, a point is reached where the "eye of power" can actually be removed and people will still act as if they are being watched.

Within localities such as schools and prisons, large numbers of persons had to be managed, controlled and surveilled. These same problems of surveillance would eventually become the problems of modern governments. Modern governments find docile and manipulable bodies useful. In feudal times, the mechanisms of power focused more on Earth, today it is more important to extract time and labor from bodies. Therefore, the aim is to produce conforming, skilled individuals. Foucault points out that power does not exist outside other types of relationships, such as "knowledge relationships". Power relations, according to Foucault, are in fact effects of the asymmetrical positions present within these relationships.

THE DECENTERED NATURE OF POWER.

Foucault argues that power is always exercised toward specific aims and objectives. Yet he warns that power does not emanate from a particular point of origin. The analysts (of power) should therefore refrain from posing the "...unanswerable question: 'Who then has power and what has [s]he in mind?'...". (Foucault, 1980, p. 97). Therefore the idea is not to look for power's point of origin in the state apparatus or in the dominant group. What needs to be established are the tactics which are used to give expression to power. These tactics are often easy to uncover, open for everybody to see. What is however problematic, is to trace these tactics to a particular point of origin.

Foucault describes power relations as "strategic". Yet he sees power as a strategy without a strategist. What this means is that power is not exercised from a central point, it does not have a headquarters. We need to move away from the notion of power as a universalistic device. What we need to examine, are the specific instances of power relations which 'make' subjects.

These micro-tactics of power, such as surveillance and 'the gaze', operate inside institutions like the family, the school and the hospital. However, what is important is not merely an understanding of the structure of these institutions. It is not enough to know that subjects can easily be observed and even subjugated within the school or the family. What needs our understanding is how the mechanisms and techniques of surveillance are applied inside societal institutions.

POWER AND RESISTANCE:

According to Foucault, resistance to power is never outside relations of

power. The existence of power relationships, states Foucault, depends on "...a multiplicity of points of resistance". These points of resistance will either be in opposition to power relations, or they will support power relations or they will become the target of power. Yet they are everywhere within the power network.

The contention is that there is no specific locus of resistance. Resistance should not be perceived as merely the underside of power. It should rather be seen as being proliferated throughout the social body. The level of intensity of resistance varies continuously. The fissures in society produced by resistance shift and change all the time. Regrouping takes place and new strategies of resistance are continuously implemented.

The points of resistance are formed, in Foucault's thesis, exactly at the points where power relations operate. This means that, in order for it to be real, resistance does not have to confront power from the opposite direction, it is the eternal companion of power relations. Thus, like power, resistance can operate at the local level but it can equally effectively be "integrated in global strategies".

When analyzing forms of resistance which have developed over the last few years, Foucault identifies the following characteristics within the mechanisms of resistance: Resistance questions the status of the individual - the resistance is not against the "individual", resistance is against the process of individualization and the production of pre-conceived identities upon bodies. Resistance is aimed against all forms of state violence which try to negate who we are as individuals and yet at the same time try to impose our individuality upon us. In other words, the objective of resistance is not so much to attack institutions of power, but rather the techniques of power.

Due to the hierarchical structure in schools, they can become ideal sites

for resistance to techniques of power.

POWER RELATIONS WITHIN SCHOOLS:

Schools are institutions which function as ideal models for the circulation of the mechanisms of power. Within these "observatories", individuals can be supervised and controlled and the intention is that subjects can be trained effectively. Mechanisms employed within schools to achieve subjugation of bodies, include the architecture of schools, the hierarchical social structure, discipline and the curriculum.

Foucault describes how the school building used to be a "...mechanism for training". (Foucault, 1979). Within this "pedagogical machine" which functions like the panopticon, individuals had to be separated by sealed compartments (classrooms), yet at the same time they had to be exposed to continued surveillance. The school building consisted of small 'cells' along a corridor with an officer's quarters at regular intervals. The corridor wall of each room had a window. A raised platform in the dining room, meant that all pupils could be seen by the supervisors. Even the toilets were equipped with "half-doors" so that part of the body of the person would be visible from outside, yet those inside were separated from one another with side walls.

Today the mechanisms of observation in school buildings are far more subtle. "Cells" along corridors still exist and often these "cell-doors" have little windows. Many schools are equipped with intercom-systems - often used by principals as listening devices. In classrooms the arrangement of desks establishes power relationships. Desks are often arranged in neat rows , all facing towards the teacher. A raised platform in the front of classrooms is not

uncommon.

Through discipline the student is trained to conform. Disciplinary punishment is not merely meted out as a result of the transgression of rules, but also as a result of an inability to carry out certain tasks. Punishment has to be "corrective". The pupil may on occasion be flogged, but the more popular form of punishment is exercise, training and repetition. Punishment is not the only (and often not the most effective) tactic employed in training. A system of rewards can often be applied with greater success and is therefore used more often in schools.

This system of rewards (e.g. the grading system), serves to hierarchize "good" and "bad" pupils in relation to one another. Within the grading system, reward and penalties are no longer separate - the grade serves as reward or as punishment. The effect of this "hierarchical penalty" is of utmost importance: pupils are arranged according to their abilities and conduct, in other words "...according to the use that could be made of them when they leave school". (Foucault, 1979 p. 182) Pupils are under constant pressure to conform.

It therefore seems as if the aim of punishment is not just to repress, it is to hierarchize, to homogenize, in other words, states Foucault, to *normalize*. Foucault states that normalization became one of the great instruments of power at the end of the classic age. The norm (that which is regarded as normal and acceptable) became the yardstick by which to measure individual differences.

In schools the curriculum delineates the boundaries of knowledge which will be imparted to pupils. "Experts" drawing up curriculum, define what is knowable. This control of the curriculum is achieved not only by what is

included, but also by that which is silenced in the curriculum. The extent to which the pupil has mastered the content of the curriculum is continually tested. The examination makes it possible to classify pupils according to their "abilities" and to punish. Foucault calls the examination a "normalizing gaze". The examination measures the success with which power relations and knowledge relations operate within curriculum content. The curriculum thus becomes the instrument for the transmission of knowledge. The examination reveals the extent to which the pupil finds herself trapped within a particular area of knowledge which has been delineated by the curriculum.

In schools, teachers are considered to be the owners of knowledge which they transmit to students (according to the prescriptions of the curriculum) and, with the examination, this knowledge is extracted from pupils. Thus the curriculum and the examination form parts of the circuit of knowledge between teacher and pupil. The examination becomes the mechanism which renders individuals in schools constantly visible. In this way, the curriculum and the examination operate to encapsulate pupils within the power network.

The examination makes it possible to document the level of performance of each individual. Individual performances are codified, "...making it possible to classify, to form categories, to determine averages, to fix norms" (Foucault, 1987, p. 190). Through the examination the individual can be described and analyzed so as to categorize him/her according to his/her own abilities and to place him/her within the constraints of a predetermined field of knowledge. At the same time the examination makes the comparison of individuals possible, so that groups can be identified and so that the distribution of individuals within a given "population" can be determined.

Through the examination each individual becomes "a case", not in the medical sense, nor, a case as a set of circumstances. "A case" refers here to an individual, as (s)he may be described and compared with others. This description of the individual has become a method of domination. In this way the examination forms part of the procedures which turn the individual into an object of power and thus an object of knowledge. Our individuality is inscribed, in other words, who we are, is who we are constructed to be. In a disciplinary regime, according to Foucault, the process of individualization is absolutely essential. As power becomes more anonymous and discrete, those on whom it is inscribed, becomes more individualized. Institutions, such as schools, are the sites for the creation of individuals. Therefore the effects of power should no longer be described in negative terms such as, power represses, it masks or it excludes. Power, states Foucault, produces, it creates subjects and "rituals of truth". The examination is a ritual of the "telling of the truth".

Since schools are institutions for the transmission of power, they are also sites of resistance to power. This resistance can take the form of withdrawal from or simple indifference to the knowledge which is imparted in schools. What is often referred to as idiosyncrasy, passivity or indifference among students, might be the manifestation of resistance. It needs to be recognized that the curriculum itself becomes a site of struggle when it speaks with 'the voice of the master', while silencing the voices of learners. We need to explore the possibility of schools to become the sites where the voice of students will be validated.

PRODUCTIVE POWER

The tendency, states Foucault, is to analyze power relations in terms of repression and ideology. He warns against the interpretation of power only in negative terms such as repression, prohibition and exclusion. Power according to Foucault, would be a "fragile thing" if it only functioned to repress. The argument here is that, if power were merely negative and repressive, if it did nothing else but say "no", no one would obey it. It is therefore acknowledged, that the strength of power lies in that it operates as a productive force. Forms of knowledge, different forms of discourse and regimes of "truth" are produced within power relations. Therefore, "...the notion of repression is quite inadequate for capturing what is precisely the productive aspect of power." (Foucault, 1980, p. 119)

This concept of power as both a negative and a positive force, is reiterated by Aronowitz. To him this "dialectical nature" of power "... is at the root of all forms of behavior in which people say no, struggle, resist, use oppositional modes of discourse, and fight for a different vision of the future" (Aronowitz et al 1985, p. 155). When treated as a positive force, power leaves room for us to develop a language of possibility. Power needs to be rescued from its position as a mere force of negation, so that institutions such as schools, can become sites of struggle with the potential of the empowerment of teachers and students.

In his analysis of power, Kreisberg urges us to see the limitations within the notion of power as, what he calls, "power over". He advocates an additional dimension of power, namely the concept of "power with". To recognize the positive nature of power, opens up the possibility of alternatives to relationships

of domination. With a better understanding of the ways in which power operates in our society, we can hope to work towards the empowerment of people. Empowerment "involves individuals gaining control of their lives and fulfilling their needs, in part as a result of developing the competencies, skills and abilities necessary to effectively participate in their social and political worlds." (Kreisberg, 1992, p. 19).

The forces of power are, in Foucault's thesis, instrumental in the production of "regimes of truth". Discourse establishes conditions of its own truth, it establishes the criteria by which truth is decided. He argues that truth is not outside power, on the contrary, truth has power:

Each society has a regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned ; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true. (Foucault, 1980, p. 131).

The agents of power within each society determine the parameters of "truth" within that society. In other words, each society determines which discourses will be accepted as the truth, which mechanisms will enable one to distinguish between what is true and what is false and which procedures will be employed in the acquisition of "truth".

With this emerging understanding of the productive nature of power, we can investigate the ways in which institutions such as schools and pedagogies perpetuate patterns of domination. The productive characteristic of power allows us to contemplate the possibility of alternatives to the conventional

power relationships within schools. Kreisberg notes that the notion of "power with"

...forces, us to rethink how the content of school curricula contributes to the reproduction of predominant notions of power as power over, and it challenges us to more closely consider what it means to cultivate students' abilities to control their lives(Kreisberg, 1992, p. 89).

Giroux, in his introduction to Freire, analyzes Freire's notion of the discourse of power: "Domination is never so complete that power is experienced exclusively as a negative force" (Freire, 1985, p. xix). Freire recognizes the presence of power in all forms of behavior including peoples' resistance and struggles. Resistance in school is regarded as the positive face of power. With Foucault, Freire argues that power is not merely something that is imposed by the state through certain agencies:

Domination is also expressed by the way in which power, technology and ideology come together to produce forms of knowledge , social relations and other concrete cultural forms that function to actively silence people (Freire, 1985, p. xix).

The notion of productive power, serves to counteract cynicism and despair in that it promotes the construction of a language of possibility and critique (Giroux, 1990). Power, as a positive force, enhances the possibilities of critical thinking and student empowerment. It explodes the notion that knowledge is sacred and that students have to accept it passively.

Giroux (1990) points out that the curriculum links knowledge and power in very specific ways. If we therefore accept the curriculum as a site of political

struggle, students can be urged to test the knowledge contained in the curriculum against their own experiences. Students challenging and questioning the knowledge forms of the curriculum, should be seen as the positive side of power.

Critical theorists like Foucault, Kreisberg, Freire and Giroux, open up new possibilities for the analysis of the dynamics of power. They move beyond the negative aspects of power and lay the theoretical foundations for a redefinition of the nature of power.

PRODUCTIVE POWER AND DISCOURSE:

Foucault uses discourse to refer to a "group of statements that belong to a single system of formation" (1972, p. 107). In other words, according to him, a discourse exists when a group of relations that function as a rule exist between statements, objects, or concepts (1972, p.39, 74). These rules determine what must be related for particular statements to be made and for particular concepts to be used. "Thus the defining characteristics of a discourse determine the underlying rules for both what and how things can be said" (Kreisberg, 1992, p. 34).

Foucault explores the manifold ways in which the production of discourse is controlled:

I am supposing that in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers,... (Foucault, 1972, p. 216).

According to Foucault, several procedures are employed in controlling and

delimiting discourse. Exclusion is an example of such a procedure of control. Prohibition is one way of giving effect to the rules of exclusion. We know, states Foucault, that not everyone has the right to speak and that we cannot speak of anything. The two areas of prohibition, in Foucault's thesis, that are most prominent in modern societies, are sexuality and politics:

... discourse ... is in fact one of the places where sexuality and politics exercise in a privileged way some of their most formidable powers (Foucault, 1981, p. 52).

It is the prohibitions around discourse, which reveal the link between power and discourse. "Discourse" says Foucault, "is the power which is to be seized" (Foucault, 1972, p. 52).

Another form of exclusion discussed by Foucault, has to do with division and rejection. Here he refers to the opposition between reason and madness. A third system of exclusion, is the distinction which historically has been made between true and false. "True discourse has over time changed its meaning, its form, its object and its relation to what it referred to" (Foucault, 1972, p. 218). "Truth" initially lay in what discourse **was** later it came to reside in what **was said**. This historical division between true and false, shaped our desire for knowledge. "The will to truth" relies on the way in which knowledge is applied in a society. For instance, a whole set of rules determines what counts as a valid "medical statement" in a particular culture, and invalidates other statements. The approach to knowledge and "truth" in that culture, gives rise to the rules.

Foucault identifies a group of rules whereby discourse exercises control over itself. These "internal rules" are concerned with the principles of

classification, ordering and distribution. Different dimensions of discourse are mentioned: 'Commentary', refers to the major narratives present in virtually all societies. These include texts, such as religious, literary and scientific texts. Commentary allows us to interpret and reinterpret texts "... but on condition that it is the text itself which is uttered ..." (Foucault, 1972, p. 221).

A second principle is 'the author'. The author-principle has not remained constant: In the Middle Ages, a scientific text had to be attributed to an author; since the Seventeenth century the function of the author in literature has become more important. Another principle alluded to by Foucault, is present in what is called 'disciplines'. The discipline differs from the author-principle, in that the validity of the rules and methods of the discipline does not depend on whoever invented them. The discipline also differs from the commentary-principle in that it does not contain some special meaning which must be rediscovered. Therefore, in order to be 'in the true' with regard to a discipline, one has to obey the rules of some discursive policy. The control that the people practicing a discipline have over the production of discourse, lies in the fact that certain rules have to be adhered to.

A third group of rules at play in the control of discourse, deals with the conditions under which discourse may be employed. This refers to the limitations that are imposed on "speaking subjects" (Foucault, 1981, p. 61). Only those who are regarded as being qualified (those with specific knowledge) are allowed to enter into specific types of discourse. Even the areas of discourse which may be entered into by the chosen few, are subject to certain constraints. It is thus clear that discourse may include or exclude, it may demarcate forbidden territories or it may allow certain areas to be open to all.

The restrictive systems at work here, are the " 'ritual', the 'fellowship of discourse' and the 'doctrine'" (Foucault, 1972, p. 225). The ritual determines the properties and roles of the speakers. The 'fellowship' ensures that discourse is reserved in such a way that it circulates within a closed community. Doctrine involves both the speakers and the spoken: "Doctrine links individuals to certain types of utterance while consequently barring them from all others" (Foucault, 1972, p. 226).

Foucault talks about the "social appropriation of discourse". Here he turns to the role of education. Education is described as "the instrument whereby every individual, in a society like our own, can gain access to any kind of discourse" (Foucault, 1972, p. 227). Yet he reminds us that education follows the same lines of division of social conflict in that it permits certain forms of discourse and prevent other forms.

Every educational system is a political means of maintaining or of modifying the appropriation of discourse, with the knowledge and the powers it carries with it (1972, p. 227).

What needs to be established, is what types of discourse are authorized by the people in charge of education, and what types of silences are imposed upon discourse. We also need to explore the reasons for the use of a particular form of discourse at a particular time.

POWER AND SILENCES IN SCHOOL CURRICULA:

Ideally, schools, as sites of empowerment, should give expression to the voice of the different groups in the school community, including the voice of

students. Yet we often find that most school practices such as school administration, teacher-pupil relations, relations between school and community, forms of pedagogy and the curriculum are all "...scarred by the fear of naming, provoking the move to silence" (Fine, 1989, p. 157).

Henry Giroux and Peter McLaren refer to the voice of students. To them the concept of voice refers to "the means at our disposal - the discourse available to us to make ourselves understood and listened to..." (Giroux, et al. 1986, p. 235). Giroux reminds that students do not have a singular voice. "On the contrary, student voices are constituted in multiple, complex and often contradictory discourses" (Giroux, 1990, p.91). He talks about the "multiple layers of meaning" within the category of voice. Through these multiple layers of meaning, students are positioned but they also position themselves "in order to be the subject rather than merely the object of history" (p. 92). Wider social structures give students the language, the experience, the histories to constitute their subject positions. Therefore students' voice cannot be isolated from the wider social and cultural dynamics which help to shape it.

When we speak of voice, we are concerned either with how people are active agents in the creation of history, or how they are oppressed in a particular society. The concept of voice allows us to analyze the different ways in which people are silenced: People are silenced when they are prevented from speaking or when they are allowed to merely echo what has already been said, causing them to silence themselves. At the same time,

voices forged in opposition and struggle provide the crucial conditions by which subordinate individuals and groups reclaim their own memories, stories, and histories as part of an ongoing attempt to challenge those power structures that attempt to silence

them (Giroux, 1990, p. 92).

Analyzed in this way, voice is placed firmly within the arena of power and struggle. In other words, voice can be a negative force or it can be a very powerful, productive, liberatory force.

Many people have in their analyses of school practices, focused on the different ways in which the voices of students are silenced in schools. Paulo Freire points out that the words in certain texts have nothing to do with the actual experience of learners. Learners are treated as docile beings who must receive "transfusions" through texts. In the process learners are alienated from their reality and they are rendered "incapable of contributing to the process of transformation of reality." (Freire, 1985, p. 9). Texts, according to Freire, which transmit an ideology which is alienated from the learner's reality, only serve to reinforce what he calls, a culture of silence about lived experience of students. Freire pleads for schools which "make the familiar more pedagogical".

Unequal power relations lead to the phenomenon that the voice of certain groups are marginalized in schools. Giroux and McLaren point out that, in the dominant school culture, the voices of certain groups are legitimated while certain voices are silenced. One way in which students' voices are silenced, is when educators fail to develop their curricula around those community traditions, histories and forms of knowledge that are often ignored within dominant school culture (Giroux, et al, 1986, p. 236). When the histories that have shaped the communities in which students live, are disaffirmed in schools, students fail to see how the classroom knowledge can become a tool for transformation of the public sphere.

School curricula often function in such a way that the voices of people,

based on their gender, race , or class, are marginalized. Many instances where this is true for racial minorities, have been identified. This marginalization can take the form of the silencing of the histories and cultures of racial minorities.

Jim Cummins (1986) argues for the incorporation of minority languages and cultures into the school program. He points to specific elements within the organization of schooling which can contribute to the empowerment of students or to the silencing of their voices. These elements are: cultural/linguistic incorporation; community participation; pedagogical assumptions and assessment. Cummins argues that, in schools, the language and culture of students are often disconfirmed; community participation is reduced to Parent Advisory Committees where certain parents retain their powerless status; pedagogical practices take the form of the "transmission model" where teachers impart skills and knowledge; assessment serves to legitimate the disabling of certain students. When the four elements mentioned above, are structured in the ways described above, experiences of students are devalued.

Henry Giroux (1990) studied the silencing of student "voices" in reading texts and literacy within the English curriculum. Giroux urges teachers to interrogate the connection between language and power in order to understand how literacy might operate to legitimate a particular form of discourse . The curriculum, states Giroux, does more than merely offer courses and skills; it represents a particular ordering of knowledge and it names and privileges particular histories and experiences. In this way, the curriculum marginalizes or silences the voices of certain groups and reinforces inequalities. Writing in English courses is often treated as merely the acquisition of skills, rather than a process of "cultural production". Therefore, states Giroux, the curriculum should

be examined in terms of its silences, that is, those forms of knowledge and ideologies that curriculum developers fail to represent

Roger Simon (1987) urges us to analyze very carefully the "discursive forms" through which knowledge and culture are proposed within curricula and within, what he calls, instructional agenda. Knowledge, he argues, is often couched in discursive forms which serve to obliterate meaning and produce silences. The curriculum should provide students with an opportunity to test the validity of existing knowledge claims against their own histories, cultures and traditions.

Joel Taxel (1989) analyzed some of the recent research in children's literature. According to him the black experience in America has often been subject to a "selective tradition". He refers here to the phenomenon that, in children's literature, this selective tradition has functioned either to exclude the histories and cultures of certain groups or to give distorted representations of them. He claims that, through the selective transmission of knowledge, history and culture of only certain groups, a "hegemonic culture" of "the process of living", is established . Through the selective transmission of certain cultures, the cultures of others are silenced.

When Michelle Fine writes about "what's not said" in schools, she refers to certain "dangerous" topics which are deliberately excluded from classroom discussions. Fine's thesis is that the following questions should be analyzed in a study of silencing in schools:

- (1) Who is protected by silencing?
- (2) What are the strategies of silencing within the context of "asymmetric power relations"?

(3) How does silencing of students undermine the process of educational empowerment? (p. 153)

Fine mentions the following pedagogical and curricular strategies which are employed in the "muting of the students' voices": "constructing taboo voices"; "closing down conversation"; "excluding redundant voices"; "the psychologizing of public and political issues". (Fine, 1989, p. 160 - 165).

In South African schools we find that, due to asymmetrical power relations, a racial majority has to follow curricula which are controlled by a racial minority. The questions therefore arise: whose voice is silenced and whose voice is privileged in these curricula? What types of discursive devices are employed in the production of knowledge forms by these curricula?

SUMMARY

Foucault's account of "capillary" power (that is, power which is dispersed throughout the social body), helps to sensitize us to the existence of power in our everyday relations and practices. The idea that power does not only reside in state institutions or in economic practices, reveals "the inadequacy of a state-centered political orientation" (Fraser, 1989, p. 25). He describes the presence of power relations in institutions such as the family, schools, medicine, and the like.

His analysis gives an understanding of the micro-techniques which are involved in the power network. These techniques include surveillance and the control of discourse. Therefore, in our efforts to transform society, we have to focus on these micro-techniques employed in power relations.

The concept of productive power, rules out the idea that power is

essentially repressive. Resistance is described as the positive side of power. Foucault gives a clear account of the mechanisms involved in the control of discourse within society. Other critical theorists such as Giroux, Freire and McClaren allude to the silences which are imposed on the discourse in school curricula.

Even though Foucault argues that power does not emanate from the state only, I contend that, in the South African context, the dominant group remains in control of a formidable repressive state apparatus. While I fully agree that power permeates the social body, I do not allow this concept to obscure my view of the presence of the heavy hand of the South African government in virtually all everyday practices.

Foucault's description of surveillance in schools through such factors as control over the curriculum or the examination, can be brought to bear on South African schools. In these rigorously controlled institutions, 'the gaze' is firmly in place. This is not to imply that schools are mirror images of prisons, since all these measures of control met with vehement resistance from students and teachers.

CHAPTER TWO

CONTEXTUALIZING THE GEOGRAPHY CURRICULUM

INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives an overview of the Geography Curriculum in use in colored schools in South Africa. In order to place the curriculum within the broader context of education in the country, the chapter will include an outline of the administrative structure and organization of colored education, and will look at the examination structure.

It is important to place education within the broader context of apartheid ideology. Derrida describes apartheid as "daily suffering, oppression, poverty, violence, torture inflicted by an arrogant white minority on the mass of the black population" (1985, p. 293). In order to legitimate apartheid, the country had to be carved up into "nation states". More than 70% of the country's population was stripped of their citizenship and banished into exile in the homelands.

The "barbed wire" of apartheid's "concentration camps", means more than the spatial separation of people. Not only does apartheid confine people to certain spaces, it places constraints on their dreams. Apartheid's policies determine where people live, work, play and the type of education their children will receive. The apartheid idea is that education prepares the members of each group in the country to fulfill particular roles in society and therefore the education of the different groups must be separated.

Before examining the specific aspects of education, a few points need to be made about the educational structure in general in South Africa.

SEGREGATED SCHOOLS:

Artificial racial barriers which were unilaterally created by the masterminds of apartheid, permeate all structures in society, including education. Schools in the country are racially segregated, and education is organized and administered by different departments of education. "Bantu education" was introduced into Parliament in 1953, Universities were segregated in 1959. In 1963 a separate education system was established for coloreds. Indian education followed in 1964 (Christie, 1985).

Segregated education serves to add to the notion of separateness and leads to people perceiving themselves along racial and ethnic lines. Racially based educational structures help to construct an abnormal system of racial categories as a natural phenomenon. Van den Berg argues that:

... practice arises out of discourse, embodies it, perpetuates it, solidifies it. Problematic discourse can easily become less problematic practice: the problematic discourse that young people should be segregated through their schooling has become acceptable practice far more than we realize because everyday we experience it as normal to be apart and not normal to be together (Van den Berg, 1985, p. 14).

Underlying the legislation for segregated education, was the principle of Christian National Education (CNE). The charter of the Institute for CNE (1948) sets out the regulations for education:

... each people and each nation is attached to its own native soil which has been allotted to it by the Creator... God wanted nations and peoples to be separate, and he gave separately to each

nation and to each people its particular vocation, its task and its gifts...the secular sciences should be taught from the Christian-National perspective on life...This guardianship imposes on the Afrikaner the duty of assuring that the colored peoples are educated in accordance with Christian-National principles... We believe that the well-being and happiness of the colored man resides in his recognition of the fact that he belongs to a separate racial group (In Derrida, 1985, p. 297).

In practice, the principle of CNE meant that people, perceived to belong to different ethnic and cultural groups, should have different systems of education.

Despite this institutional separation, the white model of education has, since 1976, become the cornerstone for other population groups (Dean, 1983). Therefore, the "white" syllabi used for all courses are now used in both Indian and colored high schools and in a modified form in black high schools. However, I wish to argue, with Jansen that "segregated schooling with desegregated curricula provide neither challenge nor contradiction to apartheid ideology" (Jansen, 1990, p. 202). Factors such as racially discriminatory funding, overcrowded classrooms, inadequate facilities and unqualified teachers, "neutralize the curriculum in terms of its potential for educational and economic empowerment" (Jansen, 1990, p.203). Van den Berg (1985) regards the phenomenon that decisions are taken within the white sector for white education and then "exported" to the other groups, as merely "... the extension of surveillance" (p. 10).

ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES:

Another point that needs to be discussed, is the way in which material resources are allocated for the education of the different groups. Glaring disparities exist, particularly between education for black and white children. Statistics regarding such factors as the per capita expenditure on education for the different "race" groups, school enrollment figures and the pupil-teacher ratios in schools, reflect the inequalities in apartheid education. Table 1 shows per capita expenditure for the different groups and also indicates how this has changed since 1953.

Table 1: Per capita expenditure on education in South Africa

Year	black	colored	Indian	White
1953-4	17	40	40	128
1969-70	17	73	81	282
1975-6	42	140	190	591
1977-8	54	185	276	657
1980-1	139	253	513	913
1982-3	146	498	711	1 211
1989-90	930	1 983	2 659	3 739

(figures are in the South African monetary unit, Rand)

(Sources: Christie, 1985 and South African Institute of Race Relations)

Scrutiny of these and other educational statistics, brings to light the deliberate hierarchical order of different "racial" groups. Educational disadvantage of black and colored children is compounded when it is taken into

account that fewer teachers are available in their schools. Fewer teachers give rise to overcrowded classrooms. This can be gleaned from figure 1 which shows pupil-teacher ratios.

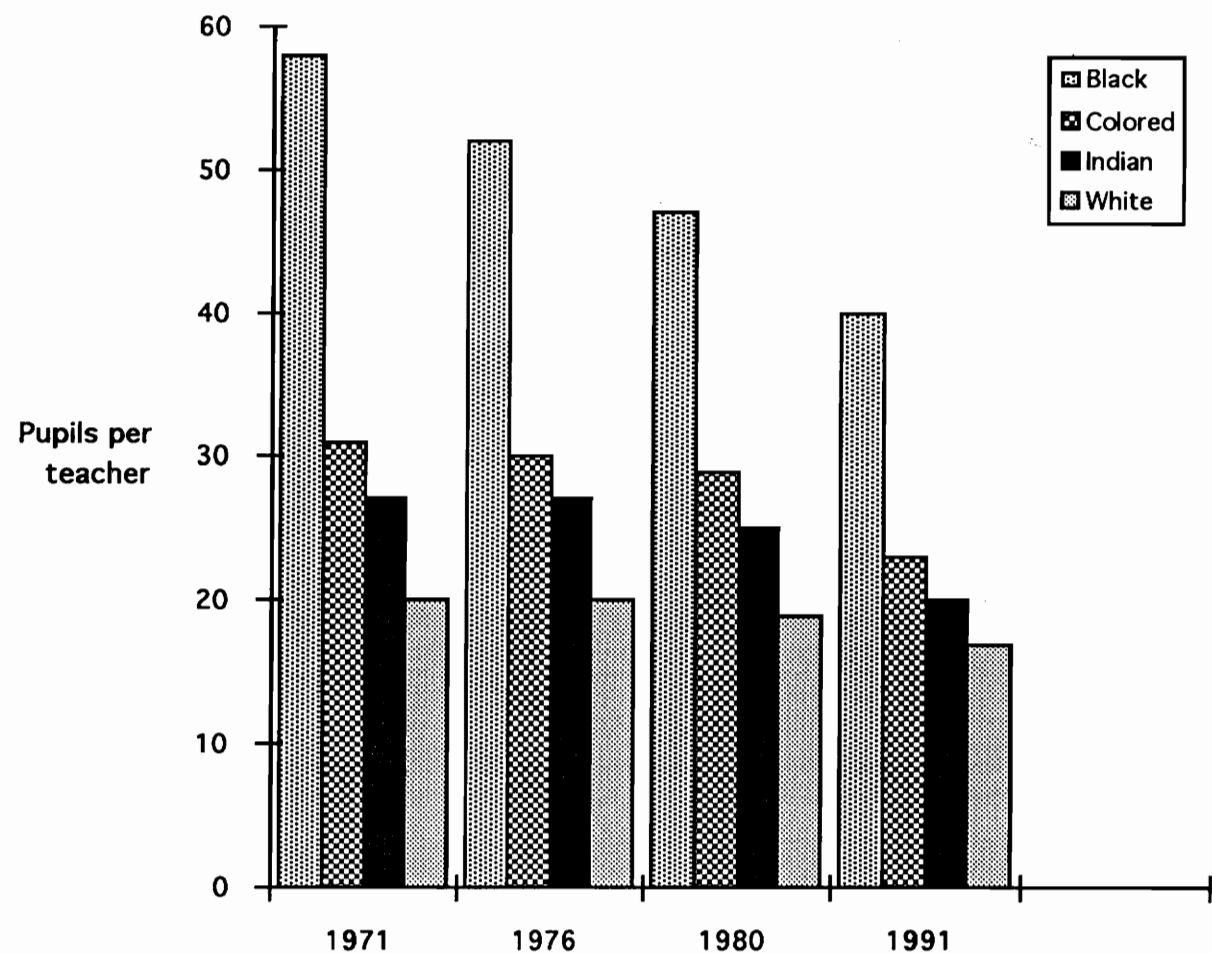


Figure 1. Pupil-Teacher Ratio
(Source: Human Sciences Research Council)

It needs to be kept in mind that many of the teachers in black and colored schools are underqualified (see table 2).

It is important to note that the philosophy which underlies teacher education in South Africa, is transmitted through Fundamental Pedagogics, a compulsory course for aspirant teachers.(there are moves afoot in the education

departments at certain universities to move away from Fundamental Pedagogics). Enslin points out that most teachers - and almost all teachers at segregated black universities and colleges - have, since the 1940s, been educated with this approach. Courses in education theory are taught almost exclusively through Fundamental Pedagogics. "Through Fundamental Pedagogics, the dominant group controls the production of educational discourse" (Enslin, 1990, p. 80).

Fundamental Pedagogics defines concepts such as education, pedagogy, pupil, teacher and authority. For example, education is defined as 'the guidance given by an adult to a child until the child reaches adulthood'. Teachers are thus defined as the bearers of knowledge. They are trained to accept that knowledge is something that is transmitted from teachers to students. At the same time the voice of Fundamental Pedagogics, defines "legitimate knowledge". According to the principles of Fundamental Pedagogics, scientific study of education should always center around the phenomenon of education itself. To analyze education in another context, like the political, "...would be unscientific, thereby disqualifying the speaker concerned" (Enslin, 1990, p.82). Exclusion and prohibition are the rules in this discipline by which the discourse on education is controlled.

Long after the apparatuses of apartheid have been dismantled, the teachers who have been educated in Fundamental Pedagogics, will still be in the classrooms. Therefore, not only are teachers underqualified (table 2), they come to the classroom with a particular concept of "accepted" educational discourse.

Table 2: Teacher qualifications in South Africa (1990)

Highest qualification	black	colored	Indian	white
University degree	5.2%	16.8%	31.7%	54.5%
Std 10 + 3 years	27.7%	36.3%	40.2%	15.0%
Std 10 + 2 years	64.8%	40.7%	1.8%	1.6%

(Source: Human Sciences Research Council).

One of the consequences of the factors outlined above, is the loss of human potential. Table 3 shows the population figures for the different groups as well as the school enrollment figures for primary and high school. It could be gleaned from this table that in the case of blacks, coloreds and Indians, a small proportion of the school population is enrolled in High School.

Table 3

Percentage of population at primary and secondary schools, 1990

<i>Population Figures</i>		<i>Pupil enrollment by race(%)</i>	
Group	% of total population	% of school pop. in Elementary. Schools	% of school pop. in High schools
Black	75.2	73.8	26.1
Colored	8.6	72.8	27.1
Indian	2.6	60.8	39.2
White	13.6	57.8	42.2

(Sources: Department of National Education and SAIRR)

Dean (1983) observed, that in black schools almost half the school intake

drops out before the end of the first four years of primary school and that only one in every hundred completes the entire school program. Table 3 shows that, in 1990, 72 percent of the school going colored population was enrolled in elementary school while only 27 percent was enrolled in high school.

The above-mentioned aspects of South African education, supported by the statistics, reflect how apartheid ideology has manifested in education. The questions arise, how do these multiple structural inequalities in education affect students and how do these factors interact with the curriculum? Many have indicated how institutionalized inequalities have given rise to student resistance (Dean, 1983; File et al, 1989).

Jansen points out that "it was a specifically curricular issue which sparked off the unforgettable Soweto uprising of 1976" (Jansen, 1987, p. 10). In 1976 the government proposed that Afrikaans be introduced as the medium of instruction in all black schools. This coercive form of power triggered student resistance in the form of school boycotts which started in Soweto. On June 16, 1976 the first student was killed in Soweto by the South African police. Student protests spread to other black townships throughout the country.

The next 17 years saw frequent recurrence of student uprisings. A point has now been reached where very little education is taking place especially in urban black schools. Drop-out rates are high, teachers are demoralized and students lack the will to learn (File et al, 1989). The South African government responded in different ways in order to contain the crisis. However, while recognizing the need for equality in education, segregated schooling still remains largely in place.

One of the strategies employed by the government after 1976, was

curricular changes. After 1976, "new" curricula included issues which appeared to be more relevant to the lived experiences of students. However, what needs to be examined is not merely the knowledge in curricula, but the discursive forms through which this knowledge is presented.

Since this study concentrates on the Geography curriculum used in colored schools, a brief discussion of the administration and organization of colored education, follows.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION OF COLORED EDUCATION

Since 1969, responsibility for colored education has been vested in the Administration of Colored Affairs (Dean, 1983). This changed in 1984 with the introduction of two separate Houses of Parliament for coloreds and Indians in the new tricameral Parliament. Education became an "own affairs" of the different Houses of Parliament. Whites, coloreds and Indians would have control over their own separate departments of education, black education would still fall under the control of the central cabinet, as would the allocation of overall resources (Cross et al, 1990).

The administrative structure of education for coloreds, is similar to that of the Department of Education and Training for blacks: The headquarters in Cape Town, consists of planners, administrators and subject specialists. The administration maintains regional offices in the provinces.

Primary and secondary education are free for colored children, including books and stationery. Compulsory education for 7 year olds was introduced in 1974. In 1980, education became compulsory up to the age of 16 or up to

Standard 8 (tenth grade).

ORGANIZATION:

In both primary and secondary schools, the syllabi are basically the same as those used in white schools. For those students who complete the twelve year program, a Senior Certificate (Matriculation) examination is offered at the end of Standard 10 (twelfth grade).

The co-ordination of examination standards is overseen by a Certification Board. (until recently the Joint Matriculation Board), which controls admission to the Universities. The Senior Certificate examination is conducted by the departments responsible for white, colored and Indian education together with the Certification Board. What this means is that question papers for matriculation examinations are drawn up by the department of education and the papers are graded by examiners appointed by the department. Certificates are issued by this Board. With a matriculation exemption, students are eligible to enter a University (Dean, 1983).

What follows is a more detailed discussion of the Senior Geography syllabus which is used in colored schools.

THE GEOGRAPHY SYLLABUS:

The geography syllabus analyzed in this study, was introduced in 1985 and is still in use. This syllabus replaced the one which was used since 1980. The "new" syllabus came into effect on January 1, 1985, in Standard 8 (tenth grade), on January 1, 1986 in Standard 9 (eleventh grade) and on January 1, 1987 in Standard 10 (twelfth grade).

The syllabus is divided into a junior secondary phase (Standards 5, 6 and 7) and a senior secondary phase (Standards 8,9 and 10). The senior secondary phase is divided into four sections:

- General Geographic Techniques.
- Physical Geography.
- Human Geography.
- Regional Geography.

Standard 5 of the junior secondary phase is taught in the final year of the primary school, while standards 6 through 10 are taught in high school.

This analysis concentrates on topics in Human Geography and Regional Geography. The section on Human Geography in Standard eight, deals with Population Geography, in Standard 9 it deals with Economic Geography and in Standard 10, Settlement Geography is studied.

The countries which are studied in Standard 8 under Regional Geography, are Japan, The Netherlands, India and Brazil. In Standard 9, the United States of America, the USSR, Nigeria, Egypt, Angola and Mozambique are studied. In Standard 10, the Regional Geography section includes South Africa and Namibia.

Aims and Objectives of the Geography Syllabus:

The Department of Education and Culture (which currently controls colored education) includes, for the guidance of teachers, a list of aims and objectives as an integral part of the syllabus. The aims and objectives which accompany the senior secondary syllabus, appear in Appendix 1. Most of these aims and objectives are very general and conform to traditional educational

conventions. Some of the aims and objectives, might give some insight into the kind of thinking that underlies the department's educational policy. For instance, objective 3.1.1 reads:

Pupils should acquire a fundamental body of knowledge which is meaningful and useful to them and which can be applied and reproduced in whatever form is required.

The idea of the ability to "reproduce" knowledge is in line with the educational policy. I would argue that students would do better to challenge knowledge or to interrogate knowledge in order to "stay in touch with dominant definitions of knowledge so [they] can analyze them for their usefulness and for the ways in which they bear the logic of domination" (Giroux, in introduction to Paulo Freire, 1985, p. xxii).

Aim 2 reflects, in my opinion, the conformist role of education:

[Pupils should] adjust to a society that is undergoing rapid and far-reaching social, economic and political changes.

I would argue that it is more important for students to be able to question the processes of change rather than to passively adjust to change. This idea that students should "adjust", reminds of Foucault's concept that education produces "docile and conforming subjects". This is in conflict with objective 3.3.2 which expects "critical, divergent and creative thinking" from students.

Objective 3.4.2 expects that students will develop a "caring attitude" towards their environments. How can this objective be realized in some of the dismal environments where students live? Their environments often lend themselves to a study of the "geography of fear", where the "threshold of safe

territory" tends to change continuously (Western, 1981).

Other aims are very general or could be applied to disciplines other than Geography:

Students should:

1. Acquire and develop intellectual skills and abilities which will promote on-going education.
4. Develop their moral and emotional (affective) attributes.

Foucault talks about the moral training of pupils: "...pupils are arranged according to their conduct" (1987). Dominant values are established as 'the norm'. The 'normal' then becomes a principle of coercion in teaching (1979, 184).

True to the doctrine of Christian National Education, a list of aims and objectives for teaching in South African schools, will not be complete unless it includes a reference to "our Creator".:

3.4.2 [Pupils are expected] to realize that the quality of life is influenced by the aesthetic aspects of man's environment as well as by an appreciation of the grandeur and wonder of Creation".

TEXTBOOKS:

The geography textbook, Senior Geography (fourth edition), used in this study, covers the syllabus prescribed for Standard 10, which was implemented in 1987. It is important to note that the text was written by Afrikaners. These authors represent the voice of the dominant group. This is in line with power

relations in the country. In the name of co-ordination a core syllabus is drawn up by a special committee and prescribed for national use. This core must constitute 70 per cent of the curriculum used for white education, and it is also adopted by the departments responsible for colored and Indian education. The department responsible for black education adopts the core syllabus for the last three years of black secondary education. These departments may add up to 30 percent to the core syllabus but they may not subtract from it. In this way the dominant group controls the "facts" that are learnt in all schools.

It is my experience that subject advisors send a limited selection of two or three textbooks to subject teachers, upon which teachers will decide which book(s) to use. Once a particular book has been selected, it may have to serve as the prescribed text for a few years. Textbooks used in colored schools, are normally available in both Afrikaans and English.

Also my experience indicates that in colored schools there is a heavy dependency on the textbook as the only source of learning material. This is due to lack of funds and, in most cases, the absence of well-equipped libraries. It is important to note that colored teachers at Teacher Training Colleges learn their geography content from the same school textbooks, since those institutions have little or no alternative sources to offer.

SUMMARY

In this chapter the geography curriculum and accompanying texts are placed within the broader educational context of South Africa. Some statistics highlight the inequities in apartheid education. It is significant that the texts and curricula used in all schools, are written and controlled by members of the white

minority. Some of the aims and objectives set out in the geography syllabus, do not reflect an understanding of the lived reality of the students for whom this syllabus was devised.

Teachers find themselves trapped within the discourse in texts, because the same textbooks which are used in schools, are used at Teacher Training Colleges. It is essential to remember that even after the dismantling of apartheid the teachers who will remain in the classroom are those who have been constituted by the dominant discourse. These realities serve to amplify the power of the discourses in texts.

CHAPTER THREE

CONTESTING THE TEXT

INTRODUCTION

In South Africa today there is an outcry for the inclusion of relevance in education. Relevance in this sense means that the issues and topics dealt with in the classroom should reflect the interests and aspirations of students and should be related to their lived experiences.

The syllabus analyzed in this study, includes many "relevant" topics and issues. The geography text analyzed is based on the syllabus and is widely used in the schools. The text contains a wide range of geographical topics and "facts" and includes varying levels of discussion on "relevant" issues. Academic success of students is measured by their ability to memorize and recall this multitude of "facts."

In their instruction, teachers generally tend to emphasize the recall of "facts" at the expense of in-depth discussion on them. Such discussions are essential to enable students to make the connection between school geography and their lived experiences. Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) caution teachers about the ability of the dominant forces to sell change as change when in fact what they propose serves merely to perpetuate their own ideas. An easy way to do this, is to include in the curriculum that which appears to be relevant to the lives of dominated groups, in order to control the discourse about it.

In this chapter the Standard 10 (grade twelve) geography syllabus is examined. The textbook, Senior Geography (Swanevelder, et al, 1987) which

was written to conform closely with the syllabus, is used for detailed analysis. The text's sections on Human Geography and part of Regional Geography were chosen for analysis. Urban settlements and Rural settlement patterns are discussed in the Human Geography section of the text. Under Regional Geography, the text deals with South Africa and Namibia. Topics in Human Geography and Regional Geography were selected, because these sections of geography lend themselves to an interrogation of the geographical issues that are historically and experientially relevant to the lives of students.

This study focuses on the silences, defined in chapter one, as the process by which certain perspectives and the voices of certain groups in society are promoted while others are silenced. Acknowledging that all texts have limitations, omissions, biases and silences, this study sets out to establish who are the speaking subjects in the particular text and what areas of the discourse are forbidden speech. Within the South African context, the study attempts to identify the areas in the text that tend to promote the dominant discourse by silencing those perspectives which give expression to the learner's lived reality.

Before starting with the micro-analysis of the text, I wish to outline some of the discursive maneuvers by which South Africa's geography is written in this text.

DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES:

Two major themes that stand out very clearly in this text, are:

1. Textual Apartheid: The text uses specific boundaries between things and this act of delimitation is crucial to the scripting of the text. The text accepts the

distinctions that are at the heart of apartheid. I refer here to the boundaries which are drawn between the "developed" and "developing" sectors of South African society, or between that which is political and that which is non-political. Boundaries also exist between the abstract nature of the geography of the text and the concreteness of the lived geography of the people.

2. Effacement of geography: This refers to the ironic quality of the geography in the text being a destruction of geography. Geography is about place knowledge and about interdependence and interconnections. This text has a geography of clear and unambiguous boundaries, a geography of separateness. Therefore this geography is anti-geography and it ends up effacing the particular historical and political processes that have gone into the shaping of South Africa.

Based on the above mentioned themes, it is clear that there is complicity between the text and apartheid ideology. By accepting the boundaries drawn by apartheid, the text effectively reinforces them. The following discursive moves highlight the complicity between text and apartheid as well as the effacement of geography by the text:

Reinforcement of myths: When describing the two "worlds" in South Africa (the developed, "white" and developing, "black" worlds) the text manages to reinforce the myth that level of development, is causally linked with ethnicity.

Presenting apartheid as a natural, historical development: The text explains that the "national states" were modeled on the regions which were historically occupied by the different black nations. The political reasons behind the creation of these entities, are effaced.

The government as innocent arbiter: Throughout the text the government

is presented as the institution that identifies problems and tries to solve them. This type of discourse silences the government's active role in the construction of problems.

Trivializing the effects of apartheid: The effects of forced removals or the impact of migrant labor on families, are silenced by the text.

Distortion of causal relations: Often throughout the text, the tragic results of apartheid are given as the reasons for certain phenomena.

Objectification and scientization: Phenomena such as the apartheid city, are described in the "objective" language of science. By employing this language the political element is removed from the discussion.

Discursive delimitation: What is meant here, is that certain areas of discourse are demarcated as separate from others. Such delimitation is evident in the textbook's discussion of slums. These spaces are seen as problems in and of themselves. The broader societal relations involved in the creation of such "problem spaces", are ignored.

Creation of "universal truths": The text goes to great lengths to indicate that South Africa is not unique when it comes to such factors as racial segregation in cities. Ethnicity is described as the "segregating principle" in the case of South African cities, just as religion or language may lead to segregation in other parts of the world.

The following categories of the textbook are analyzed:

RURAL SETTLEMENT PATTERNS.

- Changing Rural Settlement Patterns.

- The "Self-governing National States".
- Depopulation, Management Strategies and Planning in Rural Areas.

URBAN SETTLEMENTS

- Urbanization.
- Urbanization Within the National States.
- The Apartheid City.
- Urban Renewal.
- Squatter Settlements.

REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY.

- Political division.
- Population Composition.
- Population Movements.

1. RURAL SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN SOUTH AFRICA

(Swanevelder, et al, 1987, p. 223) ²

1.1 Changing rural settlement patterns

Changing rural settlement patterns are discussed in the following manner:

It is not easy to change an established rural settlement pattern. It is usually a gradual process that begins spontaneously and may extend over a period of centuries. However, sometimes a governing authority decides to intervene and, by planning, brings about a revolutionary change in a short period of time. The large scale resettlement projects currently in progress in southern Africa are of this type. (p.225).

² All citations for analysis will be from this text

The voice of the text in this paragraph, needs to be problematized. This sovereign voice of the text, is disembodied, elevated and it attributes to itself an all-seeing authority. This voice operates like "the panopticon", described by Foucault. This all-seeing authority speaks from a presumed center. This authority makes this center in the process of analyzing and describing South Africa's geography.

In the description, the voice **is** "a governing authority". It decides what a rural settlement pattern is, when settlement patterns should be changed and how they should be changed. The distinction is made between gradual and revolutionary changes in settlement patterns. The intervention of the "governing authority", is associated with planning and revolutionary change. The South African government is involved in spatial planning which brings about revolutionary changes.

The above paragraph also represents an exemplar of how certain historically significant events are masked in the text. It silences the fact that changes in rural settlement patterns in South Africa, were resisted by affected communities and could consequently only be effected by forced removals. These forced removals represent the single most hurtful act of aggression on the part of the "governing authority" perpetrated against black people in the rural areas of South Africa.

The whole basis of the government's grand scheme of apartheid, was the establishment of the black "national states" (also referred to as the homelands). The realization of this scheme required the "governing authority" to "intervene, and by planning", forcibly remove people from the areas in which they were

living and resettle them in areas designated for certain ethnic groups.

One of the Aims and Objectives of the Geography Curriculum (see Appendix 1), is to develop "an awareness of the underlying processes which act upon spatial patterns and which bring about change". (Bulletin SS11/85, p. 3). In the South African context this topic of changing rural settlement patterns provides an ideal opportunity for a geography text to include material which can be used to stimulate student discussion on the processes which brought about the spatial patterns as they exist in the country today. This could potentially enhance students' understanding of their present geographical situation.

1.2 The "self governing national states".

The presentation in the text of "the self governing national states" resonates with the dominant discourse on these states:

A distinction must be made between traditional settlement patterns and those that have been created by planning and resettlement in the national states and independent republics (p. 224).

These "states" are referred to as "national states" and (the four which have opted for "independence") are called "independent republics". These "states", which are widely recognized to be geographical creations of apartheid ideology, are not recognized by the international community and more importantly, they are rejected by a significant section of their inhabitants:

According to Saul and Gelb the Quaile Commission, appointed to investigate the wisdom of Ciskeian independence, found that 90% of Xhosa-speaking blacks desire one person one vote in a unitary South Africa. This also

was the goal, according to another poll, of 90% Zulu speakers in Soweto (Saul et al, 1986). When the text adopts the discourse of the dominant group, by regarding the homelands as being independent, black resistance to the homelands policy is being silenced.

The text makes the distinction between "traditional" patterns and those created by "planning and resettlement". On the one hand the "national states" are treated as independent states. Yet at the same time the South African government planned settlements within these "independent states". The text undoes its own language, because the voice of the text does not question the right of the government to plan settlements inside these "independent states".

1.3 Depopulation, management strategies and planning in rural areas (p. 230):

The text makes a distinction between conditions which exist within the rural areas in the "national states" and those in the rural areas in the rest of South Africa. The conditions in the rural areas in the "national states" are equated with conditions in Third World countries, while the rural areas of the rest of South Africa are deemed to have the features of developed countries:

The rural problems and suggested solutions applicable to the developed (mostly Western) nations are completely different from those of the developing (mostly Third World) countries and regions. South African examples are used because examples of developed and developing regions occur. (p. 230).

The text then continues and discusses rural problems in "developed areas" and uses South African examples outside the "national states".

Much of South Africa is highly developed and many of the features of a developed country are evident. However there are also rural areas which are typical of developing countries. (p. 244).

In the subsequent discussion on rural problems in "developing areas", the situation in the "four TBVC"¹ countries and the six self-governing "national states" is cited.

Overpopulation is cited as the main reason for the problems of rural areas in the Third World. At this point, the population density in the "national states" is mentioned: "In South Africa a rural population density of 55 persons per square kilometer in the national states contrasts sharply with a figure of only 4 outside these areas." (p. 240). The reasons for this disparity are not discussed.

"Millions of people have migrated permanently from [the national states] and now live in urban centers and on farms elsewhere in South Africa" (p. 244). The text fails to make the connection between the dismal factors in the rural areas of the "national states" and the migration of people to the cities.

In the rest of this section, the "factors" which are responsible for the poverty in the homelands, are outlined. Factors such as the absence of men, subsistence farming methods and forms of land ownership are mentioned. The underlying political factors which contribute to the quality of life of people in the homelands, are silenced by the text. Many studies have indicated that huge percentages of homeland dwellers do not even own any land : "Graaff and Maree's 1977 random sample of 211 legal Black African Cape Town workers in 1975-1976 showed that, of those with dependents in the Ciskei and Transkei,

¹ These are the homelands that opted for "independence". Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

40 percent owned no land whatsoever and more than 50 percent owned neither cattle nor sheep." (In Western, 1981 p. 289).

When the text constitutes the rest of South Africa as "developed" and the "national states" as "developing", the conditions in the "states" are detached from the surrounding political, economic and social context. The Third World "otherness" which prevails in the "national states" is constituted as being foreign to South African socio-economic space. The "national states" and the rest of South Africa are thus presented as polar opposites, when in fact they are both part of the same history, the history of apartheid. Through discursive apartheid, the text treats the "national states" as if they are not part of South African space.

The geography presented in the text tries to create boundaries between that which is developed and that which is developing. The geography of the text is anti-geography. Instead of asserting geography as place knowledge, as the messy complexity of life, as interconnections and interdependence, it has a geography of discrete patterns, detached regions, clear and unambiguous boundaries.

On p.244, the text states that:

The lack of a developed urban settlement system [in the national states], has two important consequences

- It accounts for the poor development of educational, health, commercial and infrastructural services in the national states.
- It is responsible for a shortage of alternative job opportunities for the rural population. It has resulted in outward migration and migrant labor...

Initial discursive moves in the text which constituted the "national states" as states, make the above statements appear legitimate. By applying normal

discourses which are used to describe states (states have cities which supply services) to the "national states", the text is being ahistorical and anti-geographical. In other words, the geography textbook is effacing geography.

The developed world is regarded by the text as the world of order and of rationality. It is described in universal terms. It is evaluated in terms of Western standards, as the 'presence'. The developing 'other' is described in terms of absence of this presence. The developing "national states" are characterized by an absence of urban settlements, an absence of services and job opportunities, that is , an absence of order and rationality.

The above statements from the text, manage to distort causal relationships. Lack of urban development is given as the reason for poor infrastructure and lack of job opportunities. The text silences the reasons for the initial lack of cities in the "national states": Established "white cities" were left outside the boundaries of the "national states"; so-called border industries were established on the borders outside the "national states"; these entities are not economically viable because they are overcrowded, fragmented and they are situated on marginal pieces of land away from the country's major resources.

These are some of the reasons why there are no cities in the "national states" and why there are no job opportunities for the people and why they become migrant laborers in "white" South Africa. The "national states" therefore supply cheap labor for South African cities.

2. URBAN SETTLEMENTS:

Life in cities, to the disenfranchised student in South Africa, is part of a total experience which is not reflected in the text. It is an experience of cramped

housing outside of the major business areas. It is also an experience of mass transportation for their parents over long distances to get to their places of work and recreation. It is an experience of residential racial segregation to the extent that the geographical reality of South Africa as depicted in the maps in their texts does not always match their "realities". Conventional maps do not indicate the huge, dormitory towns outside "white cities", where vast numbers of blacks live. For example over one million people live twenty kilometers outside Johannesburg. All major "white cities" have one or more of these 'shadows', yet many South Africans may not even know what these dormitory towns are called or where they are located. Therefore, the dormitory towns on the outskirts of cities, remain Terra incognita(Beavon, 1982) in the High School Geography Text.

2.1 Urbanization

The table on p. 269 in the text, indicates the difference in the percentages of urbanization for the different race groups in the country:

Urban population numbers and percentages in 1980.

Group	Number of urban dwellers	% of the total urban pop	% of Urbanization
Asians	744 000	5.6	90.6
Blacks	6 480 000	49.0	38.3
Coloreds	2 002 000	15.1	76.6
Whites	4 002 000	30.3	88.4
Total	13 228 000	100.0	53.2

Urbanization of blacks in South Africa has historically been influenced by factors such as influx control, the pass laws and the forced removals of people to the "national states". The role of influx control on black urbanization is alluded to on p. 269, thus:

In the case of black people, the decreasing rate [of urbanization] after 1951 is probably associated with political control measures such as **influx control**. (p. 269)

The use of the word "probably", is telling. The text fails to open up further discussion on the relationship between urbanization of blacks and influx control measures.

The above extract is an example of how the dominant discourse "functions to marginalize and disconfirm the knowledge forms and experiences that are extremely important to subordinate and oppressed groups" (Aronowitz et al, 1985, p.147). One would expect more in-depth discussion on the implications of influx control and the underlying political reasons for these policies. This type of reference to the relationship between urbanization and influx control, creates the impression that, influx control was merely related to the control of numbers. That influx control formed an integral part of the homeland policy is not mentioned. Also the resulting human experiences of forced removals and separation of men from their families, which formed an integral part of this control measure, are disconfirmed by this type of discourse. Silencing hampers the development of students' ability to critically reflect on these issues.

2.2 Urbanization within the "national states":

This section represents another example of how certain relevant

questions are raised while at the same time certain very serious and pertinent issues are silenced. The discussion on the low level of urbanization within the "national states" (p. 270), provides an opportunity to talk about the reasons for the fragmentation of these "states". It is no coincidence that major cities such as East London and King William's Town are situated on the borders outside the "national states". What happened here, was that the borders of the "states" were gerrymandered to include the black townships of these cities, while the remainder of the cities remained part of the rest of South Africa. The effect of this arrangement is that the wealth of these cities is generated outside the "national states" which merely serve to provide the labor for these cities.

The notion of urban places as exemplified by the text, is problematic and needs to be illuminated. In the text, places such as Soweto are classified as urban places, based on their population figures. However, functionally, Soweto is inextricably linked to the metropolis of Johannesburg. Soweto provides the labor force for the metropolis while hardly any jobs are created for the people of Soweto inside Soweto.

The same situation prevails in the "national states". A "town", such as Mdantsane in Ciskei, is classified as an urban place in the text. In reality, Mdantsane is a black township of East London. This township is part of the Ciskei but does not have the resources required to function independently. The people of Mdantsane work in the city of East London which lies outside the Ciskei. One would expect a geography text to seize the opportunity to discuss the meaning of the links between places. The text, however, treats places as discrete objects in space rather than as an interconnected system. In this way the text manages to reinforce the notion of the "national states" as states in the

historical sense.

2.3 The Apartheid City

De jure segregation of cities based on race, is part of the political and geographical reality of South Africa. In order to achieve total racial segregation in cities, people were forcibly removed from their traditional homes since the enactment of the Group Areas act in 1950. The text describes the apartheid city in one paragraph (p. 330):

More recently the **apartheid element** has had an effect on the apartheid structure of South African cities. The group areas legislation introduced after 1950 extended and legally entrenched the segmented pattern of the colonial city in an attempt to eliminate residential mixing of different groups. The 'apartheid city' which resulted is more structured than the colonial 'segregated city'. Absolutely segregated, ethnically-based residential areas were established and consolidated into large continuous sectors separated by buffer zones. Davies regards the 'apartheid city' as a colonial city that has been remoulded into a sectorial pattern - resembling Hoyt's model - by government intervention. People of color were settled on the fringes of sectors in large housing schemes for workers close to industrial areas."

The text does allude to key aspects regarding the apartheid city. According to the text, this apartheid city resembles Hoyt's sector model. The text takes, what is essentially a political creation, removes it from the realm of political discourse and recast it in the "universal" language of science. Thus attempting to describe the geography of South Africa in the voice of reason and of science.

The text invokes Western models in an effort to cast the apartheid city as a universal phenomenon. The irony is that "racism is a Western thing. The

state racism [of apartheid] ...would have had no chance outside a European 'discourse' on the concept of race" (Derrida, 1985, p. 293). The text undoes its own universal claims. It undoes its own scientific language. Science is the language of apartheid, yet apartheid is savage and brutal. The West is seen by the text as the norm, yet the West has to accept part of the responsibility for apartheid.

In the discussion of the apartheid city, the learner is left with the impression that the Group Areas Act was imposed by the government on docile victims. All the psychological and emotional effects of the Group Areas Act on the lives of the dispossessed are silenced by this approach to dealing with the apartheid city. At the same time, the voice of resistance of people who were forcibly removed from their original areas of residence, is silenced. In other words, that which is outside the voice of "reason," the actual, real geography of South Africa, is silenced. This real geography of the lived experience of people, is effaced by the objective voice of "reason" in the text.

The South African landscape was sculpted by the apartheid ideology. The apartheid city, together with the "national states" are the concrete evidence of the imprint of apartheid ideology on the landscape. Therefore the topic of the apartheid city deserves much more attention than afforded in the text. The opportunity for an in-depth discussion of the apartheid city is lost. Students deserve to understand the historical factors that led to the phenomenon that they grow up in ethnically homogeneous residential pockets.

The paragraph quoted above, is accompanied by a diagram of Davies's model of the South African city (see Appendix 2). The text could do more to point out certain characteristics of the apartheid city which are evident in the

diagram: Black residential areas are situated close to industrial areas; major roads and railway lines often form the buffer zones between residential areas of different groups; the black townships of some cities are not part of "white South Africa" but form part of the "national states" (discussed earlier); colored and Indian areas are built between white and black areas with Indians closer to whites. This deliberate hierarchization of the spatial configuration of different groups, is symptomatic of apartheid paranoia.

Western (1981) highlights other aspects of the apartheid city such as: White residential areas are situated in the better parts of the cities such as, close to the beach (in the case of coastal cities) or in high lying areas with better views; white areas are situated "down wind" from industries.

In the section on **Residential Segregation** (p.338), the point is made that "most people prefer to live among others of similar social, economic and cultural characteristics." The word "prefer" suggests that choice is the prime determinant of where people live. The point is then made that socio-economic class differences give rise to residential segregation. In this section the text goes to great lengths to explain how socio-economic class, or group cohesion based on religion, language or color, leads to voluntary residential segregation. In other words, residential segregation is signified in terms of universal phenomena.

It is then stated that "...ethnicity has been the primary segregating principle" in South Africa. With words such as "prefer" and "voluntary", the text attempts to depoliticize the discourse on residential segregation. A geography text should do more to shatter the myth of freedom of choice for urban dwellers. Even within the black townships, there is little or no social stratification, because

housing is often allocated on a language-ethnic basis whenever possible (Pirie, 1984; Christopher, 1989). Ethnicity is not just the "segregating principle" which guides peoples' choices, it is the justification for political acts.

2.5 Urban renewal

The section on urban renewal is dealt with as a subsection of the section on "problems of the city and possible solutions" (p.353). Urban renewal strategies are proposed as legitimate solutions to urban decay. Urban decay, according to the text, can take the form of slum areas: "One of the most serious problems in many cities is the development of slum conditions" (p. 353). The following characteristics of slums are mentioned

- Slum areas in cities ... absorb almost half of all municipal expenditure; yet they contribute only 6% of the income from property taxation.
- Apart from the physical aspects (i.e. poor buildings and facilities), such an area is also characterized by **social problems** such as overpopulation, crime, unemployment, alcohol abuse, etc.
- A slum is an unsightly blight on a city that demoralizes its inhabitants and constitutes a threat for the rest of the community.

In the descriptions above, slum areas are presented as "problem areas", economic liabilities, areas characterized by "poor buildings" and "social problems", "demoralized inhabitants" and they pose "a threat to the rest of the community". Certain questions arise: Whose voice is privileged by these statements? Who says the inhabitants are demoralized? The text constructs a

correspondence between 'underdeveloped housing' and 'underdeveloped people' (the connection between "poor buildings" and "social problems"). Who, in the South African context, is the "rest of the community" that is threatened by slum areas? Foucault's questions in The Archeology of Knowledge, can be brought to bear here:

"... who is speaking? Who, among the totality of speaking individuals, is accorded the right to use this sort of language...?"
(Foucault, 1972, p. 50).

Through discursive demarcations the problem **of** slums is made into the problems **in** slums, while the broader societal relations which create these spaces, are ignored. In other words, the text uses the discursive elements of the dominant group to constitute places as problematic spaces. Those outside "slums" often regard these areas as undesirable. The inhabitants of "slum areas" may have an emotional attachment to these places. By refusing to consider the relations between places/spaces, by being segregationist in its constitution of objects, the text **is** apartheid in its very method. Its method separates, isolates, delimits, segregates and tries to control.

The text puts forward two ways of dealing with slum areas, namely, demolition and redevelopment as well as restoration and conservation. The Bo-Kaap region of Cape Town is cited as an example of the latter. This is a more humane way of dealing with conditions of urban decay and to my knowledge, the Bo-Kaap is the only example in the Cape Province. Examples of demolition and redevelopment in South African cities are not mentioned at this point, despite the fact that numerous examples exist.

When urban renewal strategies in South African cities are mentioned, the

text admits that slum clearance started when South African cities were still comparatively young and that the first large scale renewal projects were associated with the group areas legislation of 1950, when people in "slums" were uprooted and moved to the outskirts of cities. No mention is made of the fact that in many cases the original inhabitants could not return to these areas, because they were proclaimed white group areas. Huge tracts of land in District Six in Cape Town remain undeveloped to this day, almost thirty years after it was proclaimed white.

Nobody who has experienced forced removals, would be able to talk about these experiences in one paragraph as is done in the text. The text sees the "reality" of South Africa as something which can be described in abstract terms. However, the "reality" of South Africa is polyvocal. It is composed of a multiplicity of different voices. The reality of South Africa is undecidable, ambiguous and in flux. This fixity and abstractness of the geography of the text stands in contrast to the concreteness and everydayness of the experiences of the people living in the country. In other words, that which is outside the boundaries drawn by the text, is the real geography of South Africa. The boundaries drawn by the text need to be shifted so that they can include the marginalized voices.

Many books, poems, dramas and songs have been written by South Africans to relate the experiences of people as a result of the devastation caused in places such as District six in Cape Town and Sophia Town in Johannesburg. By silencing the voice of the communities that were affected by "renewal strategies", the text also silences peoples' vehement resistance to forced removals.

Once again the state is presented as an outside force which identifies problems and which applies measures to solve these problems. The active role of state brutality in constituting "slum areas" as problems, is silenced. Pirie (1986) states:

... while the state poses as an agent of slum upgrading and moderator of racial conflict, its actions reveal naked disruption, opportunism and the politicization of law and rights in South Africa. (In Rogerson and Browett, p. 1986).

2.6 Squatter Settlements

This topic is discussed under residential areas. Once again the text first discusses the development of squatter settlements in developing countries, thus setting the stage to illustrate that squatting is a universal phenomenon in these countries. The table on page 339 of the text (see table 4) indicates the percentage of squatter population in certain African cities.

Table 4: % of squatter population in selected African Cities:

City	Percentage
Dakar	30
Dar es salaam	30
Lusaka	30
Accra	53
Mombasa	66
Ibadan	75
Yaounde	90
Addis Ababa	92

In this way squatting is located as a feature from the developing world, an external phenomenon which has no part in South African society. At this point the text turns to South Africa:

In South Africa squatting was regarded as an undesirable and unacceptable phenomenon until fairly recently. During the 1950s and 1960s thousands of shanties were systematically cleared on the outskirts of cities...and the population resettled in housing schemes. In spite of this approach, squatter settlement increased again in the 1970s. The extent of the problem, the shortage of funds and the rising building costs have caused the government to change its policy towards squatting in South Africa recently. Controlled squatting in the form of site and service schemes is now permitted. (p. 339).

In the first sentence above, the disapproving attitude of the government towards squatting is established. The next sentence indicates that squatter camps were cleared in an orderly fashion. According to the text, people were "resettled" and "controlled squatting" was permitted. This very clinical discussion suggests that the South African government was very tolerant with this phenomenon and very creative in dealing with the issue of squatting. A euphemistic language effaces the political issues involved in squatting.

The impression created in the text about the phenomenon of squatting in South Africa, silences pertinent aspects about **how and why** squatter settlements developed. Squatter settlements often developed as an act of resistance to the laws of apartheid.

The government was like a man who has a cornfield which is

invaded by birds. He chases the birds from one part of the field and they alight in another part of the field. ... We squatters are the birds. The government sends the policemen to chase us away and we move off to occupy another spot. We shall see whether it is the farmer or the birds who get tired first. (O.Monongoaha, squatter leader, In Western, 1981, p. 277).

Here, the voice of a squatter leader captures the attitude displayed by the South African government towards squatting. Monongoaha also reveals another aspect of squatting, namely the conflict between squatters and the government. The resilience of the people in testing the laws that govern squatting, also comes to the fore.

An in-depth study of squatting in South Africa will bring to light that squatter camps are often, paradoxically, the result of the government's manipulation of space. In terms of the pass laws it was illegal for the families of migrant workers (from the homelands) to reside in "white cities". Therefore many black families were living "illegally" in shanty towns on the outskirts of cities (Western, 1981).

It should also be noted that colored and black squatters experienced the effect of the law differently (this is no coincidence, it is part of the government's strategy of divide and rule): "The government's policy towards colored squatters has been one of unenthusiastic acceptance, or containment." (Western, 1981, p. 287). In the case of blacks, "the government's goal has not merely been containment, or freezing of numbers but in fact diminution of the Black African presence..." (Western, 1981, p.291).¹

The text refers to Crossroads, a squatter settlement outside Cape Town, which became the most famous squatter settlement in the world "... on account

of the events that occurred there" (p. 339), but the text fails to elaborate on these "events". A discussion of "the events" which occurred in Crossroads, will illuminate aspects such as the economic "push"-factors in the homelands which "pushed" blacks to Cape Town, the "illegality" of family life in the cities (for blacks) due to the pass laws and the resulting growth of a squatter settlement such as Crossroads.

The residents of Crossroads took the initiative to organize their lives and to develop a flourishing informal economy. Yet nowhere does the text refer to black political activity or black leadership. The government insisted that this "undesirable phenomenon" had to be eradicated. In February 1977 the demolition of squatter camps started in Cape Town. The plight of Crossroaders caught the attention of the international world, and the demolition of Crossroads, which was to have begun in November 1978, was postponed. (Western, 1981).

The extent of the problem, the shortage of funds and the rising building costs have caused the government to change its policy towards squatting recently. (p. 339).

The statement "the government [had to] change its policy ... recently", creates the impression of a fresh response by the government to the transformed landscape. This, states Silverman "implies that the state is merely the independent arbiter of problems created elsewhere" (Silverman, 1992, p. 81). This kind of discourse serves to cast the state as a "mythological entity" which always takes decisions on behalf of society which is "a domain separate from the state" (Silverman, 1992, p. 79). The power relations within society that construct such "problems" as squatting, are far more intricate.

We therefore have to place the "government's recent policy towards squatting" within a wider historical context and we have to consider all the historical factors that contributed to the creation of this "problem of squatting".

3. REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY:

Two chapters in the textbook deal with South Africa. The analysis will concentrate on Chapter 9 in the textbook which discusses the Physical and Human background of South Africa.

3.1 Political division (p. 369):

In this section, the notion of the "national states" as separate states, is reinforced. On the map (Appendix 3), the four "independent national states" are indicated as neighboring states of the Republic of south Africa. The "national states" are afforded the same status as states such as Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

To indicate the separateness of the other six "states" from the rest of the country, the table on p. 370 gives the surface areas of the provinces and that of the "state" in each province separately (see Appendix 4). This textual apartheid is present throughout the chapter. Most of the tables and diagrams keep the information for the different "race" groups separate.

What is however significant is that, when the population density figures are given, the country's population is treated as one unit. Since the table on p. 370 gives the surface areas for the "national states" separately, it would be much more illuminating to give the population densities for these entities separately. One wonders why this is not done. On p. 398, the population

densities for the four provinces are indicated with no reference to the population densities of the "national state(s)" in each of the provinces. In a separate section "Population Distribution" (p. 403 - 404) the population densities of two of the "states" are mentioned in passing. The discursive strategy in the text is to separate closely related data. This has the effect of complicating the process of making important cognitive connections between related issues.

3.2 Population Composition (p. 399).

The ethnic division of the different groups in the country are discussed in this section:

The **whites** consist mainly of Afrikaans and English-speaking groups.

Two [**coloured**] groups can be identified: the Griquas and the Cape Malays.

The **black people** represent nine different nations. These main groups can in turn be divided into distinct units

Certain identities have been imposed on certain groups in the country by the dominant discourse. The text reinforces the notion of categories because these identities are maintained unquestioned throughout the text. It is noticeable that the text subdivides black people into different ethnic units. However, the whites consist of only two language groups. The text silences the fact that white South Africans also have divergent origins such as Dutch, German and French. That is why the whites are regarded as the largest racial/ethnic group in the country.

In the same section, the different groups are discussed in the following

manner:

Over the years the Afrikaners have developed an individual identity and lifestyle. They have made great advances in economic, educational and political fields.

English-speaking South Africans occupy the most important positions in management, commerce and the industrial world.

The Griquas...have developed an individual culture and are mostly Christian. The Malays... have adhered to the Islamic faith.

The black peoples of South Africa can be regarded as developing communities. Many of them work in urban centers, others work on farms. (p. 399.- 400).

According to the text, whites have made "great advances" and "occupy the most important positions", while the black peoples are "developing communities" and some are farm laborers. No mention is made of the contribution of coloreds to the country's economy. Once again the voice of the text is the voice of the developed world. The governing regime sees itself as part of this developed world, the world of order and of rationality. The irony is that this "developed world" of white South Africa is also the world of apartheid. In actual practice the operation of apartheid is not rational. Apartheid is brutal, savage, violent and revolutionary. In other words, "developed" white South Africa has a lot of the attributes which the geography of the text would attribute to that which is outside the developed. The text ends up undoing its own claims.

This distinction between the developed and developing, also comes to the fore in the divide between manual labor of blacks and the management

activities of English speaking South Africans. The two groups reside in different worlds, with one group closer to the developed world. The disparities in terms of level of advancement between the different groups, are presented simply as disparities in achievement. The power relations that are involved in hegemonizing certain groups, are far more complex and should be addressed by the text. The text could, for example, raise questions regarding opportunities available to different groups. The reader could be enlightened on structural constraints which have over the years retarded economic advancement of certain groups, such as job reservation, differential salaries for different groups or the restricted access of certain groups to 'open' universities. Silencing such questions makes the text complicitous with the dominant discourse by reinforcing the myth that the level of development of a people is causally linked with ethnicity.

The tendency in the dominant discourse has always been to present apartheid as a natural historical development, thus depoliticizing apartheid's creations. On p. 399 the text once again legitimizes a singular voice in explaining the specific locations of the "national states":

"These different [black] nations have in time occupied different regions where they have developed their own traditions, cultural systems and organizations. The national states and independent states were modeled on these regions".

No attempt is made to include the opinions of the inhabitants of these areas regarding the location of the "national states".

3.3 Population Movements (p.405):

The emphasis in this section is on **urbanization**. The urbanization experiences of the different groups are discussed separately. Push-pull factors such as the following are stated as the reasons for urbanization in the case of whites: Droughts, epidemics and the depression of 1930-33, increased land prices. More recently changed farming methods and mechanization made farm workers superfluous. Pull factors include industrialization, mining development, activities in the tertiary sector, better employment, social conveniences and a higher standard of living.

"These pull factors also influenced other groups" (p. 406). Migration in the black community is discussed in the following manner:

Greatest mobility is evident among the **black people**.

Employment opportunities, first on the mines and later in manufacturing industry, attracted thousands of men to the various growth points. They were followed by their wives. However, many men leave their homes in the national states for a year or more to earn a living in the urban areas. This **system of migrant labour** has given rise to many social, economic and political problems.

Rapid influx to urban areas is usually associated with squatting and other problems.

No push-pull factors other than those already mentioned for whites, are discussed in the case of black migrants. For example, no mention is made of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 which restricted the sale of land to blacks and had the effect of forcing landless people to seek jobs in the cities. Pressure on the land and a lack of job opportunities in the "national states" are not mentioned.

The effect that migrant labor has on the lives of the people involved, is trivialized: "many men leave their homes in the national states". If this text had given expression to the voice of these people, the reader would have a better understanding of why these men have to leave their homes in the "national states", and how this affects family relations. Other conditions associated with black urbanization would come to the fore, such as poor housing, life in single sex hostels, destruction of squatter settlements and forced repatriation to "national states". All these factors allude to the fact that "migrant laborers" from the "national states" are seen as temporary, in transit, in their own country. They are, states Silverman "encapsulated in the composite term 'migrant laborer' " (Silverman, 1992, p. 109). The factors mentioned above place constraints on the families of migrant workers to settle permanently in urban areas.

The text mentions that migrant labor "... has given rise to many social, economic and political problems". Yet the black voice remains silent about the nature of these problems. The text evades the responsibility of elaborating on these problems. The text also states: "Rapid influx to urban areas is usually associated with squatting..." This statement is vague because the connection between "influx to cities and squatting" does not include all groups in the country. White migrants to cities do not settle in squatter camps. The families of black migrant workers settle in squatter camps. It is important to make these connections so that it can become clear that phenomena such as 'temporary' black, male migrant workers and squatter settlements are creations of apartheid ideology.

SUMMARY

Apartheid ideology has unquestionably shaped the South African landscape. Factors, such as the movement of people, are rigorously controlled by people with political power. Geography can (and must) place phenomena such as migration and settlement patterns within the political context. If the histories of all groups are confirmed in geography texts, students will have a better understanding of their present spatial/temporal positions. In other words the study of geography provides the tools to explain spatial phenomena within an historical context.

The main consideration in the present analysis of Senior Geography was to assess to what extent geography explains present socio-spatial arrangements in the country. The analysis brings to light that there are definite efforts in the text to explain and give reasons for certain phenomena, such as settlement patterns and urbanization. There are also instances in the text where the connection is made between certain phenomena and the political policies in the country:

...the decreasing rate of [urbanization of blacks] after 1951 is probably associated with political control measures... (p. 269).
More recently the apartheid element has had an effect on the structure of South African cities (p. 330).

Discursive moves towards the silencing of subordinate voices are often very subtle. At the outset of this chapter certain discursive strategies used in textbook descriptions of South Africa's geography were outlined. This framework was applied in the process of contesting the geography in the textbook.

Research done in this study points the way towards analyzing discourses in texts and curricula. This study shows how, through discourses in texts, myths are created and perpetuated, how "universal truths" are constructed and how certain experiences are trivialized. The list of discursive devices identified in this study and used in texts to silence certain voices, is not exhaustive. On the contrary, this work provides merely the beginning of a framework for use in examining school texts. Similar studies in other fields may serve to broaden this framework.

CHAPTER FOUR

IMPLICATIONS: GIVING VOICE TO THE SUBALTERN

INTRODUCTION

It has to be acknowledged that geography textbooks represent only one element in geography teaching. The role of the classroom teacher as mediator of textbook knowledge cannot be dismissed. However, the authority of the textbook should not be underestimated. It has been pointed out (in Chapter 2) that the textbook is often the ultimate source of information for both student and teacher. "Legitimate" knowledge is made available in the classroom through the textbook. Apple writes about the immense impact of the textbook on relations in the classroom:

It is estimated that 75 percent of the time that elementary and secondary students are in classrooms and 90 percent of their time on homework is spent with text materials (Apple, 1990, p. 75).

Despite the fact that the text dominates the geography curriculum, little critical attention is paid to the ideological and political discourses contained in geography textbooks. In South Africa studies of this nature have been done for history. This study shows that this type of textual oppression operates in other fields of study. Therefore every person who is involved with the curricula and textbooks should actively engage in similar types of analyses.

The questions posed by this study regarding the discourse in textbooks, hold important implications for everybody who interacts with the text and the curriculum, such as, textbook writers, teachers, students and the curriculum

research community. What follows is a series of different proposals which I believe should be implemented. By implementing these proposals, that which I critique in chapter 3, can be overcome.

1. CURRICULUM DEVELOPERS AND TEXTBOOK WRITERS

The notion of the 'voice', emphasizes the ways in which certain groups are subordinated, excluded and marginalized. This study points out how, through silencing of certain voices, the text is instrumental in the process of exclusion and marginalization. The study identified certain discursive strategies (discussed in Chapter 3) which serve to silence the geographies and experiences of certain communities.

One of the concerns mentioned in chapter 3, is the voice of science present in textbooks. The question arises: How can the sovereign voice in textbooks be undermined? This is the voice of science, of reason, the voice that represents itself as neutral. One way of addressing this concern, is by having textbooks break away from the traditional narrative structure. Have the narrative be broken up by different voices, different points of view. Move away from the linear structure of texts and let them be multivocal. Different people's experiences can be quoted. In other words, textbooks can be more open in their form and their organization. By doing this, the voice of the text will be removed from the presumed center, and texts will begin to give expression to the multiple silenced and marginalized voices.

Another concern expressed in chapter 3, is the abstractness of the geography of the text, a geography which is removed from the geography on the ground. Certain things can be done to articulate the lived experiences of

people. "Non-traditional" forms of knowledge can be incorporated in texts. This would include poetry, drama and songs. These voices would confirm certain realities of life in South Africa. In this way textbooks will possibly make the connections between everyday experiences and the educational process itself.

Textbooks can include in their community narratives the political activities and leadership which have evolved out of the communities where students live. Students can then begin to understand how their own people took charge of their problems. This is how students can be helped to see the connection between school knowledge and life in their own communities.

Curriculum developers could develop their curricula around community issues. These issues should be placed within the broader political context. This calls for them to have a sensitive understanding for the communities in which students live and to "reclaim the 'forgotten' histories, memories experiences and community narratives" (Giroux, 1989, p. 146). This does not mean the romanticizing of the histories and experiences of subordinated communities. What it means is an end to the depiction of oppressed communities as passive, docile, voiceless people who made no contribution to the history of the country.

Textbooks carry with them the "authority of print" (Dean, 1983). Therefore they have the potential to play a very powerful role in how people perceive themselves. This influence of texts can be transmitted through the discursive forms which are permitted in texts, or through the silences which are imposed on the discourse in textbooks. Concepts such as Group Areas have generated a way of speaking about 'other' people (Van den Berg, 1985). This type of discourse will not be destroyed simply by repealing the Group Areas Act.

Writers of school texts can perpetuate this type of discourse or they can contest it.

The knowledge in textbooks also hold important implications for the training of teachers.

2. TRAINING OF TEACHERS

I hope this study will serve as a discussion document for aspirant teachers in their efforts to problematize textbook knowledge. If teachers fail to question the knowledge in texts, they can become agents of the dominant ideology which shapes the discourse. Geography teachers in particular need to be aware of the important contribution that geography can make in fostering a better understanding of society. They need to be able to analyze the language usage in order to uncover the political relations contained in textbooks.

The purpose of the exercising of power, states Foucault rests in "guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome" (Foucault, 1982, p. 196). Putting in order the possible outcome is the collective responsibility of teachers. Van den Berg suggests a policy of active disinvestment. "We need to disinvest from syllabuses that foist one particular version of reality on us in the name of co-ordination." (Van den Berg 1985, p. 13). He urges teachers to contest the right of others to determine what part of our histories is worth knowing.

This calls for programs at teacher training colleges to include exercises in the deconstruction of texts. Teacher training should include workshops and discussions where the content of texts are interrogated. In this way aspirant teachers will understand that schools are not ideologically innocent. They need

to be aware of the ability of the forces of power to produce knowledge and "regimes of truth".

Aspirant teachers should be encouraged to join teacher's organizations. In these organizations, they should demand that the mechanisms be put in place to perpetuate this process of rethinking and confronting knowledge in texts and curricula. By deconstructing knowledge forms in texts, they can challenge discourses which find legitimation in objectivity, science, and universal truths. This study has clearly pointed to the practices of objectification and scientization which is used in Senior Geography in an effort to legitimize political creations such as the apartheid city.

3. INSIDE THE CLASSROOM

Different strategies can be applied in the classroom to sensitize students to textual discourse. Students need to develop the skills that will enable them to ascertain how their voices are marginalized in texts. In this way students are awakened to their own power to produce knowledge. Giroux refers to students' ability to produce knowledge through their readings of texts: They produce knowledge in their interaction with texts as they try to understand the "codes and assumptions that inform an author's particular writing". Knowledge is also produced when texts are read as part of a wider historical context. Knowledge thus produced, goes beyond "the said, stated and obvious". This calls for a reading of a text "which challenges and refuses the basic assumptions and codes that shape the values that shape the text". (Giroux, 1989, p. 148).

Students can be engaged in a more practical way of producing knowledge. As part of a class project, students can produce their own

textbooks. Students could interview members of their communities about such issues as forced removals or life in the townships. In this way they give voice to their lives and the lives of their parents. At the same time students reclaim their right of self-expression in the classroom. When we juxtapose writings on the same events by those in and out of power it becomes clear that those in power manipulate political discourse to silence important issues and to deflect criticism away from themselves (Collins, 1993).

Collins continues to point out that the writings from marginalized groups contains insights which are politically important. "Ordinary people" can be inspired by such writings. The most important lesson for students could be that significant political insight can come from people like themselves - "...people who grew up in slavery, were denied education or a seat at the lunch counter, who were sent to jail for their beliefs, or who worked hard from morning to night without seeing the fruits of their labor" (Collins, 1993, p. 33).

Foucault spoke about all the measures of control inside schools. One such measure of control, is highlighted when comparing the instructional aims and objectives in syllabi to the discourses in texts. This tension between the two (aims and objectives in syllabi and discourses in texts) holds profound implications for students.

One of the objectives of geography instruction set out in the geography syllabus, is that students should become "critical, divergent and creative thinkers" (see Appendix 1). Yet in the textbook, they are confronted with a view of the world which is totally divorced from their own experiences. How can they be expected to make a critical analysis of a version of "reality" which they cannot even measure against their own experiences?

Another objective is to "reinforce positive attitudes" in students. Yet, the message they get from their textbooks, is that the histories and experiences of their communities are not worthy of discussion in school texts. Another objective urges teachers to emphasize the "social, economic and political interdependence of man". Yet they are presented with a geography text that does not question the socio-spatial division of people; a text that discursively confirms the social division of people as a natural, historical phenomenon; a text which strives to depoliticize geographical phenomena.

4. OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL

The discursive maneuvers identified in this study could form the basis of discussion and further analyses of texts by teachers. The dissemination of these ideas could be achieved by various means. Teachers could form what is called 'communities of practice'. These could take the form of study groups, discussion groups, seminars and various local and regional networks. Within such communities teachers can engage in systematic, interpretive reflection and inquiry into textual material. Teachers could confront textual material and share their interpretations in these groups. Teachers could also produce their own texts in various forms, such as journals and diaries.

Apartheid education has left many teachers with a lack of confidence and with feelings of insecurity. We must start somewhere to break the cycle of mental oppression. Identifying the different forms of discursive oppression in texts is part of confronting apartheid and this could be the beginning of undoing the effects of apartheid education. Therefore the idea of sharing and discussion within support communities, is crucial to teachers. Researchers could become

part of teacher groups.

SUMMARY

The issue of language-use in texts should become part of the research done in connection with curriculum restructuring. Researchers in this field need to recognize the importance of language in the construction of subjectivities. Language intersects with power to produce the discursive forms that legitimate certain voices and drive other voices to the margins.

Therefore language in curricula needs to be analyzed to uncover the meaning that it carries with it. However, to unlock the meanings inherent in discourse is not enough. Discourse, says Foucault (1981), is the power that we should strive to seize. Through discourse we can reclaim the silenced voices of marginalized groups such as the oppressed and dispossessed in South Africa. Through discourse we can construct meaning out of community narratives. Our students need to hear the voices of resistance from District Six and Cross Roads; the voices of leadership from Soweto and other communities. This is one way of bringing about student empowerment.

I hope this discussion of implications will start an ongoing debate on the aspects of voice and discourse in texts and curricula.

CONCLUSION

Textbooks are important sources of information for both students and teachers. This study examines the question of textbooks as instruments of domination. It examines how power relations produce the discourse in school textbooks which perpetuates the dominant ideology. Apartheid is the dominant ideology in South Africa and it has shaped the geography of the country. The geography of apartheid impacts differently on the people of the country.

The Human Geography and Regional Geography sections in the Standard 10 textbook used in colored high schools in South Africa, were analyzed. The analysis focuses on the discourse in this text. The study is grounded within the theoretical framework of power, knowledge and discourse espoused by Michel Foucault and other critical theorists such as Giroux, Freire and Aronowitz. The concept that power operates in everyday lives and produces knowledge and discourse is applied in the interrogation of the text. Foucault talks about the different mechanisms of control in schools. He refers to the architecture of schools (the internal discourse of the institution) as a measure of control. Other measures of control include the curriculum, the examination and the systems of reward and punishment. He refers to schools as the political sites where the appropriation of discourse is controlled and modified. He outlines certain measures by which discourse is controlled.

One of these measures of control of discourse is exclusion. The first measure of exclusion discussed by Foucault, is prohibition. This means that not everybody is allowed to speak and the areas of discussion are not open to everyone. Throughout the textbook a singular voice is privileged in the

description of South Africa's geography while all other voices are effectively silenced (prohibited from speaking).

A second measure of exclusion through discourse, according to Foucault, is through the division between reason and folly (1972, p. 216). The analysis of the textbook points to the privileging of the "objective" voice of reason in the text. The effect of this is that the voices which are outside the voice of reason, are silenced. A third measure of exclusion through discourse in Foucault's thesis, is "the opposition between true and false" (1972, p. 217). This shapes our "will to truth". We can see this "will to truth" in the textbook's construction of "universal truths". Through universal truths, the textbook tries to depoliticise apartheid's creations such as the apartheid city (which is stated to conform to western models) or residential segregation in cities (which is stated to be a universal phenomenon). These and other discursive strategies are used in the text to silence certain voices.

Foucault's concept of "the gaze", as a technique of surveillance, is brought to bear on the discussion of the educational structure in South Africa. The curricula and textbooks (developed and designed by members of the dominant white group), the educational philosophy and the educational resources available to the different groups can all be seen as different forms of surveillance. Different strategies of control are in place to ensure that particular perspectives are privileged in curricula and textbooks.

Two major questions serve to give direction to the study: Whose voices are privileged in the textual discourse and whose voices are silenced? Which discursive strategies are employed in the silencing of voices? Two major themes emerge out of the discursive analysis: Textual apartheid and the

effacement of geography. The geography of the text replicates and reinforces the very boundaries that are at the heart of apartheid. The voice in the text creates its own center and banishes all other voices to the margins. The effect of this is that the abstract nature of the geography in the text, silences the lived geography of many people. In this process of drawing boundaries, and silencing 'other' voices the text writes a geography of separate spaces and therefore ends up effacing geography. The overall conclusion in this study is that the voice of the text **is** the voice of apartheid.

This study set out to provide the education community with the tools to analyze discourses in texts. The discussion of implications in chapter four goes beyond analysis to provide practical suggestions by which the concerns raised in chapter three can be overcome. The practice in schools is to maintain boundaries between different fields of study. This study shows that when textbooks represent multiple voices, the rigid boundaries between different fields of study, are also challenged. This type of analysis could be applied to fields of study beyond geography and history. Even more importantly, I hope that the textbooks of the future South Africa will give voice to the entire community.

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APPENDIX 1

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES GEOGRAPHY STANDARDS 8. 9 AND 10

AIMS

The most important aims, in the long term, are for pupils to

1. acquire and develop intellectual skills and abilities which will promote on-going education.
2. adjust to a society that is undergoing rapid and far-reaching social, economic and political changes.
3. enter the world-of-work that is becoming increasingly more technologically oriented.
4. develop their moral and emotional (affective) attributes.

OBJECTIVES

1. Objectives should be meaningful to pupils and teachers alike, and must constitute both realistic and achievable targets.
2. The type and number of short-term objectives in Geography are numerous, and those selected for a lesson should be closely correlated with the nature of the subject matter and the resources available to the teacher.
3. Objectives can be classified into four main categories:

3.1 Knowledge

- 3.1.1 Pupils should acquire a fundamental body of knowledge which is

meaningful and useful to them and which can be applied and reproduced in whatever form is required.

- 3.1.2. Pupils should recognize the unity of knowledge through the links that geography has with other subjects.

3.2 Skills

- 3.2.1 No list of skills can be complete. The following should, however be kept in mind

- (a) The importance attached to different skills should be related to the abilities and maturity of the pupils
- (b) The development of skills should enable pupils to deal with knowledge in an organized manner.
- (c) Pupils should gain proficiency in the use of skills through repetition and the application of these skills to new situations

- 3.2.2. Geography makes a particular contribution to the following skills:

- (a) Oracy and literacy: thinking logically, writing concisely, speaking with assurance and accuracy.
- (b) Numeracy: facility with simple statistical methods, graphs and tables.
- (c) Graphicacy: the ability to draw, read and interpret.
- (d) Interpretation: of pictures, photographs and maps.
- (e) Fieldwork techniques: using either the traditional (survey) or the scientific approach.

3.3 Perception

The way in which the environment is 'perceived' in relation to the 'actual' environment influences the pupil's concept of space (spatial conceptualization)

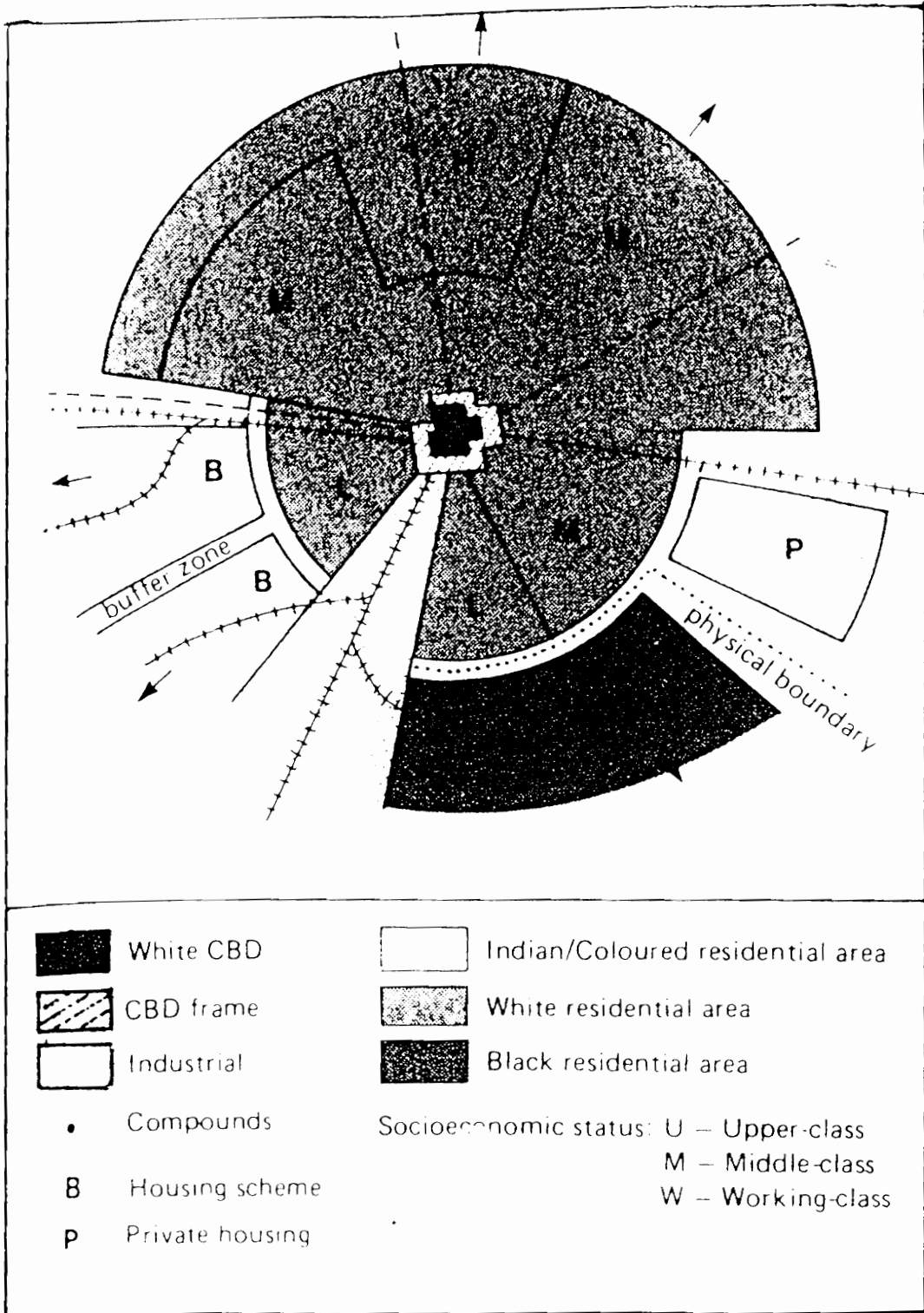
- 3.3.1. In order to heighten the pupils' perception of their environment, it is necessary for them to:
- (a) recognize the relationships that exist between people and their environment.
 - (b) Identify spatial patterns, spatial relationships and interaction (This is closely linked with an understanding of location, distance and accessibility)
 - (c) be aware of the underlying processes which act upon spatial patterns and relationships and which bring about change.
 - (d) be aware of the world's place to place variety; to recognize the uniqueness of place.
- 3.3.2. Many studies require pupils to examine the spatial aspects of social and economic problems. Such studies provide opportunities for pupils to respond to problem- solving and decision-making situations through critical, divergent and creative thinking.

3.4. Appraisal

- 3.4.1 Studies in geography should
- (a) promote the formation and reinforcement of positive attitudes and values
 - (b) emphasize the social, economic and political inter-dependence of man.
- 3.4.2. Pupils need to develop an environmental awareness. They need to feel a commitment towards the environment by developing a 'caring attitude'. This means they are expected to:

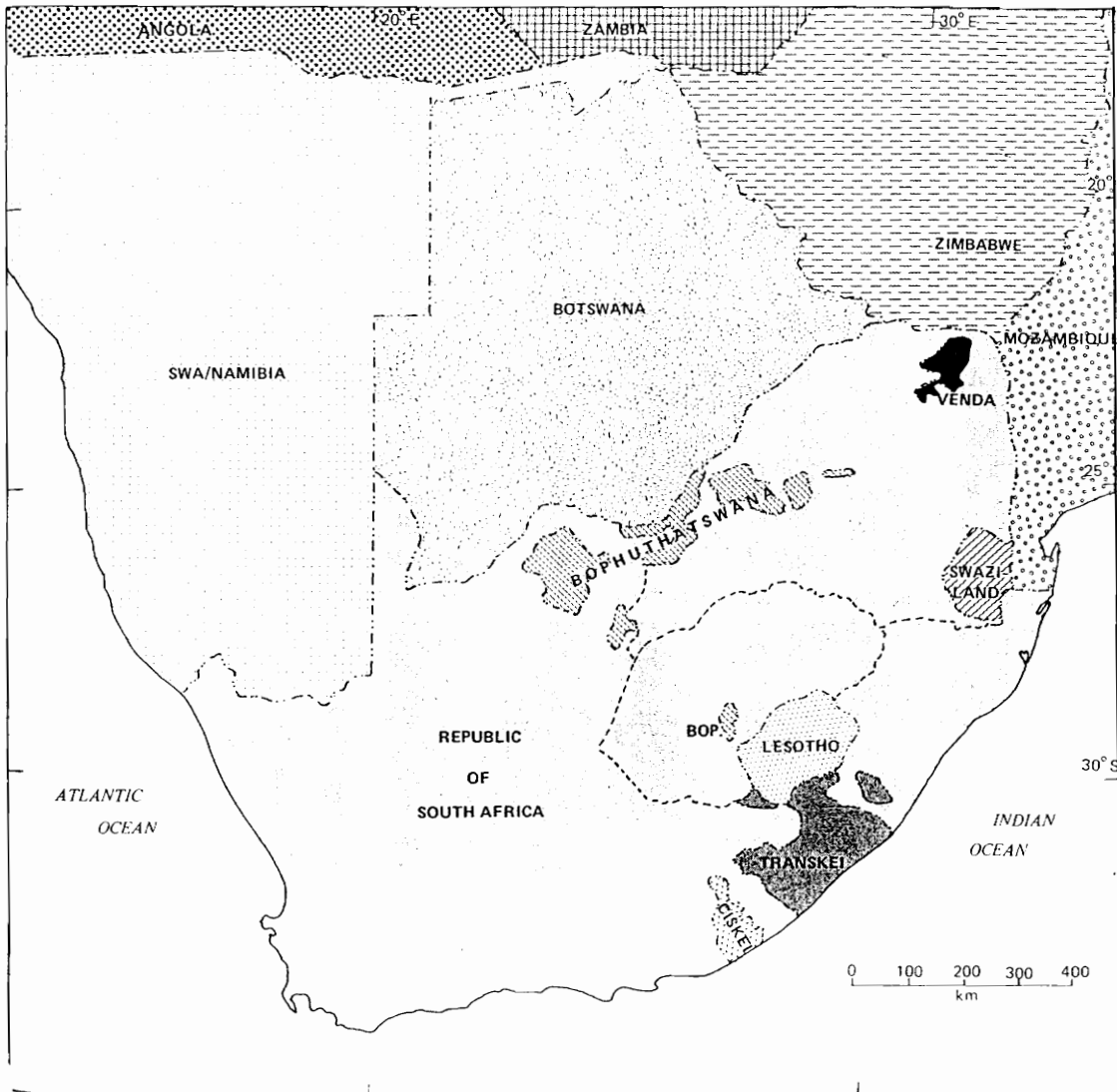
- (a) recognize the need for conservation
- (b) understand that the balance of nature is largely dependent on man's wise management of his environment. They should be aware of how man uses/abuses his environment, particularly the resources available to him; the options and constraints that are placed on his actions.
- (c) realize that the quality of life is influenced by the aesthetic aspects of man's environment as well as by an appreciation of the grandeur and wonder of Creation.

APPENDIX 2



Davies's model of the South African city. [Source: Van der Merwe, I. J., 1983 (adapted).]

APPENDIX 3



The Republic of South Africa – situation and neighbouring states.

APPENDIX 4

Table 4 : Areas of the provinces²

Province		Area	Percentage of the national territory
Cape Province		641 379 km ²	57,1
Orange Free State			
(a) Qwaqwa	502 km ²		
(b) Rest of province	127 491 km ²	127 993 km ²	11,4
Natal			
(a) KwaZulu	30 151 km ²		
(b) Rest of province	61 204 km ²	91 355 km ²	8,1
Transvaal			
(a) Gazankulu	6 561 km ²		
(b) KaNgwane	3 823 km ²		
(c) KwaNdebele	1 031 km ²		
(d) Lebowa	22 503 km ²		
(e) Rest of province	228 581 km ²	262 499 km ²	23,4
		1 123 226 km ²	100,0

(Source: Yearbook of South Africa, 1984)

VITA

Emilene Peters was born in Somerset East, South Africa in 1950. She completed a B.A. degree at the University of the Western Cape, Cape Town South Africa in 1971 and the Higher Diploma in Education in 1972. She taught geography at different high schools in Port Elizabeth, South Africa. In 1987 she completed a B.A. Honors in geography at the University of Port Elizabeth. In 1993 she graduated with a masters degree in geography from Virginia Polytechnic Institute. She now lives with her husband and three children in Port Elizabeth where she is a department head at a school for disabled children.

