

ARCHAEOLOGY, MUSEOLOGY AND EDUCATION:
A CASE-STUDY AT VERGELEGEN

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ABSTRACT

The following thesis focuses on the relationship between archaeologists, museologists and the broader community, in terms of educational programmes. It consists of a case-study comprising an educational project based on theoretical ideas of People's Archaeology as influenced by theories of Freirean education. The process of the educational project is illustrated through the description of interviews and workshops. The case-study indicates that there is a gap between academic and community perceptions of the role of archaeology and museums. Results from interpretations indicate that much more research emphasising the constitution, situation and perceptions of specific communities, especially those which have previously been marginalised by broader society, is needed in order to improve the educational services which museums and archaeologists offer to the community.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE RESEARCH FIELD:

This thesis focuses on an investigation, by way of a case-study, into the practical feasibility of developing educational programmes about archaeology with specified community sectors in society. This follows current trends in various literature by the archaeological and museological disciplines, which have professed the intention to target the involvement of the "broader South African community" in educational outreach programmes.*

The case-study upon which this thesis is centred, was a reflection of an intersection between the two separate, but interrelated fields of archaeology and museology. A working definition of these two disciplines will be utilised for the purpose of this study; archaeology is defined here as the study of past societies through the systematic excavation, analysis and interpretation of material culture, the main aim of which is to produce a body of scientific literature. Museology is taken here as the systematic collection, classification and preservation of artefacts considered to be material culture; some of these constructed collections are exhibited to the public. These two disciplines intersect in that they both place an emphasis on interpretation of material culture. Museology, as it is used in this context, more often than not, incorporates archaeological study.

In archaeology, an informally developing relationship between the broader community and professional archaeologists necessitated by the politicisation (in some sectors of the profession at certain political crisis points in South Africa history) and publication of archaeological research, has led to a greater

* *The broader South African community is defined here as to specifically include communities which have systematically had no access to the highest educational levels and a middle-class environment, i.e. the majority of South Africans, who were not classified as "white".*

awareness among archaeologists of the museum as a medium for making archaeology more accessible. The current movement in some sectors of the archaeological discipline at South African universities, like the University of Cape Town, has been reflected by a few attempts to popularise some of the research which is being carried out. This ad-hoc movement towards popularisation was underpinned by political events in South Africa in the early to mid-1980s, which pointed to a need for an archaeological practice which exhibited a greater social awareness. It manifested itself, for instance, in the establishment of such working groups in which archaeologists became involved, such as the Literature Action Group and the Archaeology Awareness Workshop.

As elsewhere in the world, most academic knowledge in South Africa generated from archaeological practice is published and accumulated in a limited number of journals, which are usually accessible and of interest, only to other academics and researchers. Archaeology has so far relied on its mediation with the public through the display of its products, i.e. material culture (already classified and interpreted by professional archaeology) in the museum, and to a lesser extent on popular publications. The presentation of objects and archaeological interpretation have often been two different subjects. General trends have until recently been biased towards academic research rather than education.

Linked to this trend, the museum institution in South Africa has been classified by the state as non-formal education, and although some museum visits are included in the formal school history syllabus, its role is limited to that level; this is also a reflection of a bias towards research activity. This thus leaves the attendance of museums by the broader public to a matter of interest, accessibility and choice. In this way, archaeology through the museum, plays an insignificant role (by comparison) in educational programmes in for the community.

1.2. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The problem presented by this kind of interdisciplinary research centred on finding links between academic perception and community perspectives. The

problem was highlighted by the exposure of a contradiction which came to light when the initial educational programme did not succeed. This occurred after finding that workshops based merely on popularised versions of academic perspectives would not work as part of the educational process; a different approach in conducting workshops had to be sought. This was an important juncture in the process of the case-study as it serves to emphasise that historically marginalised communities are not automatically catered for by structures, like museums, although designed for popular consumption were aimed at traditionally advantaged sectors of society. This contradiction might seem obvious with hindsight, but is not automatically addressed by the mere "opening up" of community institutions such as museums to the "broader community". This dearth of knowledge about popularised research specifically developed to accommodate historically marginalised groups, is reflected by the total lack of academic literature on the subject in relation to archaeology and museums.

Having identified a gap in archaeological and museological initiative and therefore a gap in current literature, the research problem was focussed on, firstly, developing a theoretical educational approach which would be appropriate for a community which had suffered oppression and thus relative educational deprivation. Secondly, this required an investigation into the social conditions one such community. Thirdly, an evaluation of the educational project in relation to archaeology and museology was seen as particularly appropriate. These limitations in the understanding of community perceptions were regarded as having a direct influence on the methodology adopted by archaeologists and museum educators in their work with the community and affected the outcome of education projects.

It was therefore regarded as important to develop an understanding of how specific communities with links to archaeological and museological projects perceive these projects and how this perception influences the course and success rate of the education project in the said community. Furthermore, an understanding of the social dynamics which affect community perceptions and participation in educational projects was seen as essential for the development of an effective community-oriented archaeological and museological programme.

1.3. RESEARCH AIM

The main aims of the case-study were to look critically at trends towards popular education by both archaeological and museological disciplines and to identify gaps in these trends specifically in regard to the perceived audience of these two disciplines. Once a gap in the literature was identified focusing on the access or lack thereof, of archaeological educational programmes and museums to historically marginalise groups like rural farmworker communities, an educational project was initiated with a small group of rural farmworkers to attempt to fill the gap. This particular community was chosen because there was already an existing informal relationship with an archaeological project. The educational project was to focus on the popularisation of archaeology through making the process of archaeological research available to the community. An evaluation of the educational project's aims, course and results would serve to aid the study of the feasibility of accessible programmes of archaeology method to such groups in the broader community. The educational potential of archaeology and museology in this specific situation was to be investigated and evaluated.

1.4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research method incorporated a study of the academic archaeological project's existing relationship with the rural farm community. This was followed by making contact with the involved community. A change in process occurred after a realisation that an approach which emphasised the social position of the community was more useful than models which had been used with comparatively "un-oppressed" communities.

Factors that led to a change in direction were both external and internal to the structure of the project. External factors included: the community upon which the educational project focussed was severely disadvantaged and neglected by the South African formal education system; social circumstances within which the community was situated were highly repressive, in terms of access to space, environment, economic resources and freedom of movement and action. Factors integral to the educational project, which necessitated a

change in direction were: there was no infra-structure to support the educational project; archaeology (including the museological aspect) as a discipline historically controlled and developed by middle-class sectors in Western society, has been generally inaccessible (because of the nature of the resources needed for its practice) to the working classes. Even in the present, archaeology is not a pastime favoured by the working class. The essentially academic nature of archaeology perpetuates this state of events. This is likewise for museums. because of these factors, there is a lack of any models of using archaeology educationally with a group of people situated outside the middle-classes of society. Added to this, there is a contradiction in trying to popularise essentially academic knowledge, when these community perceptions of aspects of that knowledge have historically been developed differently.

Noting the social circumstance of the farmworker community in the South African educational system and the relative inaccessibility of archaeological education programmes to this community, the decision to use an educational model influenced by Freirean theory was seen as having the potential to address the problems inherent in these circumstances. The central aim was to develop an education methodology which made academic archaeological knowledge accessible to a sector of society which normally has very little access to academic knowledge, by highlighting community experience and perception instead of only the academic perspective.

The Freirean education model was interpreted as meaning that a knowledge of the community's initial interest and needs from the archaeological/historical knowledge process had to be gained. Also, the education *process* (as opposed to a view which emphasises content), was regarded as the first priority. This means that a more participatory and less authoritarian method was to be used in comparison to those used in schools or public lectures. This concept provides the basis upon which the methodology of the educational workshops was based.

The first component of the educational workshops therefore was to establish a basis of interest and perception from which the workshops could find direction. Interviews which were already being conducted, were changed to

accommodate the process of investigating community perceptions as a primary focus. Interviews were focussed on investigating the community's impressions of archaeology thus far; their experience (or lack thereof) of museums; the nature of the accessibility of knowledge about history; museums and archaeology. These focuses were intended to formulate a direction upon which the workshops could be based. Overcoming structural obstacles of being engaged with a farmworker community to whom education in general was not accessible and carrying out the workshop phase of the educational project was the next step. Analyses and evaluation of the success level of the educational project and its implications for the disciplines of archaeology and museology followed. The workshops themselves served as a tool whereby the participants' reactions and level of participation could be learnt from.

1.5. RESEARCH PROCESS

The educational project was related to the academic project in various ways; the project archaeologist was the initial contact between the farmworker community and the educational researcher; the case-study made use of interviews conducted by the academic project in relation to the reburial of archaeologically excavated human bones, as well as artefacts and related information from the archaeological practice. However, there was no formal or structural connection between the two projects and none was formally presented to the farmworker community, or to farm management; the academic archaeological project was not dependent on, or connected to, the educational project in any way.

The idea for the case-study was based on observations of the existing archaeological project's relationship with the farmworker community after a reburial, initiated by archaeologists and involving the farmworkers. The archaeological project's relationship with the farmworker community developed informally until interviews were conducted by the academics to investigate the community's reaction to the reburial. At this time, ideas for an educational project were conceived as part of a master's research project. Popularisation of academic knowledge was the initial main focus, following a trend which assumed a middle-class perception of that knowledge. However,

social circumstances (permission had to be asked of farm management to interview people on the farm) and the position of the farmworker community determined a low level of interest in these types of workshops. A more constructive model of education was investigated. It was decided to use a framework based on a Freirean model of education. The adoption of the Freirean model necessitated a reviewing of the original aims and method of education and refocussing of interview content and workshops. The change in direction was affected by the constraints to the time schedule of the research and was a factor in its eventual outcome, which encompassed only one successful workshop.

The content of the case-study was centred on the course and results of the educational project. Before the educational project as part of the case-study could be evaluated effectively, a knowledge of the academic context in which it was situated and originated had to be gained. A summary of trends within the archaeology and museum disciplines, both internationally and locally, is given in Chapter 2. This provides an indication of the developing relationship between these academically-based disciplines and the community, by noting especially the socio-political effects on such relationships.

Having situated the case-study within current museum and archaeological trends the next section focuses on reconstructing the context within which the educational project has been situated. The context is described with an emphasis on noting the factors outside the educational project which are important in evaluating its course. These factors include: the nature of the academic interest in the community, the constitution of the community itself and a description of the developing relationship between the farm community and the academics as well as the owners of the archaeological site.

The methodology used in the educational project, the course of the educational projects and its results are demonstrated in chapter 4.

An interpretation of the results, focussing specifically on perceptions and perspectives as revealed by the community during the course of the educational project, will be made in Chapter 5. These interpretations

concentrate particularly on the socioeconomic factors which have affected the perspective.

Following the interpretation, conclusions regarding the state of archaeological education programmes, museum outreach projects and how these interact with the community are drawn. These conclusions, in chapter 6, focus on the potential nature of future research and structural involvement in the community by academics in the disciplines of archaeology and museology and highlight the importance of understanding how social position of the audience essentially affects the choice of the type of educational outreach programmes which are utilised.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE SURVEY

This chapter will focus on trends in academic literature which have been produced internationally and, more importantly, in South Africa by the academics involved in the practices of archaeology and museology. It focuses on showing some of the social and political influences and developments on both disciplines. In so doing, the socio-political trends which have influenced the development of the education project will be highlighted. The literature reflects a developing interest by both disciplines in the community and a survey thereof serves to reflect the point from which the case-study took its departure.

2.1. TRENDS IN MODERN ARCHAEOLOGY

Archaeology began as an amateur past-time practised mostly by aristocrats. According to Trigger, its further development and eventual establishment as an academic profession, ran parallel to the rise of power of the middle-classes in Western society (1989:14). Beginning explicitly as a past-time suited to the ruling classes as it did, archaeology and the museum collections with which they are associated have developed a long way since then. These days their developing relationship with a broader and more diverse society is a subject arousing considerable debate by its practitioners.

The current milieu within which the debate around the public's involvement and access to archaeological knowledge can be explained by beginning with the diversification and spread of archaeology throughout the world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Different geographical, social and political situations have led to the development of different methods of practice and have brought about a diversity of modern archaeological practice. However, one disadvantage of this diversity has been that the aims and methods used by different archaeologists the world over, have not been subjected to rigorous critical and broader debate by the discipline as a whole until the events of the 1960s. This decade saw the rise of a group who began to develop and advocate the practice of a positivist method of practising

archaeology, which would later be called the New Archaeology. Its aim was to develop a more standardised practice of archaeology. However, the development of the New Archaeology, was opposed by the formation of another school of practitioners who believed in a relativist perspective and methodology. This school of thought was greatly influenced, as many of the social sciences were, by theories of new Marxism. It is within this relativist movement that the debate towards a more socially aware archaeological practice was spawned. For instance, a new awareness of the interests of individuals as members of specific social groupings has become more apparent. This approach exposed the political basis of the discipline. Archaeologists like Leone et al(1987), Shanks and Tilley(1987) and Miller(1987) amongst others have begun to look in various ways at concepts such as ideology and power in society, and the implications that these have for the meaning of material culture. The analysis of material evidence has acquired a different dimension; archaeologists have now begun to explore how artefacts excavated by archaeologists fitted into the social structures of power and therefore signified more than their mere physical existence. Artefacts and their spatial position could be interpreted as a symbol of their owner's position in society and could therefore tell more about the political systems out of which they came. The feasibility of objectivity as a basis has been questioned, while the existence of ideological bias in practicing archaeology is now being explored. Seeing archaeology as "a particular and active relation between the past and the present" was advocated in that

"understanding the nature of this process [by which people construct and deconstruct their own social worlds] crucially requires conceptualisation of the nature of social action, of the unintended and intended consequences of this action, of structure, power, ideology, symbolism and the creation and recreation of meaningful frameworks in which to live and work." (Shanks & Tilley 1987:244)

The trend towards a consciousness of social, and consequently economic and political, structure has led to a deeper consciousness of archaeology itself as a political discipline (cf. Durrans:1989). As such, a need for, or perhaps a struggle by, the perspectives of archaeologists from diverse groups in the

community has been made possible. These can be seen, for example, in the development of "culture-historical" archaeologies in post-colonial societies, which emphasise nationalist aims (Trigger 1989:174).

One offshoot of this diversity has included an initiative to include the viewpoints of previously silenced or invisible groups, such as previously colonised people of oppressed groups or sexes. Examples occur in various contributions in *The Politics of the Past* (Gathercole & Lowenthal:1990) and *The Excluded Past* (Stone & Mackenzie:1990). Both volumes were produced after the World Archaeological Congress held in Southampton in 1986. With the increasing vociferousness of groups which have been systematically oppressed and marginalised in Western society, there has emerged a greater awareness of the need to gain support from that broader community.

Another idea espoused by the World Archaeology movement, emphasised "African and Asian archaeology ... redefining the science as an activity performed in - and on - a living world of sentient and suffering human beings, to whom archaeology owed responsibility located not only in the past but equally in the present" (Asherson 1987:vii). Certain groups in the archaeology profession have sought a reorientation of the subject:

to become a humane subject, archaeology must itself show that it is not merely the plaything of a particular social class or of a particular stage in industrialised development (Ucko 1987:5)

This viewpoint is explicitly opposite to the view that archaeology is merely an objective, scientific subject in that it reflects an explicitly political aim.

The greater awareness of social and political legitimacy as well as the need for more public funding has made it essential for some groups of archaeologists to reflect awareness of issues which diverse communities find important in their work in order to gain support for their research (Smardz 1990:295). Increasing involvement in the community has, amongst other things, led to more initiatives towards creating archaeology as a popular past-time through the education of the broader community which is constituted of

marginalised groups. One example of using archaeology and museums to create awareness in redressing the past was the initiative to establish a Black Cultural Archives Museum in Britain (Garrison 1990). A pursuit in the creation of a "more relevant past" has also become important, especially in previously colonised countries where versions of the past have been identified as promoting state ideology, for example initiatives in Mozambique (Sinclair 1990) and Japan (Fawcett and Habu 1990). However, it has been acknowledged that archaeological interpretations especially in the Western and Third Worlds still largely reflect the political and economic concerns of the middle-classes (Trigger 1989:379) and "although a greater proportion of contemporary archaeologists may be women or from the working class or ethnic minorities than was the case in the past, the profession as a whole still seems to be dominated by relatively privileged white men" (Durrans 1989:73).

2.2. INTERNATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND EDUCATION

To reflect a socially and politically aware archaeological discipline, the World Archaeology Congress reflected an increased political awareness by inviting not only academic archaeologists but also attempted to include non-academics to represent the interests of their communities in an attempt to create a "global archaeology". At the Congress itself, education in relation to archaeology was one of the priorities for the first time at an international archaeological conference. Ucko, the co-ordinator of the Congress, considers its constitution and the publication of a volume of papers about the educational aspects of archaeology as : "the unusual step of widening debate about the role of archaeology to include its position and effect within the spheres of both informal and formal education in itself constituted a significant learning experience" (Ucko 1990:xiv). This was an attempt to counteract the perception of archaeology as a purely academic and inaccessible discipline.

One role which archaeology in education is perceived as having the potential to play, is that of reinterpretation of "biased" accounts of the past reconstructed by members of the dominant classes in society. Influenced by political theories, the education advocated is one that highlights the struggles

which occurred between the dominating and dominated social groups in the past. Education is seen as a medium through which the "subordinated groups" will be educated or "uplifted" so that they will be "given" a method by which to reclaim their past.

"People from different cultures will no longer view the past exclusively as a record of their own culture, or in what is considered neutral or "objective" way, but in a way that recognises a plurality of pasts, each incorporating subjectivity and bias."(Stone and Mackenzie 1990:12) Archaeology is seen here specifically as a way of conscientising groups about their heritage as well as encouraging questions about the nature of archaeological interpretation.

Underlying this concern with education's role in archaeology is the fear that if archaeology remains an elitist discipline - as described by Durrans (1989) and Trigger(1989) - and the colonised, dominated groups are not educated about its potential role in society, archaeology and anthropology will become extinct. This concern has been reflected in the raising of the

issue of who is to be given powers of executive decision-taking and decision-making about the control of a people's past (whether in museums or through education) - are bound to lose out in the long term...if they delay, they will be seen to be responsible for the dismemberment of archaeology and anthropology." (Ucko *ibid.*)

Successful education of the broader community about the role of archaeology in museums and other institutions will also serve to "increase visits to museums, monuments and sites", says Ucko(1990:xix). Education is thus seen as a viable way to perpetuate and perhaps increase the economic domain over which academic archaeologists now have power, by broadening the audience base.

"The relationship between archaeology and education is such that it should be impossible for archaeologists to utter or write a word in public without considering the educational implications

of that word...archaeologists have the potential to contribute to society." (Holman & Burt as cited by Ucko 1990;xxiii)

Crowther (1989:44) has noted that one of the main reasons for pressure to increase the popularisation of archaeology are the financial limits, effects of tourism and leisure opportunities as well as politics affecting the discipline. These issues also affect museums and more interest has been generated by the practitioners of these disciplines about the potential of material culture in interpreting the present as well as the past. Consequently, it has been noted that the move towards education is being promoted primarily by practitioners of the disciplines involved in material culture because of its potential benefits. The move towards broadening the appeal of archaeology and museums is seen as an essential step towards ensuring the survival of these disciplines.

2.3. SOUTH AFRICAN ARCHAEOLOGY IN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

As a reflection of events and trends in international archaeology and the new awareness of the social and political influences on the discipline, the World Archaeology Congress (WAC) had specific implications for South African archaeologists. Twenty five archaeologists who had initially been invited to attend the Congress in Southampton in 1986 were later uninvited. The academic boycott of South Africa was supported by UNESCO and campaigned for by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain who demanded that the boycott be extended to South African archaeologists. The withdrawal of the invitation went ahead despite resignations on the part of members of the Congress planning committee and the loss of its legitimacy in the eyes of its original parent body, Union International des Sciences Prehistoriques et Protohistoriques (UIPPS) on grounds of academic freedom. Trigger has noted that South African archaeology has "remained the most colonial of all African archaeologies"(1990:316).

Events in South Africa at the time of the Congress, notably increasing school boycotts, violent unrest and the declaration of the State of Emergency on 20 July 1985, received wide media coverage internationally, especially in Britain. Because the first World Congress was dedicated to Third World

involvement, it would have lost credibility and support from many participants if it did invite South African academics. The Commonwealth and the EEC wished to impose sanctions on South Africa and already in January 1984 the Pan African Association on Prehistory and Related Studies had cut all ties with any like institutions here.

The ostracisation of South Africans occurred despite being defended by international archaeologists. One such archaeologist defended South African archaeologists as having been involved in "a very strong commitment to making archaeological knowledge available at all levels of society, particularly among the young and the black...in fact, it seems that archaeologists *are* one of the progressive forces in the country"(Taylor 1988:675). Taylor used Amini Mturi's statement that, "They have refused to misuse the data. Secondly, because of their scientific background and their political vision, they are also opposed to apartheid. To me, these are scholars who support the international community...[they] need our support" (Taylor 1988:676) to support this defence. However, it has to be noted that the work of only a subsection of the South African archaeology profession was being highlighted here, namely those at the English-speaking liberal universities.

2.4. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES OF SOUTH AFRICAN ARCHAEOLOGY

As noted by Trigger (1989) above, archaeology in South Africa, like its counterparts in the rest of Africa, has had a particular historical relationship with the forces of colonisation. Until very recently, it has concentrated on prehistoric societies, which is by definition a study of pre-colonial societies indigenous to Africa. Influenced by trends in Europe favouring concepts like social Darwinism, archaeologists in South Africa were greatly influenced by ideas of racial classification, given the close relationship with European archaeology. Trigger (*ibid.*) states that the evolutionist ideas on which studies were based were beneficial to colonizing forces which were gaining economic control of society through the emphasis on the European's relatively high level of "progress" in comparison to African societies. Hall(1990) has traced the relationship between capitalism and the archaeological profession. In Zimbabwe, Hall has noted that, although "white" settlers and the British

South African Company run by Rhodes, favoured archaeological interpretations which represented African people as backward, another group of colonial administrators favoured a view of the "upliftment" of the indigenous people. In South Africa, two groups of archaeologists developed in the early part of the century; one which espoused a popular colonial perspective, the other more influenced by international archaeological, especially British trends (Hall 1990:63). The latter, although being linked to the colonising forces, in response to the controversial nature of archaeology of the time, began to do research in a highly technical and internationally laudable way, a way which was inaccessible to the broader public and therefore less controversial. From the 1960s onwards professional archaeology as well as other "cultural apparatus" like museums benefited from government expenditure because of the economic boom (Hall 1990:68).

Hall illustrates through his study of archaeological approaches to Iron Age research, how two schools of thought were established within the archaeology profession in South Africa, one following in the footsteps of early settler colonial thought, and the other centred in the more liberal universities, trying to find an analysis which would undermine apartheid thinking by proving that, contrary to Apartheid ideology, "white" settlers arrived after, not simultaneously with, "black" groups. However, Hall has also noted that although the more liberal archaeological studies contradicted apartheid ideology, it favoured a more neutral stance in that it did not explicitly challenge settler consciousness (1990:73). Archaeology remained inaccessible to the broader population and thus did not influence popular consciousness. As Hall has acknowledged, this situation was also influenced by the fact that research topics chosen by archaeologists turned out to be irrelevant to black nationalist priorities and had not been directly influenced by this, nor, indeed by the participation of Black archaeologists. Trigger has judged that South African archaeology has continued "to buy government support and freedom to carry out research at the cost of maintaining political neutrality and apparent irrelevance to social issues" (Trigger 1990:317).

2.5. SOME CURRENT ISSUES IN SOUTH AFRICAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Political events in the seventies and eighties which led to the establishment of the United Democratic Front in response to a changing constitution in 1983 also influenced some archaeologists to a certain extent. Hall (ibid.) notes that in 1985, as a result of the created political awareness of the era in general, an Archaeological Awareness Workshop was formed to make archaeological work more accessible. Ritchie has subsequently noted that this group has not met with much subsequent success (1990:2). Different groups of archaeologists have also widened their research to encompass historical archaeology and archaeology with a black nationalist aspect.

South African archaeology as a discipline traditionally shared amongst academics, had begun by the mid-1980s to see the benefits of popularising its knowledge, although this was by no means attempted on any massive scale. The role of archaeology in the writing of "alternative" textbooks by the Literature Action Group (LAG) was proclaimed as an attempt to help write an alternative history. The LAG was initiated by a group of archaeologists at the University of Cape Town as a response and in opposition to school textbooks which perpetuated racial stereotypes. Popular booklets aimed at teachers and students focused on such topics as hunter-gatherer, pastoralists and slave societies in South Africa. In the 1990s, according to Janette Deacon, "the South African Archaeological Association has taken the initiative in making educational policy-makers and authors of school textbooks aware of the broader base of South African history"(1992:10) Apart from this, involvement in popularisation is only undertaken by archaeologists with a personal interest in education, and is by no means general policy in university archaeology departments. For the most part, archaeological knowledge is not popularised, partly because of its specialised research nature.

The South African Archaeological Society has also been involved in various educational initiatives since its inception, the most notable of which has been the publication of The Digging Stick, the Goodwin series of handbooks and the South African Archaeological Bulletin. These initiatives, however, have

had limited success in the sphere of reaching the broader community, especially those to which educational facilities have been inaccessible.

Simultaneous with attempts to make archaeology more accessible, other factors were noted as affecting the discipline. Hilary Deacon expressed the concerns of archaeologists in South Africa at the time, in a guest editorial of the South African Archaeological Bulletin in June 1988. Deacon's concern centred on the fact that the creation of posts in university archaeology departments would be curtailed, thus limiting the growth of the archaeological profession in South Africa. Indeed, this concern was not localised to the archaeology departments in universities, but affected all universities in South Africa after the government had announced a cut-back in subsidies to such tertiary institutions.

Archaeology, however, was seen as a particularly vulnerable discipline because of its traditionally small student numbers (Deacon 1988:1). Fortunately a potential way out of this quandary had presented itself - proposed new legislation for cultural resources management (CRM) was being explored. This was a project which would make conservation of the natural environment necessary by law. Archaeologists have a particular stake as environmental features like coastal cave sites would have to be analysed. Opportunities would thus be created for a contract archaeology. Contract archaeology would thus entail a closer working relationship between businesses and archaeologists. Archaeologists would then be required by businesses to investigate and research the sites in which businesses were interested. More jobs for archaeologists would thus be created.

Parallel to the opportunity envisaged by contract archaeology which would prevent the death of the archaeological discipline in South Africa, came the beginning of a vision towards increased publication or popularisation of archaeological work (See Binneman & Webley 1992:1-2), and a greater awareness about the role of archaeological knowledge as mediated by museums, textbooks and extra-mural popular archaeological programmes (Parkington & Smith 1986:1). Binneman and Webley in the first volume of a new journal publication, called Southern African Field Archaeology, comment:

The time has come for archaeologists to realise that they cannot depend on improved legislation or the changing attitudes of government/university officials to secure the future of archaeology in this country. If archaeology wants a future in the "new" South Africa then the communication of basic research data together with the public education programmes are two important ways to reach such goals.(1991:1)

Parkington and Smith (ibid.) argued for a greater awareness of the South African archaeological context. In their guest editorial they linked the need to reach larger audiences with the fact that archaeological research is often riddled with a presentation bias.

Why and how do we present others and their past? All too often in these presentations "different" has glided into "inferior" and inferior has been the justification for social and political discrimination. (1986:1)

Linked to an awareness of the accessibility of archaeology to larger audiences, Parkington and Smith also indicated and called for a greater awareness of the elitism of the South African archaeological community, in that there are very few Black members in a society where it is black people who constitute the greater majority in South Africa.

This awareness in the late 1980s expressed by professional archaeologists mirrored a similar direction in other related social science disciplines such as history. In the discipline of history-writing, the trend towards popularisation and education of historical knowledge can more clearly be linked to the socio-political and socio-economic events in South Africa during this period. More so than archaeology, the nature of history as a discipline has ensure that it has been traditionally more accessible to the broader public through the utilisation of textbooks, and thus more useful to the state because of its wide base within the community through the formal schooling system. Unlike archaeology, history came under the social spotlight in the early to mid-eighties with the politicisation of scholars against the public school system

and the development of an "education for liberation" philosophy at grass-roots level of society. A more politicised history-writing method was born in these years and called "People's history" within a broader framework of "People's Education. (See for example, Witz 1988) Unlike archaeology, the emergence of a "history from below" alerted professional academics to a possible challenging viewpoint; the University of Witwatersrand, for example, responded by creating History Workshop conferences and some historians started to direct their research towards more popular needs and desires. Carolyn Hamilton said of the difference between academic and popular history:

When the academic's materialist analysis of apartheid confronts popular understanding of the same phenomenon as being a consequence of racial prejudice, two different notions of history itself may be at work. Academic and popular histories may be different histories, emanating from different traditions, with different objectives and different weaknesses and strengths.(1990:127-8)

These conflicts between popular and academic history made the emergence of history with a new perspective essential.

Ritchie has noted that in archaeology, popularisation has generally legitimated traditional practices of archaeology (1990:50) and that museums as a vehicle for popularising both history and archaeology have not espoused a method of People's Archaeology or History (1990:58).

A question that arises out of this situation centres on whether the movement towards popularising archaeological knowledge includes a concept of "democratisation of knowledge which attempts to get more members of the community to participate in the generation and accreditation of knowledge" and thus aiming "to empower a community to start contesting knowledge, to enter the arena of the politics of knowledge" (Cloete & Muller,1987:148); or whether it aims to popularise archaeological knowledge merely for the sake of the survival of the archaeological discipline itself.

Another aspect of the relationship between the academic archaeological discipline and the community is that of consultation. In the majority of cases, archaeologists do not consult with the community to which the excavated sites "belong". Consultation with communities in is not structural policy in South Africa and the ethics of not consulting has not been questioned so far. This is a a widely debated topic overseas. For instance, Handler has noted the fact that museums are widely contested spaces and quotes Halpin as calling it a "world-wide repatriation movement of cultural properties" (1985:193). In South Africa, the excavation of prehistoric sites, or sites associated with hunter-gatherer societies or pastoralist/herder societies are linked to certain "ethnic"¹ groups, with whom very few contemporary communities find ancestral links. This is largely due to how these "ethnic" groups were actively ignored or depicted derogatorily by mainstream history (cf. Ritchie 1990). Instead, as Ritchie's thesis has emphasised, the communities' unclaimed ancestors were usually displayed and represented in such a way that they themselves became the object of study. The material culture/artefacts (and the people who manufactured and utilised them, in association) were appropriated and codified by archaeologists and anthropologists; the museum mediated this codification. Consequently, the cultural descendants of the societies which are being studied, have no part in determining the destiny or use of the objects by archaeologists and the museum. It also remains to be seen whether popularisation of archaeology will encourage groups in South Africa to agitate for consultation rights to such sites and whether they would want a part in determining the role of artefacts, given the socio-historical circumstances and the ideological slant of the apartheid educational system and its partial success in eliminating the history of certain groups.

Educational archaeology, involving a process within which archaeological resources such as cultural artefacts are made accessible to the community whose past is being researched, should be investigated to cultivate a more

1. The classification of so-called ethnic groups in South Africa has been on of the legacies of the oppressive Apartheid political system. Too much attention has thus been placed on the biological race of communities in South Africa. I therefore use inverted commas when using such terms as "black" and "white" in order to question their frequent usage elsewhere.

accountable archaeology. With certain groups in the international archaeological community advocating a more community-oriented, accountable archaeology, an educational archaeology where excavated artefacts are accessible to the broader community could be politically acceptable on a global scale.

The social and political events in South Africa and international trends in the discipline, can be seen therefore to have influenced a nascent direction in archaeology which is concerned with developing a discipline which needs to be socially aware. Knowledge of the community is essential if this attempt at practising social awareness is to be successful.

2.6. PEOPLE'S ARCHAEOLOGY

Ritchie(1990) has introduced a concept of People's Archaeology in a study which has come the closest to linking archaeology and museums to the interests of the community. The aims of People' Archaeology as Ritchie defines it, are "to empower communities to understand themselves as bearers of specific historical traditions" (1990;48). This process should also be seen as separate from popular archaeology, which, as Ritchie sees it, has legitimated the traditional authoritative practices of archaeology. Parallel to this, Ritchie also postulates that an understanding of the needs of the black communities has not been developed by museums. She argues that museum displays should be structured in such a way as to encourage visitors towards a critical view of research and that they should be involved in the structure and content of displays.

Ritchie's concept of People's Archaeology is based on the movement of People's Education and People's History which was developed as an alternative to and as a rejection of Apartheid Education. This movement gained momentum as a result of the political unrest and resistance to the oppressive Apartheid Regime in the mid-1980s - the same political situation which led some archaeologists to question their role in South Africa. People's Education finds its basis in making the link between education and economic, political and cultural production explicit, by stressing the teaching of critical analysis by its participants. Based on the theories of such educationists as

Freire, this attempt to develop an alternative education system was based on ideas of co-operative and democratic working values, that would challenge an authoritative dynamic. An example of the end result of this kind of education could be that the artefacts used by archaeologists, when made accessible to the broader community in an educational function, could serve to involve that community in decision-making processes on the interpretation of those artefacts and also thereby influence the nature of museum discourses.

It is at this basis that the educational project described in later chapters, was conceived. It has therefore been necessary to incorporate the idea of linking educational factors to their economic, political and cultural situation, to describe the origins of the project.

2.7. THE NEW MUSEOLOGY

Until now the museum has been the primary, if not the only, medium through which the public could be educated about the archaeological process and the material culture which is the museum's source of information. People involved in developing museum practice as a popularly legitimate discipline have been increasingly interested in the educational side of the practice. Archaeology, being one of the disciplines upon which museology is based, has consequently been dependant on the latter to open new avenues by which it could be made more accessible to the community.

In museums, the identification, classification, fieldwork recording and collecting are carried out according to standardised methods of classification and therefore share a prejudice and preference which is based on a specific standard (Porter 1983:110). This standardisation has evolved as a "scientific" method which had gone unquestioned for many years. However, in recent years the status of the museum (as has the status of scientific answers) as a place of authoritative education has been increasingly questioned (Hooper-Greenhill 1983:230). This has happened in conjunction with new theories influenced by Marxist theories in the social sciences, where the concepts of "objectivity" and "scientific authority" are no longer accepted as the only valid answers, and a more relativist point of view is espoused. In order to remain a legitimate institution the museum has thus had to change its image;

in the USA, Britain and other parts of Europe, the museum has begun to promote itself as a place for community entertainment and education, seeking to entertain tourists in competition with other tourist-oriented institutions (Morton 1983:138; West 1983:45-49).

Because the museum as an institution is constrained by its traditional claims not only to educate, but primarily to collect, preserve and record its collections of categorised artifacts, its role to educate the community to think critically about the processes of community history must necessarily be seen as having inherent constraints. A museum's role is to exhibit its collections of artefacts in such a way as to educate the public about the historical processes which brought those artefacts into being part of the collection. However, these collections have been categorised first by the archaeologist who originally excavated them and then by the curator who eventually displays them. These academics remain distant from the museum audience and are not immediately accountable to their audience, as the artefacts are inaccessible, displayed as they are behind glass cases (Porter 1983:104). The distance of the creators of the exhibit and the inaccessibility of the artefacts would make critical thinking difficult. An authoritarian didactic method of education has thus reigned in museums.

A definition of the traditional museum, as Hooper-Greenhill has noted, would fit "the exercise of social control through the meting out of learning, mediated and identified with the achievement of worth" (1983:224). This shaping of social behaviour, by infusing objects with moral meaning and constructing dominant social images, went hand in hand with the traditional educational role of the museum. And as Weber has emphasised: educational qualifications and roles have replaced property as a symbol of importance (cf. Miller et al;1989:7). The promotion of the educational role of museums thus fits into the ideological framework of the present.

New trends in literature on historical presentation point to a focus on a basis in knowledge and interpretation as a primarily social function. This is in direct opposition to earlier discourses which saw interpretation as scientific truth. Lumley sees the definition of a museum as a "potent social metaphor and as a means whereby societies represent their relationship to their own

history and to that of other cultures" (1983:2). This view of museums encompasses its political role in society, where power forms are constantly being used as a means of struggle between different groups in society. Because museums, in representing the past of certain groups by another group, are seen as directly involved in the constant struggle for power, they have become contested sites themselves. Lumley also sees the museum as a social process rather than a finished product, and in defining it thus, opens it up as a site of struggle (1983:8). This "opening up" consequently entails questions and struggles about the sector in society to which the museum is accountable. As the museum has traditionally claimed its main functions to be that of collecting, preserving and interpreting material culture for purposes of education and has always taken the public as its audience or client, the idea that the whole community (instead of only the educated) is the sector to whom the museum has to be accountable is currently under intense debate. This debate has occurred essentially amongst those who generate knowledge within and alongside the museum, as no one outside these disciplines has lobbied for more accessible museum. The broader community which is the target of this debate seems to be inserted at the periphery as an active participant in the debate.

In conjunction with the trend towards a community-oriented museum has been the rise of historical tourism in Europe. The museum, forced into competition with other commercial ventures, has become involved in selling history as a commodity (Morton 1983:137; Hooper-Greenhill 1983:234). West claims that the commoditisation of the museum has come to be the dominant way through which the past is presented (1983:46). This perpetuates the process whereby the privileged classes benefit from historical representations which hide the inequalities between groups in society and thus limits the promotion of critical thinking by the broader community. Tony Bennet(1983:83) underscores West's statement, by saying that despite some museums efforts to reveal political struggles, both museum producers and receivers still perceive museums as reflecting reality, consequently do not question the assumptions upon which their choices were made. This tendency by the public to believe that museums present "reality" is noted by Porter (1983:104) who ascribes it to the fact that visitors have little or no access to alternative material and interpretations. She notes that this unreal

presentation of the past is seen most often in the omission or under-representation of the less advantaged, less visible and lower classes in society, who are often also those classes who are most excluded from the museums projected audience.

Like Lumley, Durrans (1983:167) has called for a more socially accountable museum and suggests involving visitors' ideas to influence displays by inviting criticism and suggestions at draft previews of the final exhibitions by the public. Accountability would also entail the democratisation of the museum by inviting wider community representatives onto the governing bodies of museums.

Going further than Durrans, Kinard suggests that museums could become catalysts for social change. He says that museums in the United States in the 1960s began to promote local issues and focus on local heritage as a strategy to regain the contact which they were losing with the urban community. Kinard quotes Emily Dennis Harvey as saying that a "new definition [of museums] cannot be imposed on either the museum administration or the community before fundamental social problems have been understood and grappled with" (1985:220). Kinard's proposal for museums which aims to encourage dialogue and service for the communities within which they are situated contains five prerequisites. Firstly, it aims at the acquisition and presentation of objects which reflect local traditions, industries and conditions; secondly, the use of modern museum techniques teaching visitors about the locality and the community (for example, temporary or mobile exhibitions), is encouraged. Thirdly, exhibitions which aim to increase the feelings of self-worth and dignity of the community and promote historical, social and economic realities, should be mounted. Fourthly, school programmes which include the museum, should be developed. Fifth, the museum should provide a meeting space for community events and meetings. (1985:223)

Handler states that the proper contextualisation of museum specimens originating in the history of colonised groups has become problematic:

It is no longer simply particular methods of display, but the very right of old and established museums to the objects in their possession that is now contested. In the eyes of their critics, these museums have not merely misrepresented other cultures, they have oppressed and plundered them." (1985:193)

He has noted that museums are now contested places within a "culture war". This contestation over material culture has also affected the vocality of groups whose material culture have been marginalised and who have been generally invisible in museums. It has been one of the aims and is a positive result of the new museology. One example of this is reflected in an article by Tariq Mehmood, a author of fiction (Mehmood 1990). He notes that there is a distinct absence of acknowledgemnet of the growth of the city as a major slave-trade centre in past centuries in Liverpool museums. Tawadros (1990) also finds that museums have to be seen as emerging from a specifically western cultural and ideological framework. As such, in their representation of cultures which were founded in traditions other than the European, they have to be seen in the political and economic framework which has spawned the presentation. In simpler terms, displays and collections which choose to relay a message about the "other" cultures have to be seen in the context of the colonisation of those societies by the European economy and their commoditisation within the Western economic system and all that this entails. This legacy of the presence of objects of "other" cultures in museum collections, notes Durrans, is the result of colonial domination. The constitution of the museum thus has to be seen as a definition or reflection of power relations in society (1985:5). Ramamurthy adds another dimension to this argument by stating that British colonisation and the consequent plundering of artefacts were legitimised by the philanthropic gesture of donating some of the booty to museums in the name of education, thereby defining the museum's specific role in colonisation" (1990:23).

Both Sally MacDonald (1991) and Dolores Root(1992) have shown that when the marginalised community is invited to become an active participant in the museum, "we have learnt that the Black perspective has to be built into everything we do. It is not something marginal which we dip into now and then, in order to salve our consciences" (MacDonald 1991:33). Grassroots

involvement with communities is needed, in addition to the development of institutional policies and commitment to change, in order for such endeavours to succeed. Root, from her research in Massachusetts notes that "multiculturalism" has to be practised locally and not only focus on communities which are absent from the local museum because they are in foreign countries. She notes that often the silent and invisible, underserved community is right there and suggests that the only way to make these presently silenced communities heard, is to encourage a forum for hearing distinctly different perspectives. This forum also has to be seen as a process rather than an end-product. By making place for conflicting and different perspectives a more equal representation of the community could be gained.

Sharing ownership of programs, connecting programs to live community issues, collaborating with groups so as to insure a diversity of perspectives, dialogue and negotiating differences are ways museums can begin to realize a plurality of voices.
(Root 1992:6)

Clifford also suggests that political exposés to promote a less fixed meaning should be used in museums (1985:245).

Most literature about the new museology is being generated in Europe and the United States. This is concerned with a museum tradition which is seen as uniquely embodying Western culture. One example of the changed role of the museum in a post-colonial country is that of the National Gallery of Zimbabwe. Sibanda (1988) notes that no increase in financial support was evident in post-independent Zimbabwe and that consequently resources used for reaching out to the community had to be created through innovation. This was done through oral history documentation, construction of district culture houses, the revival of old manual skills, training programmes and the adoption of better marketing strategies for rural handcrafts. The Zimbabwean situation and initiative, rather than that in First World countries, is perhaps more appropriate for comparison with the situation in South Africa. The museum has to adapt to the material needs and skills level of the community in which it is involved. The economic system of the museum itself has to be linked to

the economic system of the community if there is to be any chance of success in community outreach programmes.

In South Africa, however, the museum and wider academic disciplines connected to the museum have not been unaffected by international trends and the changing discipline (Hummel,1992,1) The South African Museums Association has been involved in discussions focusing on the need for community outreach and education since the mid-eighties. Recently, a broader sector of society convened at the University of Witwatersrand's History Workshop (1992) to discuss Myths, Monuments and Museums. Issues centred on policy-making museums as interventions in society and the commercialisation of history in recent years. However, very few of the voices heard were those of community organisations and discussions on these subjects still seem to be the domain of academics.

In the next few pages, I will examine why and how museology in South Africa, as a medium for archaeology, has become involved in an endeavour to attract a larger community following.

2.8. SOUTH AFRICAN MUSEUMS ASSOCIATION (SAMA)

Like other museums internationally, South Africa's museum tradition has been based on "scientific" method. Until recently, South African museums had not emphasised their educational function. Instead, a research-based orientation was their main focus.

The SAMA is an association to which a large number of South African museums belong. It is within this association that the debate about the educational role of museums has been spearheaded. A survey of changes in the Association over recent years will lend a greater understanding of the position of the museums discipline in relation to education and the community.

The Niemand Commission of Enquiry into the Co-ordination of Museums on a National Level in 1974 stated that:

Although the Commission has noted with appreciation the positive role of museums as educational institutions, it is nevertheless fully aware of the general shortcomings in this regard. Too often the way in which museums do this work is sporadic, incidental and haphazard, the result being that the true object of these services is completely lost sight of and that they can at best be described as a patchwork with a veneer of sophistication. On the other hand, the Commission has come to the conclusion that the educational authorities are nowhere near giving the part the museums can play enough recognition and that they are therefore not providing sufficient means and facilities to enable our museum services to fulfill their educational function on a broad national basis and with the necessary direction and efficiency. (quoted by van Zyl 1987 :270)

In 1983, with the creation of a tricameral parliament, the administration of museums underwent a change and encountered a few problems. For example, the South African Cultural History Museum fell under "white" own affairs, while one of its satellites, the Bo-Kaap museum, representing the "Cape Malay" community was supposed to fall under a "coloured" own affairs museum according to the new constitution. The renewed interest in the educational function of museums is largely due to "the lure of financial benefits in the way of tax concessions which apply to such [educational] institutions" (van Zyl,1988:132) and the drive towards being officially declared as formal educational institutions, which would ensure more state financial support.

In the last decade, there has been a strong awareness amongst museum workers whose museums are members of SAMA, that the educational aspect of the museum has become a priority. This is evident in the number of conference papers focussing on the topic, for example:

Education in museums is not in competition with research - it is dependant upon it. (Voigt 1987:250)

and

The primary aim of museum education is the passing on of knowledge of a nation's cultural history, concerning objects, customs, way of life and language usage and things which have become obsolete due to technological development. But museum education is not limited to the passing on of knowledge only. It also includes the development of skills, and influences the individual's value and approach toward objects and customs, so the task of the museum is to preserve objects of the past with a view to future education and communication." (Vergoes-Houwen 1987:263)

An extract listed the following factors as "Principal External Threats" to the museum association's status, illustrates SAMA's and the state-funded museum's position within the economy and social situation of South African society:

- Weak economic position of member museums
- Public ignorance in Southern Africa of the value of museums
- Ailing economies of Southern African countries, the latter of which is seen as the reason for limiting both public and private sector funding of museums (Wilmot 1986:141).

The budding interest in developing the educational aspect of the museum can thus be attributed to the ailing economy and the subsequent decrease in financial support for cultural institutions like museums.

Because most museums are funded by the State and seek increased funding by becoming formal educational institutions, it is probable that as long as they are accountable to the state their exhibitions and educational message will reflect the ideology of the state. Museum workers like Wilmot (1986:3) and Hummel(1992:4) have suggested that private sector involvement be sought as the major funders in the future.

2.9. MUSEUMS AND THE COMMUNITY

According to some members of the museum profession, the broader South African community should be targeted by the museum (Stuckenberg 1987). Some museologists target the "black" community, while others do not. However, the "black" community is not a heterogeneous one in terms of class, locality and a variety of other factors. It therefore cannot be targeted as such. Some characteristics have been pointed out to describe the broader or "black" community, i.e. illiterate, rural. The following case-study focuses on a community with specific characteristics and specific needs. It has yet to be questioned whether serious gaps exist within the research, public relation and education strategies employed by museums and archaeological educational programmes, and how these affect and are affected by the type of research done by academic archaeologists. The sector of the community which is the predominant beneficiary of museum and archaeological public education programmes and informal education projects, has generally been constituent of a middle-class, and therefore of a majority "white", educated audience (van Zyl 1985:238-239).

However, this disregards communities which constitute the majority of South African society. In order to understand the South African community as a whole, attention has to be given to the specific heterogeneous nature of the community. An insight into the complex identity and consciousness of a group of people who identify themselves as a community is the logical way of obtaining a better understanding of the needs of that specific community, in terms of their perceptions of material culture.

A policy proposed by van Zyl in 1987 to formalise museum education, however, focused on children of all race groups as its main target audience, while the incidental target audience seems to be concentrated on adults: "white" businessmen and housewives, and senior citizens of all races (van Zyl, 1987:273). (See Appendix 1)

It is of concern that the target audience proposed here seems to be directed towards those who are at least functionally literate and the "educated" sectors of society. The vast majority of illiterate adults in South Africa are "blacks".

It is significant that this suggested policy has been tabled as part of the same initiative which states that:

Museums in South Africa are today still strongly Eurocentric in their coverage of history and in their services, and are geared principally to serve only an elitist element of the community. (Wilmot 1986:1)

This targeted audience presents a contradiction in the light of Wilmot's statement and Stuckenberg's questioning the relevance of museums to blacks after the unrest in 1985, the States of Emergency and general heightened awareness here and abroad of the effects of the apartheid system, and the proclaimed commitment towards a more generally inclusive policy. Alpha Oumar Kanare of Mali was quoted as writing of museums in his own country in 1983:

The traditional is no longer in tune with our concerns: it has ossified our culture, deadened many of our cultural objects, and allowed their essence, imbued with the spirit of a people to be lost." (quoted by Stuckenberg 1987:295)

The extent of the museum community's lack of knowledge of its effect on the South African "black" community is evident in the use of the above quote. A quote from a "black" South African would have been much more appropriate. This is a direct reflection of the situation where the museum community, like that of archaeology, is mainly constituted of "white" professionals.

It has been noted in articles by museum workers (Davison 1991; van Zyl 1987), that the museum audience in South Africa does not generally comprise the majority of the community, i.e. "black" people. Most museums are based in urbanised areas, and few cater for a rural audience (except Albany Museum's mobile exhibit); instead museums in farming villages cater for the urban audience or the tourist, for example, Kleinplasië in Worcester or the Stellenbosch Village Museum.

Another aspect which is unique to the South African situation, is the fact that Apartheid laws have played a large role in making museums inaccessible to the majority of South Africans. As Khan has noted, legislation like the Group Areas Act has alienated "black" people from urban areas and consequently from most museums (1992:10). She asserts that new policies in cultural conservation have to be sensitive to previously ignored communities.

One specific community sector in South Africa which has been identified as previously having had little contact with the academic sector, and which has therefore found museums particularly inaccessible, has been the rural community. Also within this rural community, the groups with less access to education and thus prone to low literacy levels, are particularly affected. It is these communities to which academics have had little exposure and with which they therefore need to become more involved in order to take into account different experiences and needs in terms of museum practice and education programmes. More importantly, it is contact with these communities and knowledge generated from consultation, which should influence the development of new community-oriented research strategies in the archaeological and museological disciplines. A case-study exploring the situation of one such community will follow in later chapters.

2.10. MUSEUM METHODOLOGY

The concern that museums be more relevant to "blacks" was highlighted by an address by the late John Kinard, the Director of the Anacostia Museum in Washington D.C. who had been invited to the SAMA annual conference, titled: MUSEUMS IN A CHANGING AND DIVIDED SOCIETY. Kinard caused an uproar when he told his audience that " 'South Africans were the most hateful people on the face of the earth' and proceeded to show how museums are guilty of 'high crimes' and destruction of culture, because South Africans knew more about the animals in Africa than they did about African people" (Smith 1987: 1).

As Davison, following Durrans (1983:167) has pointed out, "there will have to be changes in the governing structures of museums to include representatives of community organisations"(1991,99) This is essential if

museums are serious about a broader community involvement. However, representatives from the community cannot be expected to come forward without an understanding by the museum of the structures and needs of the community itself. A question which has to be addressed is whether previously marginalised communities are conscientised enough to produce representatives from the grassroots level. The danger in the situation is that if pro-active steps are not taken to include all possible community sectors which traditionally have been excluded, then the selection of representatives themselves could be still not reflect the entire community.

The greater contact with, and knowledge of community groups would facilitate an understanding of how museum discourse could be changed to accommodate the reality that participants are of unequal status in a society with an ideology of inequality (Davison 1991:90). It is this inequality of access to knowledge and therefore access to power, which has to be addressed before a museum can claim to truly represent the community. This question, it seems, can only be answered with a better knowledge of all sectors within the broader community. These include looking at and analysing how community members with different levels of access to knowledge and power perceive the museum and its structures, and how these perceptions in turn influence their needs of the museum and their utilisation of it.

Museums as they exist today are redundant in an educational sense if they seek merely to entertain by exhibiting the range of their collective possessions. Museums which are actively accountable to the people would serve to conserve, yes, but would exist primarily to make material culture accessible in a structurally "open" way. Exhibitions today merely serve to distance the public from these objects, rather than to educate about the process of the existence. The knowledge offered is not about the objects as they were used/perceived by the people who were originally in possession of them, but rather reflects the processes by which they have been appropriated by their present owners. (Porter,1983:207)

It has to be acknowledged that attempts are being made outside the professional museum community by some communities, in conjunction with

progressive academics to develop a museum which is accountable to the community, such as the District Six Museum Foundation. The mission statement of this foundation claims that it will be:

a forum that will actively foster public debate of relevant cultural issues and that will encourage people to understand, appreciate and, if necessary, oppose those economic, social and political forces that intervene to detrimentally shape their lives and thought. The Museums of District Six must be perceived by those who pay for it and by those who use it, as a progressive, vibrant institution, being of, and in the community it serves (District Six Museum Foundation:Statement of Intent,1992: pamphlet).

This can be seen as a pro-active attempt to make the museum an institution which is accountable to the community.

2.11. CONCLUSION

The above survey of literature has shown that in recent years an interest in the archaeology and museum audience has developed to the extent that the interpretation of material culture itself has become contested terrain. However, it is also evident that despite the re-orientation towards the community very little research has been done by academics in the archaeology and museum fields in South Africa to investigate the perceptions and interests of the community itself. This means that there is a lack of academic literature on this topic and thus presents a potential weakness for the research project. This potential weakness focuses on the fact that, nominally a need for change in the methodology of presentation of historical and archaeological interpreted has been expressed, but in practice very little literature has recorded the practice of change, if such practice has been undertaken. Thus very little previous experience of community work on the subject of archaeology or museums has been recorded; the research project thus has had to rely on first-hand research, and has proceeded from this point.

CHAPTER 3

CONTEXT OF THE CASE-STUDY

Having explained the literary framework within which my research occurs and noting the importance placed on socio-political context, it is important to describe the context within which the case-study comprising the educational project was situated. An insight into the social, economic and cultural factors which affected the course of the project is crucial. It would facilitate a better understanding of the factors contributing towards the perceptions held by the participants of the project as well as their perspective of archaeology and museums.

The case-study has been based on very specific characteristics. It involved a group of farmworkers on the farm, Vergelegen. The development of an educational project aimed at this group of people was the primary focus of the study. The determining factor for the development of the project was that an archaeological excavation was underway on the farm. Vergelegen is a national monument and therefore generally considered to be of historical importance. The present owners, Anglo-American Farms had acquired it partly because of its historical and therefore economical viability. Archaeologists had developed an excavation programme partly because of the unusual amount of archival material about the historical administration of Vergelegen, which exists. The eventual involvement of the farmworker community with the archaeological project was influenced by the excavation of a human skeleton at the archaeological site on the farm.

3.1. THE FARMOWNERS

Anglo-American Farms Limited acquired the farm, Vergelegen in Somerset West in 1987. Development on the farm has focussed on building a R10-million winery and modernising the farm. The historical significance of the farm and the new owners' plans for it have received occasional coverage in the newspaper media (See appendix 2). Farming has been modernised to

incorporate a modern fruit-farming industry. Archaeological excavations were allowed on the farm from July 1990, after a project proposal was submitted by the University of Cape Town. It was between this time and the time that the farm was opened to the public that the educational project took place. Permits from farm management were necessary to enter the farm to interview the farmworker community. Written permission also had to be gained for access to the archaeological excavation sites.

After five years of development and restoration, the farm was opened to the public in November 1992. "Recognising the significance of the estate has similarly prompted Anglo American Farms to appoint researchers to examine the historical background and archaeological potential beneath the surface", an information leaflet informs the tourist. The historical aspect of the farm has been incorporated to supplement the wine-making industry and serves as a method of attracting potential clients and tourists. (See appendix 3)

Visitors are admitted daily at the price of R6.00 for adults and R4.00 for children . As part of a tour of the farm, the public is invited to see the interpretive centre, which tells of the archaeological excavations and history of the farm. The wine-tasting room, octagonal and rose garden, the historic oak and camphor trees, the Homestead and the archaeological sites are also included. Tea and light lunches are served at Lady Phillips Tea Garden outside the Homestead. This venture is an excellent example of a trend towards commercialising historical sites in South Africa, also seen at the V & A Waterfront in Cape Town (cf. Worden,1992).

3.2. THE ACADEMIC PROJECT

The academic archaeology project at Vergelegen began when the UCT archaeology department proposed to the Anglo American Corporation's Chairman's Fund for funds to undertake an excavation project at Vergelegen, an historical farm previously established and owned by Willem Adriaen van der Stel, governor of the Cape between 1699 and 1705. The slave lodge, mill and knecht's house, which had been constructed during this time, were to be excavated. A scholar experienced in the excavation of colonial sites with a focus on power relations was contracted to lead the excavation. Professor

Martin Hall and Dr. Carmel Schrire developed a proposal for archaeological research at Vergelegen to investigate the relationships between slaves and other sectors in society on the farm.

The issue of historical slavery in the Cape has been highlighted in recent years by historians such as Shell (1985), Ross (1983), Worden (1985) and others (cf. Southey, 1989) and has recently reached the notice of archaeologists (cf. Hall 1989). Vergelegen, as an historically documented slave-holding farm, presented an ideal site for research to archaeologists.

Because the history of slavery at the Cape has been developed well by historians over the last decade, the subject of slavery is one of particular interest to archaeologists. The written documents used by the majority of historians of this subject, were written by slave-owners rather than the slaves themselves. Archaeological studies have consequently developed because a perceived gap in knowledge about the nature of slave-living was perceived (Hall 1989). Vergelegen was seen as an ideal site by historical archaeologists because it not only had a well-documented history, but the farm had recently been acquired by new owners who were in the process of redeveloping the historical aspect of the estate as a context for the development of a major winery. The estate would then be opened to the public. An archaeological excavation would thus be advantageous to both the academic and the owners. The historical documents and existence of the original buildings, dating from the 1700s made the site an ideal one for excavation because the location of the original outbuildings, including the slave-lodge, could be mapped.

An important component of the original proposal was the involvement of a broader section of the community than just academics and formally registered students (See appendix 4). It was intended that, "we should try to give a wide as possible range of people access to knowledge about Vergelegen by inviting them to come and take part in the excavations" (Hall 1992: interview). This idea was based on the concept of public archaeology which has been successful in the United States. It was seen as important for South Africa as it had "potential for trying to basically enrich and try to provide an alternative to the established history syllabus" (ibid.). This idea of rectifying the school history syllabus is consistent with attempts by historians and educationists in

South Africa in recent years to "rewrite" history which has been seen as propagating an apartheid ideology. This initiative followed in the same trend of attempts by some archaeologists and historians to contribute to the rewriting of history by their involvement in a Literature Action Group, based at the Centre for African Studies at the University of Cape Town. The educational component was also seen as an attempt to "provide a magnet for black schoolchildren to think about archaeology as a career, and in order to attempt an affirmative action proposal to correct the racial balance within archaeology as a profession" (ibid.). This is in the light of the fact that the majority of credited professional archaeologists in South Africa are people who are "white" and "male" as it has been since the birth of the discipline.

However, because of a lack of success in raising overseas funds for the development of the educational component, this was dropped. The academic component, that of excavating and processing archaeological knowledge, became the only focus of the project at Vergelegen (Hall, Markell 1992: interviews).

According to Hall and Markell, there was no structural link between the farmworker community and the project; nothing which made such a relationship necessary (Hall interview; 1992) There was also no structural contact with the broader public (because of the funding problem) although a few seminars were conducted with student-teachers and extra-mural students of a summer school.

The excavation went ahead, led by Dr. Markell, an assistant and six labourers from a township, Lwandle, near Somerset West. The excavation project would occasionally be opened to UCT staff and undergraduate archaeology students on fieldwork trips or "open" days. At this point, none of the workers on the farm were in any way connected with the archaeologists. However, the event of the excavation and reburial changed this. A human skeleton was discovered at the slave-lodge site in November 1990. At this point some farmworkers, who until then had expressed interest by visiting the site occasionally in their daily work, expressed a marked interest in the future of the skeletal remains. After discussions between this group of workers with Ann Markell, it was decided that the skeleton would be reburied at the site

where it had been excavated, after it was analysed by the archaeometry laboratory. However, a few of the women in the farmworker group expressed concern that the skeletal remains, which they had named "Flora", be given a Christian burial as the woman might not have originally had a "proper" burial.

Because reburial was considered an important issue in the international arena, the concerned academics decided to conduct a series of interviews after the reburial in September 1991 with those in the farmworker community who had shown an interest in the issue on Vergelegen. This was done to investigate how the members of the community felt about the issue after it had taken place.²

The issue of the archaeological excavation and reburial of human skeleton has been an emotional and political one in countries like the United States and Australia. In these countries, traditionally oppressed or colonised groups have protested vigorously against the excavation of human graves, scientific analysis, and the appropriation and collection of human skeleton by anthropologists.

In South Africa, however, the excavation of human bones by archaeologists has not been prioritised as a particularly political issue. The only burials which are protected legally from archaeological disturbance are war-graves, which are protected by the two British and Dutch war-graves commissions. Furthermore, neither the South African Association of Archaeology nor the National Monuments Council have found it necessary to create a policy for the protection of deliberate burials in South Africa (Hall 1992; interview).

However, the academics involved in the reburial issue at Vergelegen - Hall, Schrire and Markell - because of personal policy and influenced by the international experience of the reburial issue, decided to rebury the skeleton excavated at Vergelegen in November 1990.

2. See Meintjes (1990) for a detailed description of the reburial issue and the workers' interpretation of it.

3.3. REBURIAL ISSUE

The reburial occurred on 6 April 1991. Between twenty and thirty farmworker community members attended this occasion. One of the community arranged for a Christian burial ceremony, while the archaeologist provided the financial resources for the reburial. A get-together was arranged after the reburial where the community could gather socially. The reburial was an opportunity for many of the workers on the farm to gather as a community again after a long time, since Anglo-American Farms had arranged to put many of the elderly, retired farmworkers in old-age homes in Macassar. Other farmworkers had been offered home-ownership outside the farm, in the Strand.

The reburial ceremony received a certain amount of attention in the local press (See appendix 5). "We made a conscious decision in the case of the burial issue to involve the press as a particularly focussed issue" (Hall, interview). The articles emphasised the archaeological content of the excavation or as in the *Vrye Weekblad*, a fair amount of attention was paid to the ownership of the farm and the future planned for it.

The great amount of interest which was expressed towards the reburial event in April 1991 can be interpreted from interviews to be largely because of the curiosity value of finding a skeleton on a site which to all the farmworkers used to be an old football field, although interviews have also shown that people were eager to know more about the details of the archaeology (Meintjes 1991:13). The unusual circumstances of the first burial in the eighteenth century presented an opportunity for speculation about the identity of the woman and the circumstances of her death - these were the aspects of the archaeology which the community found intriguing. Many people attended the reburial event because of this aspect and because the archaeologist had invited them to attend. The reburial and the social gathering afterwards was regarded by the community as an occasion to congregate and be reunited with older people who had been moved off the farm into old-age homes in surrounding areas (Meintjes 1991:21).

The reburial, for the purposes of the case-study, is regarded as the first "intervention" by archaeologists in to the relationship between the community and the academic archaeological project. In order to further understand the community's fledgling interest in archaeology, it is important first to understand the issue of the reburial. The attitudes expressed by the community towards the archaeologists are best reflected by the interviews done after the reburial in September and October 1991 to investigate the attitudes toward the reburial of the skeleton. As some of the interviewees mentioned, their first impressions or attraction to the archaeological excavation began with the notion of the reburial of the skeleton. Also the archaeologists' need to know how the people felt about the skeleton and whether or not it should be reburied was also a factor.

From the first series of interviews done by Helen Meintjes, a social anthropology student and Sara Winters, the assistant to the archaeologists, it is clear that people approved of the reburial because of their own belief system which is based partly on the spiritual (Meintjes 1991:21-22). The belief common on the farm was that one should be buried no shallower than 6 feet deep, or there would be a risk that one's spirit would not rest peacefully and so haunt the area. This belief and approval of reburial co-incided with the academics' decision to rebury. These were the primary reasons for the considerable support for the reburial which was reflected in the number of people who attended the event. This is best reflected in the quote below:

People of today must be 6 foot deep. Doesn't sound as if she had a proper burial the first time. Now she'll rest in peace, with the Lord. Sounds better. If you had not buried her properly, then she would have haunted [us]. Then she would really have bothered us. (G. 1991: interview)

People also responded to the reburial because they were "curious. Wanted to see how it looked."(B.L. 1991:interview) and as another person said, they were "surprised that someone was dug up there." This was re-iterated by B.L: "It's not everyday that one sees a skeleton. It's the first time that it's happened on Vergelegen. Other factors, which included the novelty of the event as well as curiosity, prompted people to come to the reburial.

Like quite a few other people, M.L. said: "Miss Ann said that the people on the farm should come. So I told everyone who knows the farm and who lives here that they must come. That day we drank and ate." This can be attributed to the open nature of personal relations between the archaeologist and some of the farmworkers.

A contrary opinion to the popular did exist however: "Is it really necessary to bury her if she was already buried?... Look it is just a skeleton, and you can't go on about a dead thing" (MS 1991:interview).

It is apparent from the interviews that many people thought well of the reburial because it was what the academics planned. However, the idea was popular as it was the Christian ethical thing to do. In addition, a proper reburial would ensure that the supernatural forces that might have been disturbed by the digging up of the skeleton would be avoided if it was reburied at the traditional six feet deep; deeper than it had been.

The interviews also reveal that the community saw no other connection with the skeleton except that she had belonged to the land as they did (Meintjies 1991:18). This sentiment was expressed by the older generation especially. One person, of a younger generation, believed that the skeleton did belong in a museum.

The attitudes interpreted above are clearly related to religious and spiritual beliefs held by some who attended the reburial. These did not necessarily have any connection with the community's experience of historical/archaeological academic process and should not be taken as such. However, it is important that, unlike cases in Australia and the USA, interest expressed in archaeological process like the issue of reburial is not always political or due to specific perspective on history, but can be attributed to other factors such as religious beliefs.

3.4. THE FARMWORKERS

A summary knowledge of the participants in the interviews and educational workshops was necessary in order to plan the workshops according to a general education experience level and their availability according to time.

The employment of the farmworkers who were contacted varied from working on the farm in various positions to working outside the farm in domestic positions. This made the times that they were available variable according to farm schedule. The educational levels ranged from primary to secondary schooling levels. According to a SHARESCHOOL educator in Somerset West, the new owners had arranged for workers to attend basic adult literacy classes voluntarily and they provided transport to the school for evening classes.

The farmworker community is made up of about 400 people; these consisted of "old" community members as well as the "new" people who had moved in after the ownership of the farm changed hands in 1987.

Workers live in two areas on the farm; Nuwedorp, an older location on the farm, and Harmony a recently developed area of about 20 houses which are situated near the entrance. Most of the people who participated in the interviews lived in Harmony, some of whom had access to the Homestead area - where the excavation was taking place - because they or their families worked there. In the process of interviews, it was discovered that the farmworkers were generally not permitted in the Homestead area, but had to ask for permission to go there. Permission had been obtained by the archaeologist for their attendance at the reburial.

In his study of farm schools in the Western Cape, Graaff(1990) stresses that the socio-economic environment affects schooling levels, specifically in relation to rural schools. This conclusion has informed the way in which the case-study was approached as the educational project was directed at a specific rurally-situated audience. Three studies by Graaff (1990), Nasson (1984) and Gaganakis and Crewe(1987) agree that the educational system directed towards the working population in rural areas has been of inferior

standards to a more urban educational system. This factor in itself disadvantages the rural worker community. The value therefore placed on schooling by the rural community is low. This factor is important to note in understanding perceptions of archaeology as interpreted in later chapters. Graaff also states that there is a great degree of variability in farmworker experience and attitudes expressed by one community do not necessarily apply to any other.

3.5. FACTORS AFFECTING THE CASE-STUDY

As the educational component of the initial proposal no longer existed, this meant that the educational potential of the archaeological process would not be fulfilled. It was at this time that the educational project as part of this thesis was proposed. The Vergelegen situation was an ideal project to be researched in terms of education because of its popularly-known historical significance. The case-study at Vergelegen would serve as a method of evaluating an archaeological educational project and the farmworker community's reception thereof. When the farmworker community expressed an interest in archaeology with the issue of reburial in early 1991, a timely and appropriate project to study the relationship between archaeology and the community itself had presented itself.

The case-study was to be conducted independently of the official academic project which was already operational at Vergelegen in the form of the archaeological excavation programme. Links between the archaeological project and my educational project were limited to an introduction by the archaeologists to the farmworker community and the passing on of archaeological information. In every other sense, including the financial, the two project were separate. Most contacts with the farmworkers had been initiated by the archaeologist and information and artefacts from the excavation site were used as a basis in workshops. The research, which would focus on an educational project which took place in the form of interviews and workshops about archaeology and museums, has to be seen in this context.

It has to be noted that the nature of the case-study was one which needed certification. The position of the researcher as affiliated to a specific department in a specific academic institution automatically made the researcher accountable to these structures because it also allowed access to the information networks in these structures. This played a specific role in that the case-study was determined by trends in literature and concepts of a particular research environment. The nature of the research as a project for a master's degree had certain limitations in that was not part of a broader programme.

CHAPTER 4

METHOD AND PROCESS OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROJECT

4.1. THE EDUCATIONAL PROJECT

The potential of the construction of a museum displaying archaeological artefacts excavated at a site on the farm, provided a glimpse into the connection between archaeology and museology and, more importantly how these two disciplines and the community interacted, if at all. This could be seen as a microcosm of the educational aspect of social science disciplines in society. The museum, as has been seen in chapter two, has proclaimed itself dedicated to the education of the community in principle. This principle, however, when seen in academic and economic-political context, is much more complex than is apparent. Similar factors affect the discipline of archaeology. The case-study, incorporating the educational project, was intended as a means of exploring the potential obstacles which educational projects involving these disciplines would encounter.

4.2. WORKSHOP PLAN

The initial educational workshop programme was developed as a way of introducing participants to the role of archaeological and historical knowledge and their significance. In order to develop further interest in workshops, preliminary interviews, focussing on publicising the archaeological process with farmworkers, were planned prior to setting up workshops.

These workshops were thus initially planned to focus on the historical and archaeological aspects of life on the farm, with an emphasis on the farmworker in history. A series of four workshops was planned. The focus of each workshop was planned as follows:

1. Archaeology as resource: The reburial event had presented an opportunity for the farmworkers to find out about excavations at the farm and to get to know the archaeologist. The interest expressed in the reburial was seen as an

incipient interest in archaeology. A workshop to introduce the archaeological focus of study and interpretation was seen as an ideal way to encourage interest in archaeological aims and methodology.

The content of the workshop would concentrate on:

- a) a display of artefacts recovered during excavation and explanation
- b) information on reburial and archaeological interpretation

The result hoped for was an interest by the participants in an opportunity to dig on the excavation site itself. This was approved by the archaeologist.

2. Historical & genealogical data: Interviews conducted by previous researchers after the reburial had yielded the information that three families had a historical link to the farm: the Jackson, Soetzenberg and Langenhoven families were considered to be the oldest families on the farm. In order to encourage an interest in the historical nature of farm work at Vergelegen, the content of the workshop would concentrate on:

- a) an introduction to archival resources; this would promote awareness of possibilities of historical research
- b) an illustration of archival research; this would follow some research into the history of the above-mentioned families.

The potential result was an interest among the participants in finding out about their own history on the farm.

3. Slavery and worker culture: The archaeological excavation hoped to yield information about relationships between slaves, free people and their owners. The aim was to generate thinking about historical nature of labour practice. This would be conducted by focussing on:

- a) similar and different labour practices of the past and the present;
- b) similar and different free-time practices of the past and the present.

The potential result of this workshop was hoped to be an interest among the participants in the daily lives of workers in the past.

4. The role of the museum: Material culture retrieved from the excavation site was planned to be displayed in a museum-like setting on the farm. Because the farmworkers would have a locational link with the museum on the farm on which they lived, a workshop about the role of museums was considered appropriate. The workshop would focus on:

- a) description of the process by which artefacts became part of a museum display, moving as they did from the excavation site through academic interpretation to the display cabinet.
 - b) discussion of the role of artefact exhibition in knowledge representation.
- The potential result would be the generation of a perspective by the participants about their interest in artefact representation.

An underlying assumption in these workshops was that academic information could be popularised for the general "community". Indeed, it is contended here that the above examples are suitable workshops of popularisation for the more traditional audience of archaeological educational programmes, i.e. a traditionally educated, middle-class audience. However, at this point, no distinction was made between the different sectors of the community and that these would have different needs. None of the reviewed literature calling for a socially accountable archaeology or museum had emphasised or questioned the differentiation between sectors in South African society. Although Kinard (1985) had called for a museum as a medium for social change in American society, this concept had not yet been taken up in literature in the South African context. Because no previous research has been done with a community with no "tradition of museum-visiting" (although studies have been done of museum-visitors, see Mathers(1992) and van Zyl(1987)), the results from this case-study are regarded as preliminary.

As a need for a change in direction became more apparent, it became clear that workshops structured in this way did not take sufficient cognisance of how experience and consciousness of particular communities affects their participation in any educational project.

4.3. CHANGE OF DIRECTION OF PROJECT

The change in direction came after conducting a few of the preliminary interviews and an introductory workshop in which the community showed a limited interest. Evaluations of the content of some interviews and the fact that there was minimal interest, reflected by the number of people who had attended, in the workshops indicated that the direction of the educational project was not sufficiently attractive to the community. Contradictions

became apparent. These emerged with the realisation that different sectors of the community had different perceptions of structures like museums, archaeology or history - these were influenced by each sector's different experience of them. It was not simply a question of popularising academic knowledge, but a question of which sector of the community was being addressed. It was concluded that the project could hope to be successful, only if the broader social relations which affect the community were taken into account and made provision for in the process of the project. This highlighted a gap in statements in current literature which called for a socially accountable archaeology or museum; the gap lies in the implicit assumption that the community to whom accountability is pledged, is homogeneous in a class sense. Ritchie's idea of a People's Archaeology/Museum, although implying a space for historically oppressed communities, did not highlight the economic factors involved and their effect on community perceptions.

Using this new perspective, it was noted that the nature of the workshop project as one which had been originally conceived from an academic point of view had several limitations. Firstly, the community had shown no concerted social or political interest in archaeology workshops for themselves, except through their attendance at the reburial and occasional visits to the archaeological excavation site and indeed, they were restricted from access to the site in a similar way as they were economically restricted from visiting museums. Because the project had been seen as being of an academic nature and was not essentially instigated or of priority interest to the community, an implicit bias existed. The lack of knowledge about the community's differing perceptions had made it more difficult to interpret levels of interest. The potential academic nature of the subject of the workshops had to be taken into account and redeveloped to find a common ground with community perceptions. An understanding of these perceptions could be obtained if the process of interviews were refocussed to highlight community experience of the factors involved. The acknowledgement of the gap between academic knowledge and popular perception therefore had to be taken into account in the planning of the nature of the workshops in order to maintain the interest of the people; this changed considerably the direction of the workshop content. This change in direction was, however, limited by the time available for research.

Initial plans for the workshops had not taken into account the community's experience of subjects like museums and archaeology. The revised plan for workshops would be adapted to emphasise an entertainment aspect, and through the former facilitate learning about the concerns and interests of the community itself, while introducing the community to an experience of archaeology.

Results from the workshops were expected to show whether a community with specific characteristics would show an interest in its history and archaeology. Learning about the nature of interest and method of interaction - by the community concerned - with presentations and displays of resources uncovered by archaeologists was considered potentially useful in exploring potential educational methods.

4.4. REVISIONS TO THE PROJECT

The need for the kind of approach which emphasises community perception, instead of taking into account only the academic perspective, serves to underline the existence of a gap between what academics perceive is needed in society and what the community perceives as its own needs. The presence of such a gap points to a need for greater involvement on the part of the academic with the community in which she or he is involved. The nature of this gap would be explored further by the case-study. Furthermore, a larger gap exists between academics and historically marginalised communities than between academics and the more traditionally educated audience which usually expresses an interest in museum or archaeological educational programmes, because of the lack of literature and research initiatives in that direction.

Because of the characteristics of the participating group, the general focus of the educational workshops had now become a plan to investigate how archaeological methodology and knowledge could be made accessible to a broader community, including sectors which had not had access to high levels of education and did not necessarily have a previous knowledge of the subject. A specific method of investigation and educational method was

needed. This method was based on theory of "liberating education" which focuses on an empowerment of participants. This was considered necessary because the low levels of access to education which are available to the farmworker community in particular, has established a greater need for empowerment opportunities. This framework served as a ideal starting point for getting to know more about the community. If cognisance was not taken of this need for empowerment, the need for popularisation of archaeological and historical knowledge in this disempowered community would be a foregone conclusion because they would naturally have more pressing priorities in terms of the acquisition of knowledge.

The Freirean analysis of the educational setting of the oppressed was found to be potentially useful in that a model for research was presented (Smith date unknown:9-10):

a) Phase One:

Investigation: this was to be done by interviews with community members; careful record of notes; an analysis of the notes and comparison of different perceptions of the community members. Teamwork between specialists was essential as a support structure;

b) Phase Two:

Codification: based on the findings of the analysis of the interviews, Freire, suggests that lists of contradictions be listed. The educators then construct codes and use these in workshops. Small group sessions are then planned in which learners decipher the constructed codes according to their life experience. From these decodifications, in Freire's literacy model, relevant words are constructed.

An important part of Freire's model, as described by Smith above, which could not be implemented in the project, was teamwork between specialist educators/investigators, although a substitute of this was the utilisation of two sets of interviews done by two different people. In the actual process of the workshops, only the first phase was accomplished with reasonable success. Time constraints and the farmworker's priority of spending their free time in an entertaining way as possible determined that workshops emphasise

entertainment value (ibid:22). The learning aspect of the workshop had therefore to be constructed around an entertainment focus.

The plan of revised workshops was determined (to a greater extent than the original workshops had been) by the conditions of the daily lives of the people involved and attempted to develop according to their expressed interests. The workshops were envisaged as events where space would be created for communication, not only between the artefacts and the audience via the exhibitor, but also to stimulate conversation and the sharing of ideas between members of the participating group themselves. A method which encouraged the sharing of certain skills that the participants had learnt in their daily lives, would be used, for example, skills of observation, memory, storytelling, speculation. This sharing of skills which were already possessed by members of the involved community, would facilitate not only learning about the history of the community's present and past from each other, but would also provide a space for the process of developing a feeling of empowerment by and within the community itself (Smith ibid; Hope and Timmel 1984).

The framework of the workshops found parallels with the concept of People's Archaeology (Ritchie 1990) which is based on concepts of People's Education (See Kruss 1988). These have emphasised the development of democratic methodology and active participation by participants in educational practices, an explicit alternative to the authoritative nature of the education system developed during the Apartheid era in South Africa. Another focus of this framework, taken from Freire's model, has been its emphasis on process of learning instead of the educational product; here the method of learning takes precedence over the content. During the process of learning, the experience and knowledge of the participants are expected to be seen as equal to that of the educator's. The Freirean education model was interpreted as meaning that a knowledge of the community's initial interest and needs from the archaeological/historical knowledge process had to be gained. Freire's philosophy is based on the idea that people learn more effectively if they are familiar with the learning tools and these could be placed into the context of the people's own lives (Hope and Timmel 1984).

Although the idea of "equal knowledge" is a problematic concept as the educator usually has more access to power in society than the students, the concept of encouraging people to see the value in their own knowledge became important in the context of the workshops. This methodology requires the main role of the educator to be that of asking questions, so as to learn about the perceptions of the participants. In so doing, participants are encouraged to express their own knowledge; to perceive its value and extent.

One of the important components of the research centred on finding out through interviews, what kind of previous experience or knowledge, individuals in the community had of archaeology, whether it had occurred through museums if there had been such experience, and how this affected the perception of archaeology and museums. The expected results here were seen as potentially contributing to an understanding of the relationship between the discipline, and a community which was assumed to be traditionally unconnected with the discipline.

It has to be reiterated here that although an approach which found its starting point on a Freirean framework was now being used, the implementation of a full series of workshop based on this approach was severely hindered by time constraints, lack of resources, the repressive situation of the community, i.e. their limited access to leisure time and resources from attending workshops. These constraints influenced the result of only one successful workshop being carried out.

TABLE 1.

July 1990: Archaeological excavation at Vergelegen begins
November 1990: Human skeleton found
April 1991: Reburial of human skeleton
May - November 1991: Attempts to obtain permit on farm
January 1992: Permit obtained to interview farmworkers (valid for 6 months)
January 1992: Nectarine-picking- workers too busy
Feb- May 1992: Interview attempts
1 May 1992: First workshop cancelled due to rain
9 May 1992 : First workshop
6 June : No attendance because of other commitments
10 June: Slide-shown (Wednesday evening)
20 June: Museum visit and workshop
30 June: Permit expired

4.5. RESEARCH PROCESS

The process of implementation of the planned workshops proved to be difficult. Firstly, the workers' schedule on the farm did not allow for workshop activities. Secondly, although the event of the reburial had been popular, interest in archaeological workshops was less evident. The method and process of doing interviews and workshops is recorded below.

Unlike the initial academic programme, the focus of interest was on the farm people themselves. This had several advantages. There was no transport problem as people lived on the farm itself, although walking distances between the archaeological site and some homes were relatively long. Interviews had been conducted as part of the academic project to analyse the nature of the farmworker community's response to the reburial. These had reflected a certain interest in the archaeological process.

The planned educational project could be implemented only when a favourable climate for education had been developed. A favourable climate is

considered in this instance to be: an environment where both the project facilitator and the project participants would feel able to participate. Factors considered important in the creation of a favourable educational climate would be :

- a) an accessible, comfortable educational environment
- b) a knowledge by the project facilitator of participants' perceptions of the educational topic.

In order to create an educational environment in which participants felt capable of participating, it was necessary to note certain physical limitations. This entailed the limitation created by the need for the educational process and interviews to occur on the farm itself. Limited funds were available for the educational project (being a project for degree purposes) and the participants could not be expected to provide transport or funds themselves. The utilisation of the farm as educational location itself had proved to have the following limitations:

- a) permission had to be obtained from the farm management;
- b) educational resources were not easily accessible, and therefore had to be limited to the mobile.

One factor which limited the development of the project through the establishment of interview contact with people was the 50km distance between the research centre, the University of Cape Town, and the home and place of work of the farm community at Vergelegen in Somerset West. This made interviews feasible only during the day with those who were not working on the farm, or during evening hours when people had come home from work. Workshops outside the farm were difficult because of transport costs; while all the resources (books, artefacts, suitable and comfortable venues) were at the research centre. Written permission had to be requested every time farm resources, such as the community hall were needed - this automatically created a relationship of dependency between the educational project and farm management. Distance also created a problem in that easy contact between the researcher and the community was lacking. Communication was only possible if the researcher was present on the farm, as the majority of the farm community were not contactable by phone.

Distance, however, was not an insurmountable problem and the project continued in spite of this problem.

The interview process encountered another obstacle: the case-study itself had to have a time limit of 12 to 18 months in order to satisfy the requirements of a university masters degree and in order to create necessary boundaries within which goals could be set.

In attempting to achieve favourable educational environment, several inherent situational limitations were encountered. These will be noted in a description of the background to the interviews below:

4.6. BACKGROUND TO INTERVIEWS:

Interviews were conducted with seven members of the farmworker community. The respondents to the interviews were either people who had contact with the archaeologist through work at the Homestead, or people who had shown interest through workshops, which occurred between interviews. The nature and number of interviews are significant. Seven people out of a community of approximately four hundred farmworkers agreed to be interviewed. The response by such a small percentage of the community can be attributed to the fact that not everyone was in contact or knew about the archaeological excavation on the farm. Some attempts at interviews with those who had attended the reburial and did know about the archaeology were met with the (mis)understanding that the older people who knew the history of Vergelegen should be interviewed. People did not see themselves as having any knowledge of history. They were therefore not prepared to grant interviews.

This perception could be attributed to a number of factors which include the methods of advertising, whether workers had actually seen or had contact with the archaeologist at work, or the location of their homes on the farm. Although the positive response of a minority constituency of the farmworker community has been the focus of study, it is important also to question the reasons for the lack of interest shown by the majority. Unfortunately, a study cannot be done without "consenting" participants, and therefore cannot be

done about the reasons for the lack of positive response. It was hoped, however, that some of the results gained in interviews and workshops with those who did show an interest, would shed light on some of the reasons for those who did not.

Interviews were only done with people who in some way had expressed an interest in archaeology/history by visiting the excavation site or had attended the workshops. One interview had been conducted with someone who had minimal knowledge of the archaeological excavation on the farm. The content of this interview indicated that interviews could not be conducted with people who had not shown an active interest in the history of the farm or its archaeology. These would be futile as their experience of archaeology would be minimal.

The seven respondents lived either at Harmonie or Nuwedorp, both of which are the workers' living areas on the farm. All seven had lived on the farm for more than ten years, well before it was purchased by Anglo-American Farms. The level of education of the interviewees ranged from primary to secondary school level. The age group ranged from 23 years to people in their forties or fifties. None of the interviewees had had any previous experience of archaeology; some had visited museums.

Attempts at interviewing a larger number of people were hampered by the necessity of obtaining a permit from the farm management to have access to the farm and the workers. In effect the research time-period was cut by half because of the necessity of obtaining a permit. The requirement of a permit also influenced whether farmworkers were willing to be interviewed or not. This was reflected in one interviewee's concern that the nature of the research would be questioned by farm management. However, although permission was not granted for a few months, contact with the farmworkers was still possible through connections with the archaeological excavation programme and the daily permission obtained from the security guards for "social visits".

Another factor which influenced the number of interviews as well as the accessibility of potential workshops was the farm-working situation. Because

much of the work on the farm is seasonal, workshops would ideally be planned for after harvest-time in summer. Winter months offer more availability in terms of free-time, but the weather plays a large role as transport for farmworkers across the large farm is not freely available and good weather conditions are essential for good attendance at workshops. Working schedules also made interviewing possible only during the evenings between 5 and 7 p.m.. and on Saturday afternoons from 3 p.m.. onwards. Because of the distance factor mentioned earlier, this limited the interviewing possibilities a great deal.

4.7. ROLE OF INTERVIEWS

The results and impressions gained from interviews by Meintjes (1991) were used as background for the second set of interviews. The results from the second set of interviews were used to develop workshops in which the participants themselves could find a common interest. The interviews found common ground in the community's response to the reburial in April 1991. Questions emphasised their impressions of archaeology and history, as well as their experiences of museums.

Three themes/issues which were useful in the interviews were:

- 1) farmworker impressions of archaeology
- 2) response to the reburial
- 3) experience of museums
- 4) accessibility to historical/archaeological knowledge.

The focus on the nature of the farmworker community's interest in archaeology/history emphasised the question of what people's expectations of archaeology were. This began to incorporate, with time, the notion of the status value or monetary worth of archaeological artefacts as well as archaeology as a subject of learning.

During the process of interviewing, although the questions remained the same, the aims of the interviews began to change slightly in that they also became a platform through which interest in the workshops was encouraged.

Also, it has to be noted that interviews were conducted at various stages of participants' contact with archaeology; some were done before, while others were done after participants had already learnt about the archaeological process through one or two workshops..

The general initial aims of the interviews conducted with interested members of the community was to determine whether the interest shown at the reburial extended itself to an interest in historical/archaeological themes, or whether the interest in the reburial had merely been a wish to have the "humanity of the skeleton" restored and Christian beliefs of a need for a "proper" reburial. This was investigated to ascertain whether the community itself showed an awareness of personal links to the history of the farm and whether this indicated a consciousness of a link to slave ancestry, or whether it was merely an indication of interest in general history.

Another theme was based on investigating interest in museums. Museums are generally still the only places where the public can find accessible archaeology in South Africa. Knowledge that a museum was being planned for Vergelegen also prompted an interest by the researcher. The process of museum accessibility and accessibility of archaeological knowledge thus became a natural starting point from which to investigate the Vergelegen farm community's impressions of museums and its accessibility to them. This issue leads to questions concerning a broader subject: the accessibility of academic archaeology to the community in general; how and why the education system inherently limits this, and whether this can and should be changed.

4.8. INTERVIEW FRAMEWORK

The process of interviews, like the workshops, was also influenced by the Freirean model of education. Dialogue was emphasised and an open-ended learning process was kept in mind during the interview process. Interviews and planned workshops concentrated on informal adult education instead of emphasising that the learning should be done by children. Interviews and planned workshops were conducted in the home language of the audience, Afrikaans. This was relatively easy in comparison to broader South African society, as the interested group was homogeneous in the sense that all

participants had Afrikaans as their first language, with English as a second language.

The content of the interviews will be interpreted in the next chapter in order to obtain a clearer perspective on the community's perceptions of archaeology and museums.

4.9. WORKING STRUCTURE OF WORKSHOPS

Workshop 1:

The first workshop was planned for a public holiday on 1 May, as holding a workshop on any of the five and a half work days would be impractical. Sunday, being a general family or holy day was also not suitable. Work at the winery during May on Saturday morning was a potential drawback for attendance. Most suitable would be a public holiday or Saturday afternoon.

The workshop was planned as an introduction to the archaeological excavation site on the farm at Vergelegen. The main aims were:

- a) to stimulate interest in archaeology
- b) to exhibit the academic work that had been done
- c) to gauge nature of interest shown.

The venue of the workshop was chosen as the excavated slave lodge site, where the farmworker community had congregated a year previously on 6 April 1991 to participate in the reburial of a skeleton excavated by archaeologists digging at the site. This area is a restricted area as far as farmworkers are concerned because it forms part of the Homestead area which is being prepared for use by the public. This specific site served as a starting point/memory point with which the audience was familiar.

Structure

The workshop was structured in such a way as to resemble an exhibition, i.e. pictures of the archaeological work and findings were put up on display. Another component consisted of a display of artefacts found on the site. Unlike a traditional exhibition, the participating audience were encouraged to

touch and communicate around the artefacts on display. Facilitators were present to encourage interaction between the people and artefacts and to stimulate the sharing of information between all the participants, as well as to record the procedure. Recording was carried out through photography and audio-cassette, so as to eliminate any potential problems that the need for writing and reading would present. Evaluation would later be done through these media.

Process

The workshop planned for Friday, 1 May was cancelled due to excessive rain. Because the workshop was outside at the slave lodge site, no-one arrived. It was rescheduled for Saturday, 9 May 1992. Advertising had been planned by using invitations which were handed out by some contact community members, as well as by word of mouth.

The workshop on 9 May, unaffected by adverse weather conditions, was attended by seven adults and a few children. Everyone expressed interest and told about their own experiences of museums, as well as what they'd heard about W.A. van der Stel and the past history of the farm. They all expressed a willingness to visit a museum, commenting that many of the farmworker community had never visited a museum before.

It was at this point that a need for a change of direction became evident. Only seven adults had attended the workshop. More information was needed in terms of the interests of the community. This could be done through interviews and making the process of learning more attractive.

Workshop 2:

A different method was used to plan this workshop. After informal discussions with some interview participants, it was found that an event with entertainment value would be more appealing to the community than the idea of learning at a workshop. The general aims were similar to those of the first workshop:

- a) To stimulate interest in the archaeological excavations on Vergelegen.

- b) To exhibit the products and process of the academic work
- c) To gauge the nature of interest shown in the project so as to plan the third workshop.

The venue of this workshop was the farm hall on Vergelegen, which the community uses as a venue for church meetings and social gatherings. The planned date for the workshop was Saturday, 6 June 1992.

Structure:

A slide-show was planned as a method of entertainment. The slides were structured to show what the archaeologists had found and included photos of:

- the Homestead
- the mill site
- the slave-lodge site in various stages of excavation
- a map of the Western Cape in 1700
- slides of farmworkers
- people working on site
- how archaeologists pictured the slave lodge
- reburial day
- artefacts found
- process of sorting at UCT

Questions were asked after the show.

Process

The workshop planned for Saturday, 6 June 1992 was cancelled because of a lack of attendance. The community had already arranged an important rugby match for that day. Advertising for this event had been only by word-of-mouth.

The workshop was rescheduled for a Wednesday evening at 5.30p.m. after discussions with some contact people. This time advertising was done through posters at strategic places on the farm. The workshop on Wednesday was well-attended by 30-40 adults and more than 10 children. Particular interest was expressed when slides of the farmworker community on the farm

at the reburial and at the Homestead were shown. Slides of artefacts were also popular. Questions and comments after the workshop centred on the identity of the people in the slides as well as queries on the identity of the reburied skeleton. There was also speculation on the name of the skeleton, the location of her original burial and the circumstances from which it had arisen. A response of 29 names was received for a proposed visit to a museum. This would form part of the third workshop.

Workshop 3

The general aims of the third workshop were:

- a) to introduce people to the methodology of the museum; the visit would serve to entertain as well as be a learning experience.
- b) to introduce people to the idea of the history of slavery as well as how archaeology could tell more about it.
- c) to gauge the nature of interest - whether it focussed on entertainment value, in the value of objects or whether it centred on the farmworkers' own history.

Advertising was done through invitations to the people who had indicated interest in a museum visit at the previous workshops. People at that workshop had been concerned whether this was open to the whole family and the cost of the visit. The workshop was planned for Saturday, 20 June 1992. A bus transported people to the South African Cultural History Museum and to the University of Cape Town venue.

Structure:

The workshop consisted of two parts:

- 1) a visit to a museum;
- 2) a more informal display of archaeological finds from Vergelegen at a venue at the University of Cape Town (UCT).

The museum outing was intended as an introduction to museums for those to whom it had previously not been accessible.

The second half was planned as an alternative way of making artefacts accessible to the community. Instead of merely looking and reading about the

things that the museum had to offer, the participants could touch, look and share one's own experiences and knowledge about the artefacts and pictures at the workshop. One display emphasised the farm community's involvement in archaeological process through the exhibition of photographs of the reburial and previous workshops. The farmworker community was asked to share their knowledge of their community by identifying themselves and others on the photographs. Another display consisted of artefacts excavated by the archaeologists. Participating members were encouraged to examine the artefacts, ask questions and share their own experience about similar objects and also their knowledge about how these artefacts could have been used. A third display consisted of photographs of pictorial historical research on the lives of slaves; the work they did, objects around which their lives revolved like the slave bell and some photographs of emancipated slaves. A facilitator encouraged people to share their impressions while she shared her knowledge of the history of the photographs and sketches.

As a final evaluation of the process, people were asked to register their names if they had found the workshop interesting and whether they would be interested in having more such events.

Process

Approximately 30 people attended this workshop. The emphasis, it was found, had to be placed on *entertainment* as well as learning. Visiting a museum was seen as entertainment for the adults, as well as the children. Learning seemed to be associated with the children: "Die kinders sal iets leer" -- the children will learn something, is a sentiment a few of the adults expressed. The attraction for the adults seemed to be mostly the aesthetic qualities of the objects on display.

The group dispersed throughout the Cultural History Museum to view the objects either individually or in groups of two or three. Many became bored or walked through the museum quickly and preferred to sit in the adjacent Company Gardens. After about 45 minutes people were ready to move to the next stop at UCT. During the bus-ride, people were given questionnaires to evaluate their visit to the museum.

At the UCT gallery venue, as part of the workshop, people were asked to fill in the blanks in the "wie is wie?" -- ("Who is who?") display which had photographs of the reburial and a previous workshop. Everyone responded to this eagerly and crowded around the display. At the artefact display, people handled the artefacts, asked questions about them and related their own experiences about similar objects found on the farm. The history of Morgenster, a farm adjacent to Vergelegen, was recounted. At the photograph display, people identified the slave bell as being similar to that of Vergelegen. One person commented that the bell had been used to call the workers to and from work and to indicate lunch and tea-breaks until the 1960s or 1970s. Another participant related the relationship between the Cloetes of Groot Constantia to the Cloetes of Vergelegen. The workshop ended with a request to register any names if participants were interested in more workshops on archaeology. The names registered amounted to about 90% of the people who had attended the workshop.

4.10. EVALUATION

The evaluation of the workshop, in conjunction with interviews done with a few members of the community, was based on certain themes: a) the accessibility of artefacts in relation to peoples' ability to learn about the artefacts; b) knowledge and skills-sharing between the participants themselves; c) active participation of the visitors to the different media in the two settings, museum & the artifact display at UCT. Evaluation was conducted through:

- 1) a questionnaire on the museum;
- 2) observation of comments, group dynamic and dialogue at the artefact display and comments on the workshop.

The questionnaire was comprised of the following questions:

- Have you attended any other museums before?
- What did you like about the museum
- What did you not like about the museum?
- What did you learn in the museum
- How did you find the atmosphere of the museum?

An analysis of seventeen (out of 23 handed out) returned questionnaires was possible

Answers:

1. Seven people had never attended a museum in their lifetime.
2. People liked: temporary exhibition, which told them about flowersellers and archaeology on the parade;
 - Chinese sword
 - English trophies
 - stones; buttons coins
 - Chinese plates; toys
 - furniture; dolls, music instruments
 - weapons, paintings
 - antiques
 - knives
3. What was learnt: (Quite a few of the answers were similar, sometimes even in grammar)
 - Two blank answers
 - Ek het geleer dat die geskiedenis van die muslims en Maleiers nog tot op vandag 'n groot rol speel en dat daar nog vandag Kaapse Klopse bestaan. [I learnt that the history of the muslims and Malays still plays a large role and that the Cape Coons still exist today.] (Same answer. in 2 questionnaires)
 - Ek het interessante geskiedenis geleer. [I learnt interesting history.]
 - Ek het geleer om die oudhede op te pas soos in die ou dae. [I learnt to care for old things as they did in the old days.]
 - Ek het self van ander plekke se goed geleer. [I, myself, have learnt about things from other places.]
 - Dat antieke goed baie werd is. En dat 'n mens van 'n ou ding baie kan leer. 'n Mens kan baie leer veral van die ou dae. [That antiques are of great value. And that one can learn a lot about old things.]
 - Ek het baie geleer. [I learnt a lot.] (3 questionnaires with the same answers)
 - Hoe die outydse geld lyk. [How old-fashioned money looks.]
 - Dat dinge baie verander in vergelyking met vandag se lewensstyl. Alles was leersaam. [That things have changed a lot in comparison to today's lifestyle. Everything was educational.]

- Ek het baie geleer waarvan ek nie geweet het nie. [I learnt a lot that I did not know.]
- Hoe die mense van tevore se kleredrag gelyk het en al die ander goed. [How the past peoples' clothes looked.] -
- Van di mooi speelgoed. [About the beautiful toys.]
- Ek het eindlik gekiedenis geleer wat eindlik mense se beskawings bestaan wat jou leer hoe hulle geleer het. [I have eventually learnt that real people's civilisations existed. These teach you what they learnt.]

4. Atmosphere of the museum was described as:

- Koel, rustig, kalm, vreedsaam, gerieflik [cool, peaceful, calm, comfortable.]
- die atmosfeer is lieflik en ek voel op my gemak terwyl ek alles bekyk het. [The atmosphere is wonderful and I felt comfortable when I was looking at everything.]
- dit is 'n baie gevoellige plek iets in jou gemoed skep so vol as jy na die jare wat verby is, dink. [It is a place that creates feelings in you which make you think nostalgically of the past.]

Comments which were later heard at the venue at UCT were: Quite a few people at the museum expressed boredom with the South African Cultural History Museum and wanted to see the an exhibition of model "bushmen" of which they had heard at the South African Museum instead.

- Ek ken al daai goed. Ek het dit skoongemaak. [I know all about those artefacts. I cleaned them.] (She worked as a domestic at Morgenster)
- a picture of the slave bell was familiar because of the one at the Homestead at Vergelegen.
- Die museum het 'n mens moeg gemaak - al die goeters om na te kyk. Maar dis nogal interessant. [The museum made one tired, to look at all those things. But it was interesting.]
- on seeing a picture of Hendrik Cloete, owner of Groot Constantia, one woman commented that the Cloetes were also connected to Morgenster
- one comment about artefacts at the farm-house which were similar to the ones on display .
- comment about stone artefact which had been bored - stones like these are made, painted and sold.

- much interest shown in the value of porcelain cups, plates and other artefacts - these are all found at Morgenster.
- connection made between artifactual wine bottles and the new winery developed on the farm.

Implications from workshop:

The workshop can be considered successful in as far as group dialogue was encouraged. Participants spoke to each other about their experiences of history or about the artefacts. In this way the community could be seen as a resource, and the interests expressed could determine a possible direction for community research. Another example of learning, which is not facilitated by the museum environment, as it does not actively encourage group dialogue, can be seen in the case of a dialogue about van Riebeeck's arrival at the Cape. This exchange, prompted by exhibition of paintings of slave auctions in the Cape, could be seen to reflect that a more open-ended workshop, would be an ideal place for sharing of information with the community. Other ways in which participants shared their experiences, was to tell about what they had seen in their work at the Morgenster home. In doing so, they related their general relationship to objects similar to the artefacts and their thoughts about this. This was especially evident from women interested in porcelain artefacts.

In sharing their experiences of the artefacts or their knowledge of historical events related to Vergelegen or Morgenster, the participants could be viewed as sharing their skills of history-telling. In doing so, they become facilitators in determining topics for future museum interest displays and directions of research. An example of this could be: interest in the historic connections between Vergelegen and Morgenster and between these farms and Groot Constantia in Cape Town. Information about the continuation of working habits through the course of time, like the continual use of the slave bell to summon workers to and from work from the 1700s right up to the 1960s or 70s, as mentioned by one participant, could be valuable.

4.11. CONCLUSION OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROJECT

The third workshop was the last one. The permit to work on the farm had expired. Also, the time allotted for research for a master's degree has its inherent limitations. The results from the interviews and workshops which had been done were used to make an interpretation of the case-study.

CHAPTER 5

INTERPRETATION

An interpretation of the case-study will be given in this chapter. The content of the interviews with the farmworker community will be analysed to obtain a clear view of their perceptions of archaeology and museums. The climate within which the case-study was situated also has implications for the results.

5.1. PERCEPTIONS OF ARCHAEOLOGY

No-one was interested. They didn't know what the word "archaeologist" meant. It was after they had excavated the skeleton that the people heard about it. It was then that they became interested (Interview:HL)3.

The perspective reflected above indicates that the community's interest was aroused first by the dramatic discovery of a skeleton. It was this drama that marked the development of a relationship between the archaeologist and a group in the farmworker community. Before the reburial issue arose, only one or two people working in the area had made contact with the archaeologist. It was only after something significant, like the skeleton was found and this became well-known, that a general, active interest was shown by some of the community. The fact that the Vergelegen community's interest was eventually stimulated by the dramatic and novel nature of the discovery of the skeleton and its reburial, despite the fact that the excavation process had been in motion for about six months prior to this event, is significant. The nature of this attraction suggests that popularisation projects have to incorporate aspects which are novel or dramatic enough to stimulate and hold the community's attention. In this way, interest in the educational aspect of archaeological projects can be sustained through its entertainment value.

3. *The original extracts for indented quotes can be found in Appendix 9 at the end of the thesis.*

As for most members of the public, sensational news is the type of news that gets the most popular response. This attitude is reflected and promoted by the media which generally tends to publicise archaeology only when a "significant" find has occurred. This image has very little to do with the actual archaeological process.

You're looking for something there. My husband works at the Homestead. They found a pot there...I don't know if they found a pot or what was in there. Now they're digging there, looking for something (Interview:DT).

This perspective by someone who had minimal contact with the archaeologists, but was aware of the archaeological excavation, reflects a common assumption in broader society. It highlights the fact that an archaeology dig is assumed to be related to the search for hidden treasure. The pot mentioned in the quote is one which appears in local farm folklore. This particular farm tale has also been mentioned to by Fraser (1980:34) who relates it as a part of the legends associated with the farm.

The legend of the pot or treasure was also mentioned by other participants :
They know about the treasure, but they don't know where it's buried. It's probably gold coins...I don't know anything else, I just know Vergelegen has a treasure (Interview:HL).

When the archaeologists came, I thought, many people thought they were looking for a treasure (Interview:PJ).

The perception of archaeology linked to treasure-hunting is not uncommon (Ritchie 1990:45). This idea that archaeologists were looking for treasure continued even after people had seen the types of artefacts which were being found by archaeologists.

They should excavate at Schaapenberg, where Willem Adriaen used to sit and watch the ships come in. Because you never know. They say the treasure is at Schaapenberg. They found stone-tools there (Interview:BS).

This perception of treasure-seeking was perhaps perpetuated and not dispelled with the excavation of the skeleton. These perceptions had a strong influence on how people perceived the artefacts displayed at the workshops - they placed a monetary value on them. This coincided with the traditional museums' object-centred approach, which became evident in the museum visit during the third workshop.

The association of archaeology with treasure-hunting which was common at first among the community participants can be attributed to the lack of popularisation of archaeology and its mystification of its method and technique. This myth has not been challenged but rather perpetuated by the media. However, during the process of the educational projects, it was evident that dispelling the myth can be done gradually through making the artefacts which are found accessible to the community.

Linked to the tendency to regard archaeology as dramatic and treasure-seeking, the ordinary human need to know what was happening also attracted the community to the archaeology:

I am always curious. Just to see what else they found, what they were looking for (Interview:HL).

They will visit the museum out of curiosity, not because of something deeper, not to learn something. Maybe the younger generation will be more interested (Interview:PJ).

These views indicate that curiosity is the main reason for the attraction and interest in archaeology. This curiosity and the need to know more about archaeology can be important factors in attracting people to learning more about the subject. The unusual quality of the experience is also important:

They will be interested because it is something uncommon (Interview:AL).

Another factor which contributed to the attractive nature of the archaeological work was the friendliness of the archaeologists:

For me it was a great experience or what interested me is how Ann and Sara were so friendly that the people's attention was caught to go and look and such a business. They were always friendly (Interview:JJ).

To this person, the openness of the archaeologists and their willingness to share their information was the factor that encouraged him to return to the excavation site occasionally. His interest was sustained through an invitation to the reburial and invitations for subsequent visits to the site to inspect the artefacts.

After contact with archaeology, people still expressed surprise at its "science" of finding past living sites:

Nobody could have thought that there were buildings there before (Interview:JJ).

They wanted to see. Because they had walked past the site. They had not even realised that someone had been buried there long ago, in such a shallow grave (Interview:HL).

After the workshops or discussions with the archaeologists, people, found various interests in the artefacts which they had seen.

Then Ann told me that they were looking for old pieces of glass and wood and such ... I would like to [see all the stuff that they excavated]. Especially about Vergelegen (Interview: JJ).

It's wonderful to think that the pipes of those days and today's pipes are so different... They should exhibit the artefacts so that the people can see it. Perhaps our forefathers' too, I don't know. I think the people will be interested in things from the farm (Interview:BS).

Questionnaire answers about the museum visit which was included in the third workshop, revealed that the museum experience had been almost

exclusively object-centred. In replies to questions about what had been enjoyed and learnt at the museum, most participants remarked on the objects; their value and their beauty. This confirms and coincides with the museum's approach, which emphasises the cultural origin, aesthetic and functional properties of the objects rather than their historical significance.

In contrast to the quiet, reverent reaction in the South African Cultural History Museum, workshop participants were more willing to share their thoughts about the artefacts when allowed to handle and speculate openly about the artefacts on display in a workshop environment. Comments centred on their own experiences of work on the farm and how these related to the artefacts. One anecdote about the slave bell was particularly interesting. The slave bell, a participant related to me, was used until the 1960s or 1970s to call the workers to and from work. Another participant related her experience in relation to the type of artefacts exhibited at the museum; she expressed familiarity with the type of objects as she had cleaned these at Morgenster, an adjoining homestead and once part of van der Stel's Vergelegen, for a number of years. It is this kind of working experience which could be useful to the social archaeologist and historian. This kind of interaction allows an exchange of information which has the potential to inform the direction of educational projects which are based on community interests.

5.2. PERCEPTIONS OF HISTORY

Knowledge of the history of the farm is almost nonexistent among the farm community. People responded to the question by saying that they had not been on the farm long enough to know the history, or recommending interviews with older people. Responses to questions which asked about history were generally based on few anecdotes. These centred on past owners of the farm, van der Stel, the Phillips, or the Kerrs.

If they spoke about Vergelegen, yes, then there was the feeling, "I live on Vergelegen"... sometimes people visited and in those times we could show the people; we could walk around anytime and show them the House. But since Anglo has taken over, one

can't do that. When our friends came, then we always took a ride or a walk and showed them the farm. Then they would say, "It's what we learnt at school - Willem Adriaen van der Stel, 1700." Then I would say, "Yes, this is the farm and that is the house." But the House has been changed a lot now (Interview:HL).

The historic nature of the farm and the knowledge that it had been a slave-farm was, for one person, informed and influenced by popular works such as My Traitor's Heart, a book about slave ancestry by Riaan Malan and "Reap the Whirlwind", a television series, as mentioned by PJ. Media exposure about such subjects as slavery/history influenced those who had access to it greatly. Many, however, did not have access to media such as television. This is an indication that people in different economic positions on the farm expressed different views.

The interviews revealed that no one in the farmworker community saw themselves as having any ancestral connection with slaves who lived on the farm. The three families who were regarded as being on the farm for the longest time, the Jacksons, the Soetzenbergs and the Langenhovens, were remembered back to the beginning of this century. Memory seemed to go back to the time of the farm ownership by Lady Phillips, which dates back to 1917. The oldest community member still living, could remember as far back as her childhood, during which her mother worked for Lady Phillips. A memory centred on the lives of the previous owners coincides with the process whereby the history of the ruling class dominates in people's memory to the exclusion of their own history. There is little evidence of a memory which details the nature and important events in the lives of the community itself. This lack of popular memory can be interpreted as a result of the suppression of its development by the dominant group.

5.3. PERCEPTIONS OF MUSEUMS

The extracts below were part of responses to a question which asked what purpose the museum at Vergelegen would serve for the community.

Perceptions of the museum reflected a practical, rather than educational use for the museum:

There is nowhere to go around here ... if you have visitors then you can say, "Let's go there. Everyone who comes here wants to see the farm and Homestead. Now, I'll be able to say, "Let's go and look at the museum. ... Look, there's going to be a coffee-bar here. One would not just want to drink coffee; one will want to walk around ... But I think [the museum] will be better. Because there's nowhere to go here. Here's nothing here (Interview:BS).

Perhaps the most practical view of all, this perspective, above all, sees the museum as being akin to a recreational service, a place where visitors could be taken and which provides a focal point for conversation.

Maybe, after a while, they would put something from Somerset West perhaps at Vergelegen. One never knows. Because Somerset West doesn't have a museum (Interview:HL).

This perspective sees the museum as representative of the locality and fulfilling the practical purpose of providing the area with a possession. This opinion can be linked to another which predicted that

It will be interesting for the tourists, to see the floors. How uniquely it was built. It will be a tourist attraction (Interview:PJ).

Instead of seeing the museum as a place which would attract the local community, the museum is seen, very practically, as something aimed at tourists. One participant was bold enough to comment, "die hele projek gaan oor geld" ("the whole project is about money") Another interviewee expressed uncertainty about whether the farmworkers themselves would be allowed to make use of those facilities.

This tendency to prioritise the entertainment aspect of the educational project was confirmed by the fact that some of the community saw the primary

benefit of a museum at Vergelegen to be its recreational value. They expressed the desire to be able to entertain their guests at the coffee-bar. The museum visit is regarded as a good supplement and conversation focal point while drinking coffee. The educational aspect is not a clear reality with regard to the adults themselves, although the museum's educational potential is perceived as beneficial for school-going children.

Based on participants' previous experience of museums, their ideas of what the museum's role is, were varied. Two interview participants mentioned a popular display in the South African Museum in Cape Town, about 50kms away, which is constituted of models of hunter-gatherer and pastoralists societies. This display is known popularly as the "Bushmen" and was the display most likely to be remembered when the term "museum" was mentioned. Their knowledge of or interest in museums is informed by what they have seen in other exhibitions:

There's probably a lot of people here who haven't been in the Cape's museums. But I want to know: did the slaves have specific clothes to wear? Because, we now know, the "bushmen" did wear specific clothing (Interview:BS).

The first time! I wondered - they had people... dolls ...that were like the Bushmen I wondered how the Bushmen came into being, how we came into being (Interview:PJ).

The fact that this particular exhibition was known to quite a few people indicates the strength that an exhibition's message can have on an audience. It also points to the inaccessibility of a large variety of museums to a majority of the community.

To a question which asked what potential characteristics a museum at Vergelegen would have, received various answers:

I think you put [local] things in a museum. You're not going to put things that you picked up in Somerset West or something that you brought from overseas.... Old bibles and old books ... You must put things in the museum that were used in the past; a

broom or a scoop that was used in the Kerrs' time or in Lady Phillips' time that were used in the main house (interview:HL).

They should bring [the artefacts] back and put it back, perhaps in the main House. That is almost like a museum (Interview:JJ).

Old portraits and old books. Yes, everything that's old. They're probably stored somewhere (Interview:AL).

Let's say I go there, then the place is so beautiful for me (Interview:MP).

The views cited above generally reflect that the museum's purpose was seen as being the preservation of beautiful and valuable objects; a place where authentic and antique or old things were exhibited.

With regard to their preference for the display content of museums had very individual interests, according to their personal experience, were expressed. PJ expressed an interest in knowing how slaves had built their lodgings as she foresaw a bleak future where people might have to revert back to self-sufficient survival. JJ was interested in seeing more artefacts which were recovered at Vergelegen itself as he had been quite interested in seeing the ordinary artefacts which the excavation yielded, thus expressing an attachment to the farm. BS would have liked knowing about the attire of slaves, as she had experience of museums in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town which exhibited Victorian dresses and San clothing. The fact that HL saw the museum as preserving valuable books like old and rare bibles, reflected the perception that museums preserve valuable things, those belonging to the rich. AL preferred seeing things in museums which were authentic and unusual. These individual perceptions and interest in the museum medium also reveal that people have different experiences of the artefacts which were not constrained by their social context.

Interviews revealed that the archaeology and history of the farm was considered interesting and educational especially for the school-children - a

museum is considered to be only educational for children, not adults. The educational benefit for the children was welcomed:

I think it [the museum] will be much better. For the children who still go to school and who want to study history and they don't know what topic to do...maybe about the slaves. Then they'll also be able to see (Interview:BS).

The children who are at school who are doing standard ten will visit the museum (Interview:PJ).

Despite the fact that people saw the children as getting the most educational benefit out of archaeology, adults too, unconsciously indicated that they were thinking more about aspects of history.

But while I was looking [at the site]...I remembered my mother telling me that they used to build mud-floors.... It would be good to go into the history and see how they did it.... The skeleton that Ann found, when it was taken to the laboratory, they said she ate a lot of fish and what advantages it had for her body... now we eat a lot of sweets and chips (Interview:PJ).

The view that education or intellectual stimulation for adults is not necessarily associated with museums confirms that the definition of museums' social role in South Africa, has not emphasised this aspect. The existence of the museum's past and present educational limitations has been well-noted and the calls made by museum workers of the Southern African Museums Association to address the problem are appropriate and timeous.

The necessity for the development and incorporation of educational programmes in museums has been made evident by the fact that interview participants exhibited an interest in learning more about certain aspects of history; for example, PJ was interested in building techniques employed by the slaves as well as their eating habits and BS expressed a desire to see more about clothing. The interest in the museum's educational potential definitely exists and consequently highlights a gap in its traditional practice.

Similarly, an interest in the archaeological process beyond the viewing of the excavated material culture, has been reflected by the community at Vergelegen through the continual visits to the excavation site by those who were allowed in the area. Further interest was also exhibited by the participation in the educational project itself. Questions during the interviews and workshops centred on the desire to know more about the circumstances of the life of the human skeleton which had been found, the method and functions for which artefacts were used, and the sharing of the participants' own experience of similar artefacts and life on the farm.

5.4. SUITABILITY OF CLIMATE FOR EDUCATIONAL PROJECT

The success or failure rate of the educational project has to be firstly interpreted in relation to its context. The fate of the educational project was influenced by certain social factors. These factors have to be seen as significant in their effect on the course of the project.

It has to be concluded that the overwhelming interest in the reburial as described in Chapter 3, was due to factors other than the archaeological factor. This accounts for the proportional disinterest shown by the majority of the community when educational workshops were attempted. This reveals, perhaps, that the scientific nature of the museum as well as archaeology does not necessarily make provision for a spiritual perspective and might therefore be more alienating because of this. For a community which is spiritually-oriented and does not have structural access to a scientific system of knowledge, this might not necessarily be attractive.

Another factor which influenced interviews was the warning by two of the participants that the farm community was very busy with work and did not have time to visit museums: "...wat hulle betref gaan dit maar net oor hulle werk, en werk, en werk." ("The only thing that concerns them is work, work and work.") Part of the content of the interviews therefore has to be interpreted with the knowledge that the goals of the researcher or educator with regard to archaeology /history/ museums were partly a response to the interviewer's own expressed interest. However, the interest which was expressed cannot totally be discounted as politeness. Instead, the genuine

interest which was expressed by some people in the community should be positively interpreted, while taking into account the nature of the social context in which the interest was expressed.

The farmworker community's previous limited access and opportunity for education outside their own schooling influenced their knowledge and experience of subjects related to history, archaeology or museums. Sometimes, the limited popularisation of these subjects through media such as television, for those members who have access to one, provided some information on these topics. Therefore their view and interest in the museum and archaeology or history, was limited by the fact that in-depth experience could not be used as a basis for these perceptions. Seven of the seventeen people were first time museum visitors at the third workshop of the educational project. This can be seen in relation to the composition of the farmworker community which is about four hundred in number. It can be interpreted that those who chose not to attend the workshop, did so because they had never visited a museum before and were therefore not interested. Another interpretation is that they had visited a museum but had been bored by the experience. In both instances the results are negative. Either way, the negative view of the museum is related to limited accessibility or a negative public relationship with museums.

The interviews, as well as the questionnaire given after the third workshop, revealed that many of the participants had either visited a museum once or twice in their lifetime, or not at all. This has shown that most museums are inaccessible to a rural community because they are situated in urban areas like Cape Town, while museums found in more rural areas, like Stellenbosch are also a distance away. Both types of museum are not directed towards the rural farmworker population, rather they are directed towards the urban middle-class or a tourist audience. Museums and historical knowledge are not very high on a community's list of priorities because of lack of opportunity. This is in sharp contrast to a middle-class urban community, whose members of which attend the museum regularly, as Mathers has shown (1992).

A specific characteristic of this case-study which inhibited the farmworkers' interest in the archaeological process and therefore the development of the educational project was the fact that the archaeological excavation site was made inaccessible to farmworkers by the farm owners. Official permission had to be obtained for the reburial and subsequent workshops held at the site, and for the farmworkers to visit there. Consequently, farmworkers who worked at the Homestead or near the excavation site and could therefore not be reprimanded for being there, were most aware of the archaeological excavation and its process. They were therefore willing to participate in the interviews and workshops.

The general attitude to archaeology on the farm was a difficult issue to address at the time when initial contact with people was being established, as knowledge and access to the archaeological site was being limited by the farm social structure. This is evident in the interview with AL who said that she was too scared to go there as she did not know whether they had permission to go there; this was said in conjunction with her desire to see the excavation, "Ek sal baie graag dit wil sien. Om te sien die grawe. Ek hou van sulke werke." ("I would like to see it very much. To see the dig. I like such things.") All showed concern that permission had been obtained for the workshop. Another interviewee, DL, did not know about the excavations at all.

This could partly explain the situation that many people were not interested in the excavation on the farm because of lack of access and knowledge of the excavation itself. This has implications for the archaeological excavation methodology itself as well as the nature of the relationship between archaeologists and the businesses who "contract" them or the business with or through which the archaeologist has to work. Although this would probably not be the case in other educational projects, it has to be noted that only limited interest in archaeological excavation sites can be expressed and developed in a climate where interest is actively discouraged by the "owners" of the site.

The case-study was greatly influenced by the fact that the participants were bound to a farm working schedule and therefore did not have leisure time into

which workshops could be slotted easily. The times that the workers did have at their disposal, were quite heavily scheduled to accommodate family-time or planned community events such as rugby matches or church prayer meetings. The fact that the schedule is organised so tightly between work and leisure and does not generally cater for educational activities such as archaeology or museum workshops limits the community's willingness to participate in them. The notion of leisure time, so prevalent in Western museum studies, has to be re-examined in terms of the rural farmworker.

5.5 ACADEMIC NATURE OF EDUCATIONAL PROJECT

The educational project which evolved later and separately from the archaeological excavation project was conceived as totally independent of the archaeological excavation project and was reflected to the farmworkers as such. However, there were informal links with the academic project in that, the interviews about the reburial event conducted by the academic project were used to inform the case-study. Also, the educational project made use of artefacts excavated by the archaeologist and related research information. This informal link was essential to the existence of the educational workshops. The educational programme could thus be regarded as having an academic bias; this influenced the process of the educational project, to a certain extent.

The essentially academic nature of the academic archaeological excavation project at Vergelegen also has to be taken into account. Although an educational component had been planned by the excavation project designers, this was directed towards the broader public and did not make provision for interest from the community living on the farm itself (See Appendix 4). This is not uncommon for educational archaeological projects in general: school or student groups are the usual target audience. The interest that was expressed by the farmworkers could not be fully catered for and developed with mere hindsight. In this case, however, the manner in which the initial academic project was designed, turned out to be disadvantageous for the farmworker community because it made no provision for their interest and this was carried into the assumptions in the conception of the educational project. The educational project which was developed only after interest was

expressed by the farmworker community in the reburial of the skeleton was limited to an extent by its "rescue (educational-) archaeology" nature.

Because the interviews, after the change of direction, were intended to investigate the nature of the community's interest in an archaeological/museum educational project, the educational project can be regarded as comprising an essential investigative component. This investigative component was implicitly prioritised above the purely educational aspect of the project. This was unavoidable, as results of the investigative interviews were necessary to reveal why a more thorough knowledge of the community's perceptions of history, archaeology and museums had to be gleaned before educational workshops as envisaged initially should be carried out.

One factor which partly influenced the content of the interviews and the positive message of interest received from some members of the community has to be recognised as the power of the authoritative voice of the academic institution whether it be university or museum. This was most apparent in an interview with someone who knew very little about the archaeological excavation, but was willing to be interviewed. Her question after the interview was: "Maar dink jy dis iets goed soos ek gepraat het nou?" (after giving her approval of the reburial of the skeleton)- ("But do you think what I just said was good?"). It was necessary that this authoritative voice be equalised with the community's voice through an empowering educational model, so as to balance the success potential of the project.

Once the effect on the educational project of the above factors became apparent, the change of direction was executed. The idea of using the aims and goals expressed in interviews to develop the workshop programme was based on the Freirean concept of focussing on a process without expecting the "right" predetermined answers (Hope and Timmel 1984). The educational project was intended to concentrate on process rather than product and therefore sought to find, through the interviews, the aims and goals which would interest the community members who wanted to be involved. Consequently, the direction of the workshops was partly dependent on the nature of the community's expressed interest as reflected in interviews. This

in some ways also undermined the development of the educational project in that there was no concrete evidence of an end-product and because the need for a process of empowerment was in opposition to the idea of obtaining definite decisions by the community itself about what was expected from the project.

Although the use of this concept based on Freirean theory highlighted the importance of the perceptions of the learning community, it did not present a solution for, or even question the social conditions which influenced these perceptions. The unchanging social conditions would continue to influence the perceptions and experience of the community and thus influence the fate of the educational project.

The academic nature of the subject of archaeology/history in this educational project had been assumed to be the first priority, because of the researcher's background in the academic rather than educational aspect of the project. This research-oriented bias (in comparison to an educational perspective), soon became apparent through the community's non-attendance at initial workshops, and had to be rectified.

Interviews and discussions with some participants and non-attendance at the first workshops in favour of sporting events showed that learning about archaeology/history was not the first priority for the community. Entertainment was. This was proved by an attendance of about 40 people at a slide-show workshop after a 7-person attendance at what was advertised as a workshop. The advertisement of a trip to a museum was also well-received as a family event. This points to the conclusion that an entertainment aspect has to be incorporated into any educational programme. Interest can be aroused and sustained this way.

The end-result of workshops can be seen as a partial success in that they did encourage some interest in archaeology and museums by some people in a community. The process emphasised the involvement and interest of the relevant community, one which was connected to the archaeological process in that they lived near the excavation site. This is in contrast to most archaeological educational projects which tend to aim at the general public or

school groups. The nature of the educational project consisting of interviews as well as workshops allowed people to express their own ideas about the archaeological process to a certain extent. The emphasis on process instead of the product, allowed the project to change direction, when success was not forthcoming according to the initial plan.

The educational project also failed in some aspects. The initial project, based on an academic perspective, was directed at a community with a level of experience and education which assumed a knowledge of museums and the functions of archaeology. This assumption carried through to an expectation of knowledge and experience of history which is more appropriate to people who have frequent access to museums and academic resources. The time period allotted for the research did not make provision for developing a relationship with the community, which would facilitate a fully active participation by the community. Too little was known about the community's needs and interests. Linked to this, the interview and workshops were not structured to allow for an emphasis which provided an in-depth development of the community's relationship to archaeology. The original plan for the educational project did not foresee the effects of the community's economic and social situation on the course of the project in terms of access, finance, perspective of history. Although the project could change direction to accommodate some of these factors, the initial plans did limit the nature of the structure of the later workshops.

It has to be acknowledged that the structure of the educational programme failed to a certain extent to develop the interest first exhibited in the reburial and archaeological excavation. This failure resulted partly from a lack of perception of the factors influencing the levels of interest, perceptions of historical process and previous experiences of the rural community. Although the archaeology and museum professions in South Africa have emphasised community-orientation, this perspective has largely remained focussed on an urbanised, educated audience. Consequently, perspectives and programmes have been developed along urban-oriented, middle-class-oriented lines.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

6.1. IMPLICATIONS OF THE CASE-STUDY

From the results of the case-study, it can be concluded that the nature of social and economic factors in South African society preclude specific communities, like the one at Vergelegen, from benefiting directly from the archaeology and museum resources which are available. These communities are often those which have been marginalised by the economic structure or former Apartheid laws and include people in rural areas and "black" townships. Lack of access has caused a lack of sufficient knowledge about the potential role of archaeology or museums in society.

Unlike countries in Western Europe and the United States of America, where oppressed or marginalised communities have become more vociferous in mobilising for demands for representation of their community's own history, the level of politicisation of most oppressed South African communities is relatively narrow. This has undoubtedly been influenced by the repressive structure of society, evident in the example of the prohibition of visiting the archaeological site at Vergelegen. Consequently, there has been no agitation for a more accountable archaeology or museum by society. Rather, the entertainment aspect of the museum, rather than its social role, is highlighted.

Similarly, the dearth in interest and knowledge of the community's history on the farm reflects a lack of community or class consciousness and the lack of a popular memory. The term "history" is associated with the history of the farm's owners and although relatively more is known about the owners' history than that of the farmworkers, little interest has been exhibited in this knowledge. This lack of interest in the community's history has been actively promoted by the teaching of a school history promoting an ideology of apartheid racism within the state school system which most rural children attend. This has been in operation for the last four decades. Apartheid

history, it has generally been accepted, actively set out to exclude and derogate the cultural and biological ancestors of specific communities in South Africa. The histories of communities, who were systematically brought to South Africa as slaves as well as peoples who were not originally from Europe, were and are still the victims of this system.

Because the reclamation of such excluded histories is such a fledgling movement with an increase in support only picking up among academics in the last few years, the popularisation of any recent academic knowledge has not yet happened on a large scale, although groups of historians and archaeologists have attempted this. The lack of popular knowledge runs parallel to the level of politicisation of various communities like the one at Vergelegen in that lack of access has led to active disempowerment.

Similarly, the inaccessibility of museums and their collections in general, has limited the educational potential of the type of material artefacts which are displayed in traditional museums to their novelty value. Because, workshop participants were unfamiliar with many of the artefacts exhibited at the museum, their capacity to interpret it was limited to the novelty and foreign nature of the displayed objects. Clearly, the community has also perceived that traditional museums have been intended for urban or foreign tourists and not themselves. This unfamiliarity with display artefacts can be linked back to Porter's assertion that the experience of the lower-educated, marginalised classes are seldom reflected in museum collections (1983:104) and thus cause the alienation of these classes.

6.2. IMPLICATIONS FOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL PRACTICE

An archaeology or history that is nominally considered by most historians, archaeologists or museum staff to be a possession of and accessible to all communities, evidently does not exist in practice when the above example of the structural exclusion of the community from archaeological sites on the farm which they live is noted. The fact that people from the farmworker community were cautious about traversing an area where they were usually forbidden by the owners of the farm, cannot be regarded as disconnected to issues in archaeology and other related disciplines which claim to be socially

aware. However, literature has reflected a trend towards a more community-oriented, socially aware practice. It is these issues of inaccessibility experienced by some communities which have to be addressed by these socially aware disciplines. Unlike the urban areas, where there are many museums which are state-subsidised and therefore accessible to a broader section of the public, museums in rural areas tend to be owned by private concerns like the wine-farm museum industry; access is thus limited to potential clients. An increasing trend towards less state-funded museums and more privately-funded educational programmes which include museums is evident in the South Africa of today. This trend has been noted and approved by both Wilmot(1986b) and Hummel(1992).

Community perceptions evident in the case-study coincided with common perceptions held by the broader community in general that archaeology is concerned with activities such as treasure-hunting, as has been noted by Ritchie (1990;45). The cultivation of a better informed popular knowledge about archaeology and the development of a popular memory is essential. This can be accomplished through educational programmes, which emphasise archaeology as a discipline utilising systematic scientific methodology with which to interpret and reconstruct historical social processes, instead of a discipline in which people hunt for treasure. As Parkington and Smith(1986) have noted archaeology as a discipline enjoys relatively little popular support from South African society as a whole. They see a reflection of this situation in the constitution of the membership of the South African Archaeological Society. With improved educational programmes which emphasise historical processes rather than the material aspect of archaeology, the discipline might have a chance of surviving as a popular one, which would improve the reproduction potential of the academic discipline, the need for which has been noted by Deacon (1988).

As the failure of the initial education programme at Vergelegen has shown, the need for archaeological practice to be restructured to encompass an awareness of the community's perspective and perception of historical process should be provided for in the project proposal. In this way knowledge and decision-making during the project should, at the least, have made provision for an expression of community interests. Provision for this

in future projects would facilitate the creation of an archaeology which can be viewed as socially aware because socio-economic, political aspects of archaeological practice will necessarily have to be borne in mind in the development of research strategies.

6.3 THE EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

An archaeological educational model which is concerned with a specific community as participants cannot be successful if the educator is unfamiliar of the need, interests and frames of reference of the community itself. The educational component has to be fully informed of the aims, process and interpretations of the research component, not only the interpretive end-result of the research. The educator should also be aware of the community's level of access to education, in order to understand the levels of accessibility and experience of museums and archaeological information and how these will influence perceptions and response to the educational process.

Educational projects about archaeology are, after all, about the process of investigation, not about the product. It is generally the product of research which receives attention in popularisation projects. Like museums, archaeological educational projects still emphasise the physical rather than the interpretive side of the process.

6.4. COMMUNITY SITUATION

The social structure which allows only specific communities to have access to museums and archaeology education programmes is often linked and influenced by physical factors. As Khan (1992:5) has noted, the structure of the economy and legislation like the Group Areas Act involved forced removal of whole communities. These factors have forced certain communities to remain in rural areas or "labour-pool" townships and disallowed their residence in urban areas. The communities affected by this situation have consequently been unable to have access to urban amenities like museums, entertainment centres and the like. The case-study above has reflected this situation by the fact that many people on the farm had never visited a museum. This also influenced strongly the number of people which

participated in the workshop itself; many people preferred to use their leisure-time in familiar past-times, rather than an unfamiliar one. This situation can be interpreted by the fact that unfamiliarity leads to non-participation.

One aspect of the case-study which affects participation in museums is the situation where specific communities' participation, like the one involved in the case-study, is affected by its physical situation. The rural community's invisibility to the museum discipline has meant that museums have left them unconsidered in its activities. This consequently limits the community's response to the museum because they have not been specifically targeted as an audience by the museum designer.

An important aspect of the archaeological process which emerged during the case-study focussed on the accessibility of the archaeological site itself and issues of ownership. Archaeology is defined as being an investigation of the past ways of living of various communities in society, for example, a hunter-gatherer society living a few centuries ago. However, the economic system which prevails in South Africa, has influenced a situation whereby the biological or cultural descendants of these communities seldom have access to the sites occupied by their ancestors. Land-sites are generally owned by the state or the private or corporate sector. Archaeologists have to take serious cognisance of this situation, acknowledging that the community whose history they are studying, will seldom have access, or the means to show an active interest in the archaeological process, as was evident in the case-study. The individual archaeologists' personal beliefs cannot be relied upon to stimulate and recognise community interest. This education or community relationship needs to be incorporated into the research strategy. This kind of structure would ensure a practice that would be socially aware and sensitive to the community's needs, instead of only providing for the interest of the site's "legal" owners.

Ritchie's notion of a people's archaeology - "an empowering of communities so that they develop the ability to produce knowledge and establish for themselves a popular memory" (1990:48) is an idealistic one if the nature of archaeology as a still primarily middle-class pastime is accepted and not challenged. Communities like rural farmworkers and the urban working-

classes do not have the means whereby material culture is easily accessible. Archaeological education programmes generally target middle-class school children in urban areas - these sectors of society do not have problems with distance, transport and a relative lack of access to media and communication networks. In order to reach these relatively disadvantaged audience, archaeological educational programmes will have to be developed to incorporate solutions to the above-mentioned factors. The people's archaeology which Ritchie describes still assumes that the audience towards which it is directed, has access to a relatively successful education system. The question arises: should educational programmes be limited to those who have access to an education which is sufficiently reasonable to prepare them for it? According to the study for a projected audience by van Zyl(1987), museum workers foresee an audience comprised of the educated sector only, while not making provision for the lower educated sector.

In conjunction with the above factors, archaeology - unlike history (See Witz, 1988) cannot be practised by the community without considerable financial resources. People's history as described by Witz utilises the resources and talents of the community; very little is needed beyond pen, paper, skill and popular memory. In archaeology, the resources required are more sophisticated. Methods of excavating, surveying, classifying and interpreting are systematically developed and thus does not make provision for unsupervised practice. Communities would be unable to make independent decisions and interpretations without the constant presence of a trained archaeologist. Law in South Africa also makes it illegal for the public to remove an object which can be identified as an archaeological artefact to be removed from its site. Contrary to the popular image, the science of archaeology does not only find its base in an interpretation of the physical or functional value of the artefact that is excavated. Yet traditionally, material culture has been displayed to relay that message. In reality, archaeology involves the interpretation of historical process which are pointed to by the artefact's context. Educational projects, in general, involve only the excavation process, while most of the interpretation occurs post-excavation.

It is my conclusion that a people's archaeology lies not within educating participants about archaeological excavation method, but rather in developing

workshop structures which recreate historical process and so allow for interpretation of the artefact's context. This recreation would encourage the building of a popular memory which is so lacking among oppressed communities. Because the museum is the traditional medium for archaeology and the material culture which it excavates, it is in this area, that archaeologists and educators should concentrate. An exhibition of artefacts structured within historical context so as to encourage interpretation by participants would provide a more informed knowledge of the broader aims of archaeology than participation in an excavation dig, although the latter too has some educational value.

Relations between the university archaeologist and the institution or museum which will eventually use the research results for educative purposes need to be structured more closely, as has been encouraged by de Villiers(1985). Greater accessibility on both sides should determine that the emphasis of the research project would be influenced by the needs of the educational component and vice versa.

The case-study has shown that there can be a large gap between the academic's concept of research popularisation and the needs of a specific community in terms of archaeology and museums. Whereas those in the academic world view historical knowledge as a priority, community members who belong to a different socio-economic group and educational levels might have a different priority.

Archaeologists and historians have viewed the issue of slavery in the Western Cape as important in the last two decades. This and the study the power relations between slaves and owners in colonial times has been the focus of the excavation at Vergelegen. However, when the topic of slaves and slavery was presented through artefacts and visual material in workshops, the community tended to focus more on their own past experience of objects similar to the archaeological artefacts than on the experience of historical significance of slavery. The workshop participants did not readily recognise a connection to the history of slavery, rather they were interested more particularly in their own recent past and could participate from the latter basis rather than the basis decided on by academic research. Although the non-

existence of a popular memory has been noted, the potential for its development can be seen in the eagerness to relate the recent past. This development has important implications for the representation of history through visual material and material culture. An interpretation of the above-mentioned response could be that the audience needs to be able to make a connection between the presentation material and their own experience in order to be introduced to new learning material. This has to be incorporated into displays. Connections between the material object and the participating audience's experience and relationship with it has to be facilitated *before* the relationship between the artefact and its producers and utilisers in the past can be exposed, interpreted and reconstructed.

This tendency of non-participation has been noted by Khan who proposes

"the necessity of relating heritage conservation to basic needs, such as housing and basic rights, such as the right to education. Conservationists tend to forget that conservation issues are rooted in a socio-economic and political context, and that consequently, strategies to elicit support from the public should take cognisance of their realities" (1992:12).

Low participation in the educational project at Vergelegen can also be seen as due to a structural limitation. As Dolores Root(1992) has observed of a case-study in Massachusetts, participants from groups which have traditionally been marginalised or made invisible in museum projects were invited to participate in a new "multi-cultural" museum. But these groups chose often chose not to participate because the structure of the project itself had often been developed or decided without their participation. Root cites the examples of Lynn Woods as well as Taunton Common (1992:3-4), where marginalised groups were invited to participate but were unable to do so because the chosen topic or method of participation did not recognise their own experience.

This observation is important for those working in museum outreach programmes, particularly those who have in principle decided to redress the

situation where "black" people generally do not visit museums. It would be better to involve the community in projects in which the participation by groups are structured into the planning and survey stages of the programmes so as to facilitate a better knowledge of the community's experience, needs and preferred method of participation. Because in South Africa, traditionally oppressed groups have been marginalised and polarised by legislation, members have often not been permitted or welcome to participate. Consequently, this has influenced the direction in which "mainstream" events and notions of "culture" have developed. This "mainstream" method of working is often foreign and alienating to marginalised groups.

6.4. MUSEUM METHOD

As Mathers' study (1992) has reiterated, in urban areas of South Africa as in Europe and America, it is those people with high economic status and level of education who are associated with frequent museum visiting. Frequent museum visiting has to be associated with an understanding of the museums dynamic and purpose. Mathers cites Merriman's conclusion that museums are inaccessible and unattractive to different socio-economic groups because the vocabulary of the museum practise is understood only by those who have been educated to understand its dynamic (1992:3). This familiarity with the museum's syntax cannot be assumed of the rural farmworker. For the farmworker, the museum's primary attraction lies in its ability to exhibit something unusual and novel. This perception is reflected in interviews which showed that many of the participants in the case-study attended the reburial, the workshops and the museum because of curiosity.

The marginalisation of this project was partly influenced by the economic status of the community group which was the focus of the case-study. Because rural farmworkers are generally low on the economic scale, they are not generally viable as consumers to those in the profit-making business. This is an important point to note when it is considered that people in the history representation business such as museums are having to increasingly consider their potential funding needs (Hummel,1992:4). Commercial projects which deal in historical representation are becoming a popular prospect in South Africa and seems likely to increase in the future.. But as

Worden (1992) has shown in his study of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront complex in Cape Town, these historical entertainment centres are usually geared toward and created with the middle-classes in mind. Here again, if structural provision is not created, it seems the lower income classes will yet again be subject to marginalisation.

The fact that the case-study target-group at Vergelegen was a marginalised one in society meant that members came with a experience of specific economic circumstance. This meant that the project had to take into consideration whether participation would be possible if workshops necessitated travelling and admission costs; if participants could afford to pay and whether a trip to a museum would be considered a financially worthwhile expense. This links to the increasing situation where museums charge an entrance fee. This has to be noted as contributing to non-participation by certain communities, although those who set the fees might themselves feel that fees are nominal and make no financial impact. This also affects whether families can afford to visit museums and are catered for by the fee charge.

Increasingly, the trend internationally has been directed towards the more commercial museum. This has been partly in response to and in competition with the growth of other entertainment industries like malls, theme and amusement parks (Morton, 1983:137). This trend has influenced the accent of the museum's aim to be placed on leisure priorities. Mathers has noted that leisure means different things to different people. (Mathers,1992:1) This case-study shows that a rural community seeks family entertainment in museum, and not the educational aspect, unlike in Mathers' study, where the urban township youth who have perhaps, in comparison, have been exposed to a different kind of education. In order to cultivate and satisfy this kind of audience, a museum has to provide family activities, where family value for money is accessible. Many farmworkers do not have the freedom to spend money on the "nominal" fee which many museums have instituted over recent years.

In order for museums to be able to reach a rural audience effectively, the development of more exhibits which are mobile - like the Albany Museum mobile exhibition - or accessible to rural audiences, is necessary. These

should, like archaeology educational programmes, be structured with an awareness of farmworker audiences and their interests. In contrast to the traditional museum exhibit which generally emphasises the unusual artefact, these should make use of the artefact with which the "ordinary" community is familiar and can relate. This need has been emphasised by the gap between academic priority and community perception mentioned earlier in this chapter. Museums need to extend their acquisition strategies to acquiring the ordinary of familiar artefact, of which are stored in abundance by university archaeologists, or display the ones they do have. A greater majority of the community will be able to relate to these objects than to the rare or valuable. This would redress the situation as Porter sees it: in most museums the possessions and objects of the less advantaged classes are underrepresented or omitted, thus making these classes invisible by association (1983:104). This structural change would prioritise the historical process, rather than the functional or physical aspect of the artefact itself.

6.5. IMPLICATIONS FOR MUSEUM ROLE

The traditional definition of a museum is one which emphasises curatorship, preservation, collection and interpretation of material culture. This definition had been unchallenged in South Africa until about 1987 when the educational aspect of the definition came under debate by the museum profession. Therefore, most museums in South Africa are still under-developed educationally. For instance, the traditional South African museum exhibit still speaks with the authority of the curator, although current trends in the museum discipline calls for decentralisation of the museum authority (Davison; 1991:99). The traditional museum emphasises material culture as objects and therefore represents their value, rather than their relationship to society, as has been noted by Porter(1983:13). A cursory glance at any catalogue published by the South African Cultural History Museum or its numerous satellites, supports this view.

When it comes to the museum situation, it is true that only the products of archaeology are exhibited and not the process of archaeology or general acquisition itself. This emphasis on the artefact in preference to the process can be seen in the museum audience's response to the exhibits, that is, they

are interested in the objects themselves and learnt about their worth, but remain unaware of the museum process or the archaeological process.

The implications for museums, which tend to focus on the origin and materiality of the object itself rather than how the audience experiences the object from their own experience are many. Those museologists who have noted the need for an open-ended museum discourse (Davison, 1991:172, Vergunst, 1992:18, Brown et al, 1992) in preference to a closed one have a strong argument. This argument cannot be put into practice however, without an understanding that for the museum visitor, the popular archaeology student, their own experience of the object is the first and perhaps most powerful mediator of any knowledge about the object's past significance.

Responses in the workshops have indicated the object-centred focus employed by the traditional South African Museum, could be more attractive to audiences if tempered with a greater degree of physical accessibility to the artefacts. A space created for the expression of the audience's interpretation manifested in an educator's listening ear or graffiti wall seems to be what participants need in a museum.

The educational aspect of archaeology needs to take into account its media image and the emphasis which is currently placed on the importance of the artefact. For educational purposes archaeology needs to be linked strongly to its historical context and should be presented as a *package*, so that the artefact does not become separated from the historical process as has been evident in current museum practice, where museum visitors receive the message that the origin, function or aesthetic value is the most important aspect of the museum display.

Connected to this priority, is the observation that people, when visiting a museum, connect the exhibition to experiences in their own lives. Learning about the value of objects in the museum was seen as a vehicle of learning how to care for objects at home.

Often, empowerment levels or the confidence to make decisions about what is learnt is connected to socio-economic situation in which people find

themselves. Literacy levels and language medium have to be considered by museums which utilise labels as an integral part of their display. These factors have to be taken into account in museums which make the decision to have community representation on their governing structures, so that yet again, specific sections of the community do not remain invisible non-participants, especially those in rural areas who also might have less access to higher education.

Davison accepts that, although international museum practice encourages an open-ended construction of meaning, in South Africa the problem of an unequal education system has taken its toll:

In these circumstances the possibility of children having an inquiring attitude to museum displays is much reduced. In many cases, museum visits are undertaken as part of the school curriculum, the visit is supervised by a teacher, and respect for the authority of school and the textbook is almost automatically transferred to museum displays and texts. If museums were to start to fulfil a creative mediating role in education, a positive attempt to change this attitude would be required (Davison, 1991: 174)

She seriously questions whether visitors brought up under these educational conditions would be confident enough to engage in independent interpretation of cultural resources. The education crisis in South Africa has led to challenges to the authoritative education model and the call for a more "equal" education coinciding with the international call for the museum to be "a means of communication" (Porter, 1983:13).

In the experience of an urban middle-class, secondary/ tertiary-educated audience, an introduction to archaeology might have occurred with a visit to a museum which would be easily accessible to the latter group. In that very act of entering the easily accessible museum and utilisation of the educational skills made accessible to them through schooling, the traditional museum audience would already be empowered to a certain extent to make decisions about the museum structure and content. This might not necessarily be true

for a rural or "traditionally" oppressed audience because of the very material obstacles presented above. These different levels of empowerment which exist in different communities inevitably affect whom and how representatives from the community for restructuring the museum are chosen. This therefore would lead to unequal representation once again, if representation is not structurally addressed to ensure that community members can learn and thus contribute on an equivalent basis. The case-study reflects that people do not have power to make decisions simply because the prohibitive access to sites and limited access to education prevents them from being empowered.

Levels of education evident in this specific rural community are not geared towards decision-making in structures like museum boards because of the South African educational system. Van Zyl's survey of a potential museum audience (1987:273) excludes anyone with less than a secondary level education and explicitly concentrates on "white" housewives and businessman, most of whom, because of the South African educational system, would have, if not a minimum of a secondary school certificate, but most likely some sort of tertiary education.

Focussing on methods of equalising each person's experiences and views influencing the exhibit, as called for by Ritchie in her definition of a people's archaeology, would be impossible in a museum structured as strictly and authoritatively as modern South African museums are.

A museum context has to be structured to accommodate what Davison sees as a "communal cultural resource (Davison 1991:173). The Vergelegen community's positive response to the unstructured environment of the workshop, in comparison to the reverent silence which greeted the museum environment, emphasises the need for a display of material culture which accommodates group dialogue and active participation by the community. The less structured environment would result in a "communal cultural resource" which leaves space for working-class participants to break through the restriction of the real inaccessibility to such objects and instead express their own experience and perspective of them. As was reflected in the workshop, the experience of physical access to artefacts facilitated an expression of a working class perspective which involves working in the

houses of the middle-class and thus having a "relationship" of cleaning to the objects.

Davison has noted that viewers of museum exhibits interpret the display according to their own frames of reference (Davison, 1991;171) but fails to clearly point out that these frames of reference are sometimes significantly class-oriented. A middle-class audience-directed exhibit, though emphasising the object would assume that its projected audience would receive the functional meaning of the displayed object. However, an audience of the working-class might not be able to learn about the functional aspect of the object, restricted as it is to perceiving the object as something of unusual and financial value. As Porter has noted that the propertyless are excluded from an object-centred museum of history (Porter,1983:12), so it is true that they would see the objects in reference to their non-ownership of such objects. Perhaps for the working-class the glass separation between them and the object simulates their reality in which members of this class are separated from other material resources. The common emphasis on the object and its value, reflected in the workshop questionnaire can be interpreted as evidence of the above point.

The workshops have shown that some lessons can be learnt from Freire. A Freirean literacy learning model specifically takes note of the fact that students often have difficulty in overcoming the feeling that they are too ignorant to learn. A Freirean model would find a solution by asking people to possess words by putting in the context of their daily life. Traditional museum discourse can be seen to alienate the community from objects by the authority of the creators of the exhibits which exist (Davison 1991;171). Using a Freirean model as an example, the community should be encouraged to take possession of material culture by being encouraged to give it and express what material culture means in their own experience.

Being open means producing language that reveals what they know in the words they know it. They won't co-operate in teaching me unless the classroom treats them as respected human beings in an important project of learning. (Shor,1987:145)

The more familiar artefact used in the third workshop at the University of Cape Town venue encouraged greater freedom of expression and participation than in the museum. In the museum situation, most South Africans, having grown up in a repressive society where schooling has emphasised rote learning, the aim of a development of critical awareness is essential.

We must start from student perceptions, no matter if they are peasants in informal education or if they are workers or if they are university students. We have to start from their own levels of perceiving reality (Shor,1987:157)).

The case-study has also highlighted through the workshops, that physical, tactile accessibility to objects improves the participating audience's learning experience of the material. It elicits a great deal more interest than an object which is visibly accessible, but inaccessible in every other way in its position behind a secured glass case. This problem has been noted by de Villiers (1987:284). When participants in workshops had a tactile as well as visual experience of artefacts, there was a more popular response as well as more capable of eliciting more information and participation from the participants. The argument for accessibility of objects has often been opposed by museum curators in the past with the justification of the need to preserve valuable objects, one of the main functions of the museum. In recent years, however, archaeological research as well as museum collections have tended to deal more in common objects or artefacts, whose value would be less in danger of depreciating even if they were made accessible to the public. This trend seems to make the argument for glass case inaccessibility less valid.

As it does not bode well for Ritchie's conception of a "people's archaeology", so the results of the case-study presents problems for Davison's notion of community representation on decision-making structures of the museum. Social structures beyond the control of the educator and the archaeologist promise to be an overwhelming obstacle. Unless the rural farmworker community is relegated to its own education system, representation on

museum decision-making bodies will inevitably favour the more educated, middle-class sectors of the broader community.

6.6. WORKSHOP IMPLICATIONS

Conclusions that can be drawn from workshop results show that a community-oriented museum in South Africa (similar to proposals described and advocated by Kinard (1986), needs to provide:

- a space where the community's language is spoken;
- a space where material culture is physically accessible;
- a space where participants are encouraged to communicate with each other
- a space where the community's knowledge is permitted equality with that of the educator's;
- a space where historical process is emphasised in preference to the physicality of material culture;
- a space in which the community can see representations of itself;
- a space which entertains the whole family;
- a process where historical interpretation (e.g. of slavery) is made accessible but expressions of other people's interpretations are encouraged;
- a space where the community can claim a proud connection to the past.

These findings run parallel to results of Marilyn Hood's study of leisure time and energy in the United States of America (cited by Hooper-Greenhill, 1983:221). These are: being with people; doing something worthwhile; feeling comfortable and at ease in one's surroundings; having a challenge of new experiences; having an opportunity to learn; and participating actively. These parallels confirm the notion that museums need to provide an entertaining, educational experience in order to satisfy a broader range of people in the community.

6.7. BROADER IMPLICATIONS

Gawe and Meli, members of the African National Congress in London in 1987 asserted, "indeed, the currently hidden past will feature prominently in a future education system in South Africa, especially since it will be a system

designed by the very people who have suffered exclusion" (1987:107). This intention has been shared by many in the community in the era of negotiation towards a democratic South Africa at present. However, hopes of an archaeology or museum designed by previously excluded community groups is unlikely precisely because of a legacy of low education levels and the remnants of a repressive apartheid system which makes resources like museums inaccessible to many communities. Nevertheless, the spirit of the above statement by Gawe and Meli is one which has popular appeal while issues like the politicisation of archaeology and museums in South Africa are still under debate in certain quarters of the discipline. This case-study has shown that the debate has to be extended to incorporating issues relating to the nature of academic relations with the community, as well as a need for a clearer definition of the constitution of the community to which archaeology and museum education programmes are directed.

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INTERVIEWS:

These were conducted with:

1) Farmworker community members:

Initials are used to identify interviewee

1. JJ -.....7 March 1992
2. MP -.....7 March 1992
3. DT -.....21 March 1992
4. HL -.....9 May 1992
5. PJ -.....23 April 1992
6. BS -.....2 June 1992
7. AL -.....12 June 1996

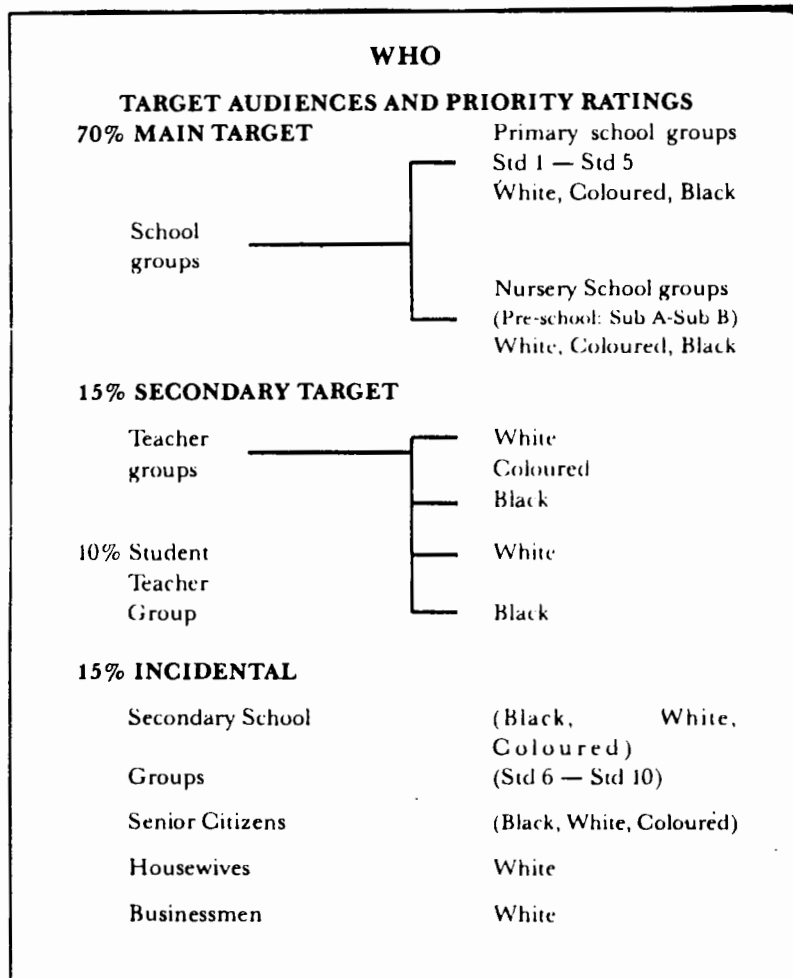
2) Academics:

1. Professor M. Hall 3 June 1992
2. Dr. A. Markell 4 June 1992

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Proposed SAMA policy

From: van Zyl, S. 1987. *Setting Standards for Museum Education* SAMIAB 17(6): 273



APPENDIX 2: VERGELEGEN AS SEEN BY THE MEDIA

Saterdag 17 Oktober 1992

Vergelegen Super 17/10/92



Die agterkant van die Vergelegen-plaashuis is 'n replika van die Paartjes Paartjes, in die jare 1920 gebou. Dit kyk oor die agtkaantige orangerie uit. Die midelokke in brons is replika van antieke Romeinse beelde wat tydens argeologiese opgrawings in Pomeijl gevind is.

Foto: Martiens van Bart

Vergelegen oor drie weke oop vir publiek

Martiens van Bart

DIE historiese wynlandgoed Vergelegen in die distrik Somerset-Wes, wat aan die einde van die agttiende eeu deur goewerneur W.A. van der Stel gevestig is, open op 4 November sy deure vir die publiek.

Dit sal die eerste keer in byna driehonderd jaar wees dat die publiek die landgoed mag betree. Sedert Anglo American Farms (Amfarms) die plaas in 1987 gekoop het, is dit geheel en al herontwikkel. Die opstal is ook sorgvuldig gerestoureer.

Die restaurasie van die opstal - wat die plaashuis, gastehuis, ou

dard behartig. Ian Ford & Genote, landskapsargitek, het die oktagonale orangerie en roostuin onder hande geneem. Die binneverlewing is deur Graham Viney.

Vergelegen was ná die terugroep van Van der Stel na Nederland weens wanbestuur van die Kaap die Goeie Hoop, in die besit van onder andere die Malans, die Theunissen, sir Lionel Phillips en die Barlowa. Die buurplaas Morgenster, wat nou in die mark is, was in Van der Stel se deel van Vergelegen.

Volgens Amfarms se nuusbrief Vergelegen Almanac (gegrond op W.A. van der Stel se Almanac, waarin hy sy bure in die boerderybestuur probeer oplei het) sal besoekers van Woensdag, 4 No-

die ingewande van Rondekop op die landgoed Ingerig, kan besoek.

Die landgoed sal elke dag van die week tussen 10 vm. en 4 nm. oop wees. Die toegang is R8 per persoon en R4 vir kinders onder twaalf jaar.

By 'n ou perdehalte is 'n parkeerterrein vir besoekers. In die stalle is 'n inligtingsentrum en geskenkwinkel ingerig. In die inligtingsentrum, ontwerp deur die argoloog dr. Ann Markell, word die geskiedenis van die landgoed en die uitleg van die opstal grafies uitgebeeld.

Van hier sal besoekers dan in die tuine kan wandel of die ou plaashuis besoek.

Naas wyn in die prosesentrum op Rondekop, sal ligte maaltye, ver-

Blyas tot Die Burger

Vergelegen oortref dalk Groot Constantia ver

Martiens van Bart

AS Anglo American Farms (Amfarms) in die "Nuwe Suid-Afrika" sy sin kry om die historiese Vergelegen-landgoed optimaal te ontwikkel soos wat hy tans nog teoreties beoog, gaan hierdie plaas wat Willem Adriaan van der Stel in 1700 uitgelê het, soos in daardie jare, Suid-Afrika se nommer een landgoed, Groot Constantia, in die skadu stel.

Amafarms bestee tans meer as R30 miljoen om die eens verwaarlooede landgoed tot modelplaas te ontwikkel wat die teiken-omsat teen 1997 van R27 miljoen te haal. Tagtig persent van sy produkte - wyn, vrugte en suiwel - gaan oorses verkoop word. Die historiese plaasopstal - wat ook die unieke agthoekige orangerie en kruketuin insluit - is feitlike klaar gerestoureer en die nuwe oktagonale wynkelder wat in die ingewande van die Rondekop teen meer as R10 miljoen ingerig is, is vandeesweek luisterryk geopen.

Dit is interessant dat die plaas wat so 'n belangrike rol in die vormingsgeskiedenis van die Afrikaner gespeel het, deur die eeue heen feitlik deurgaans in die hande van nie-Afrikaners was, en steeds is.

Willem Adriaan van der Stel was 'n doelgerigte en wetenskaplike boer wat nie geskroom het om ooglopend korrupt en despoties-onderdrukkend teen Vryburgers op te tree om sy doel te bereik om Vergelegen die spogplaas van die Kaap te maak nie. Dit het selfs die spogplaas Groot Constantia van sy vader, Goewerneur Simon van der Stel, oortref.

Die Vryburgers, wat deur sy op-

trede erg ekonomies benadeel is, saamgestaan om hom by die H. Sewentien te verkla. Vir die eer keer moes Hollander en Frar Hugenoet hul fundamentele verskeie en geskille byle om broeders die verdrukking te word. Die A. kaner het ontstaan.

In die eeuwisseling was Vergen in die besit van die Britse sir onel Philips, hegte vriend van C. John Rhodes en sir Leander St Jameson, wat hul aktief vir die van die Afrikaner beywer het.

Amafarms het hom in sy vyfj as nuwe eienaar van Vergelegen reeds radikaal van sy voorgang onderskei deur die publiek toeg tot Vergelegen te verleen. Soos Boschendal, die ander historiese Amafarms-landgoed in die Bole is dié oop poort-benadering 'n historiese deurbraak en 'n nekslag die ou kolonialistiese eksklusie teit.

Amafarms raam dat 250 000 toe te per jaar Vergelegen sal bes wanneer hy gereed is om vir die blik oopgestel te word. Dit oibaar dieselfde gees wat oor grootste deel van Europa he waar enigeen die fabelagtigste huise, kastele en paleise kan bes om eerstephands die wortels van geskiedenis te ervaar.

En wat so prysenswaardig is dat Amafarms onder leiding mnr. Nick Diemont met omsigtheid te werk gaan om die historiese plaas so getrou moontlik - al aan die hand van W.A. van der Stel se dokumentêre nalatenskap te restoureer. Selfs die ou wmeul, waarvan net 'n murasie vind is, gaan herbou word. Wgids sal mettertyd veralag doen

VERGELEGEN

MARTIENS VAN BART
 DIE restaurasie van die tuinlandskap in die historiese plaaskern van Vergelegen, agtiende eeuse spogplaas op Somerset-Wes van die omstrede Goewerneur Willem Adriaan van der Stiel, en die herbeplanning van die hele landgoed, het reeds begin. Die Kaapse landskapsargitekfirma Ian Ford en Genote, wat deur Anglo American Farms Limited vir dié doel as terrein-argitek aangestel is, het pas die eerste soot-okernoutbome aangeplant op die plek waar Van der Stiel n hele laning van dié bome laat aanplant het.

Die Kasteel die Goeie Hoop, Groot Constantia en Tuynhuys, as een van ons vier kosbaarste kultuurerfgoedere gereken word, is in volle swang met die argitekfirma Rennie en Riley, ook van Kaapstad, as argitek gemoed met die restaurasie van al die geboue. Hoewel die werk aan die tuinlandskap eers behoorlik op dreef kan kom wanneer die restaurasie van die geboue voltooi is, kon sekere fasette van die terreinrestourasie reeds begin word.

Die tweede fase van die projek omvat die algehele herbeplanning van die landboukundige deel van die plaas van 3 000 ha. Dit is die hervestiging van die plaaswerkershuise, bestuurders- en voormanshuise en

moderne plaasgeboue, die verlegging van plaaspaie en die algehele herbeplanning van die bodembenuutting.

Die doel hiermee is eerstens om die historiese plaas van die res van die plaas (met bufferstroke) af te sonder, sodat dit aan die publiek oopgestel kan word sonder om die plaasbedrywighede te ontwrig. Ten tweede moet die bodembenuutting herbeplan word om die plaas so ekonomies lewensvatbaar as moontlik te maak.

Volgens mnr. Ford, wat die projek die opwindendste, interessantste van sy loopbaan beskou, benader hy en sy vennote hul taak met die grootste omsigtigheid. Hy is vol lof vir Amfarms se sensitiewe benadering tot die projek. Die maatskappy, wat die plaas op 24 Oktober 1987 vir R26 miljoen gekoop het, is deeglik bewus van die ontsaglike historiese waarde van Vergelegen, en tree dienooreenkomstig op, sê hy.

Daar is nog nie finaal besluit op watter tydperk die restaurasie van die historiese plaaskern gegrond sal word nie, maar in dié tydperk wil dit voorkom of dit na die uitleg aan die begin van die eeu sal wees toe die plaaskern wysig, wyntelder/biblioteek en oktagonale tuin vir die eerste keer deur die mynagnaat sir Lionel Phillips en sy vrou, lady Florence, in 1917 gerestoureer is.

Dit beteken nie dat elemente wat uit vroeër tydperke dateer, geïgnoreer of verwyder sal word nie. Die aanplanting van die twintig

spesifiek die tydperk van die *Arts and Crafts Movement*, sal as sodanig getooneer word.

In Van der Stel se tyd was dit hoofsaaklik 'n orangerie. Deur die eeue het dit verwaarloos geraak en die dubbele agtkantige muur gesloop. Lady Florence het die binneuur weer laat opbou. Reuse-kanferbome staan ook vandag in die tuin. Die groentetuin daarnaas word ook hervestig.

Ander werk wat Ian Ford en Genote reeds in die historiese gebied verrig het, is vanjaar hervestig wees.

die skoonmaak van die woud aan die westekant van die plaashuis en die skoonmaak van die oewer van die Lourensrivier wat deur die kerngebied loop. In die woud kom veral kanferbome, akkerbome en palms voor. Dooie bome en vringergewasse is al verwyder. Die vooraansig van die huis word hierdeur prominent blootgestel aan die toegangspad wat besoekers na die opstal sal gebruik. Die tuin moet teen einde vanjaar hervestig wees.

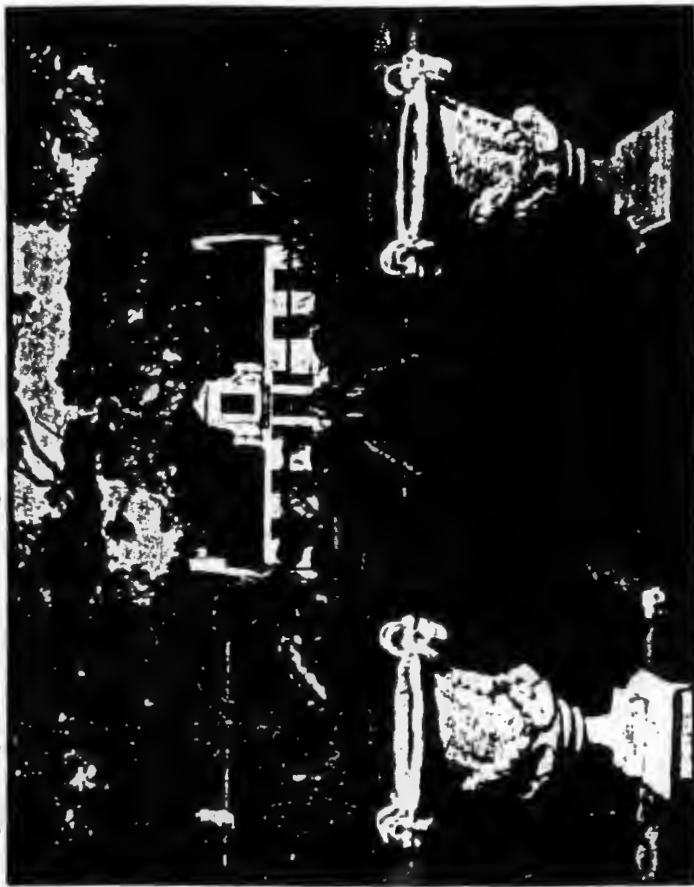
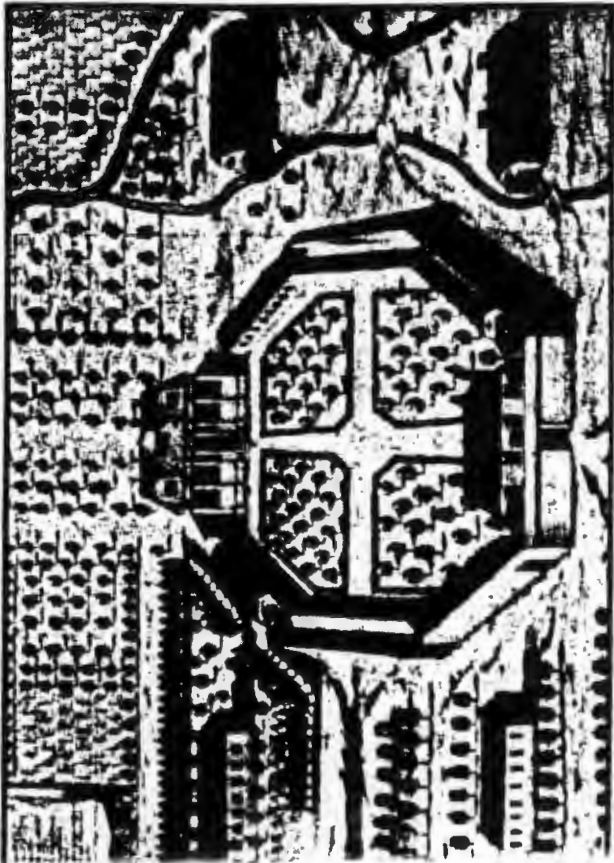


Foto: Ian Ford & Genote

DIE restourasie van die ommuurde oktagonale tuin aan die oostekant van die Vergelegen-plaashuis, het pas begin. Die sogenaamde *herbaceous path*, 'n sentrale wandelpaadjie van 50 meter met kruidagtige blombeddings aan weerskante daarvan, word nou herstel soos lady Florence Philips dit in die 1920-er jare gevestig het. Jakarandabome, kanferbome, magnolias en Australiese vlambome wat sy laat plant het, staan steeds in die tuin. Op die foto is die skoongemaakte beddings en die agterkant van die plaashuis.

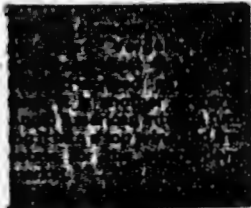


DIE voorstelling van W.A. van der Stel se plaaswerf en omgewing op Vergelegen, is in 1712 deur rebelse Vryburgers laat teken om hul aanklag van verkwisting teen hom (*Contra-deductie*) te illustreer. Die agtkantige tuin - indertyd 'n sitrusboord - is prominent. Dié historiese plaaskern - wat die geboue, tuine en boomlanings insluit - word nou vir Amfarms gerestoureer.

Die Burger 19/8/89

Cape Times 4/5/91

Vergelegen to be Cape showpiece



AT A time when owning a wine farm has become the "in" thing for Rand businessmen, the stage is set for Anglo American to turn Vergelegen in Somerset West into a showpiece wine estate with the finest wine cellar in the Western Cape, even more prestige than its current pride and joy — Boschendal.

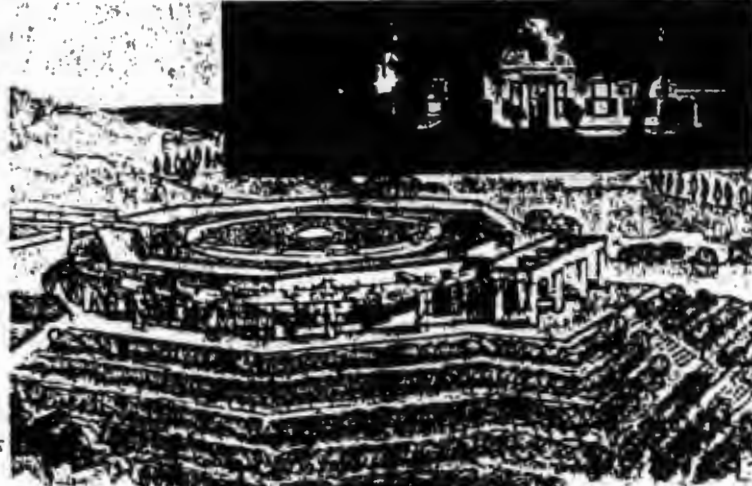
In addition to the R22 m spent in 1987 on the farm's 3 000 ha of prime arable land, the company plans to invest a further R30 m by 1997 to develop Vergelegen's wine and fruit (plums, pears, nectarines and soft citrus), for the international market.

The first vintage of noble wines — including Sauvignon blanc, Chardonnay, Pinor noir and red blends (Medoc varietals) will be produced in 1992 and the first wine ready to hit the international market in 1995.

Nick Diemont, MD of Anglo American and the driving force behind the venture, predicts that by 1997, 80% of the farm's produce will be exported and the annual turnover will have jumped to R27 m from less than R500 000 when the farm was bought from the late Charles "Punch" Barlow's son, Tom, in 1966.

Diemont, who expects the venture to pay for itself in 15 years, said: "Quite simply we are aiming for the world market. We are confident we will meet the standards of a discerning international market."

A special feature of the farm — which will bring it national as well as international curiosity — will be the winery built high on a hill but mostly underground so it will not intrude on the landscape. It is the inspired



NOT FAR OFF... An artist's impression of the planned octagonal Vergelegen Winery at Somerset West. Anglo American bought Vergelegen (inset) in 1987 and plans to turn it into a top wine and fruit estate to produce for the international market.

dream of French architects Patrick Dillon, an American born in Panama and Jean de Gastine, French but from Casablanca, Morocco. Among Dillon's credentials for the job was that he designed the dramatic new second-year barrel cellar for Chateau Laftis Rothechild.

Gravity

The octagonal winery, like the focus of a satellite dish, is the central point of an incredible amphitheatre of mountains. The view from the construction site is probably without equal anywhere in South Africa — this is one of the reasons why Boschendal's Achim von Arnim said of Vergelegen "this is not a farm, it is another country".

But apart from the aesthetics, the reason they chose this elevated situation was that it will enable winemaker Martin Meinert and his team to use gravity instead of harsh machinery to handle the wine crop.

At a media day at Vergelegen this week Meinert explained that a cardinal factor, often overlooked in today's high-tech production efforts with their

bullying technology of augers, pumps and rototanks, was that the gentlest handling produces the most elegant wines — particularly at the beginning while the skins are still in contact with the juice.

The new winery will take advantage of its height and try to use gravity where possible in handling the precious crop. Instead of pumps and Archimedean screws they will devise methods of allowing the raw materials to move from stage to stage using the mild force of gravity.

Lady Phillips

The winery has three major levels sunk 10 m into the mountain and the grapes and the visitors will both enter at the top. The harvest will move down stage by stage until, at the bottom level, the process will end in the maturation hall down in the coolest depths of Mother Earth.

The octagonal shape is no mere architectural whim. It is an historic link with the farm's first owner, Cape Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel, the genius who bought Vergelegen

in 1700, developed it and was ruined by it. As well as planting 500 000 vines, laying out orchards and orange groves, planting the magnificent camphor trees which were declared a national monument in 1942, he built an octagonal wall round his original homestead.

Years later, remains of this wall were to be discovered by the next great driving force at Vergelegen, Lady Phillips, whose husband Randolph Sir Lionel Phillips, bought the property for her in 1917 and was all but financially wiped out by his wife's restless energy and determination to restore the property. Florence Phillips pulled out all the wine — believing that there was "already too much bad wine in the Cape".

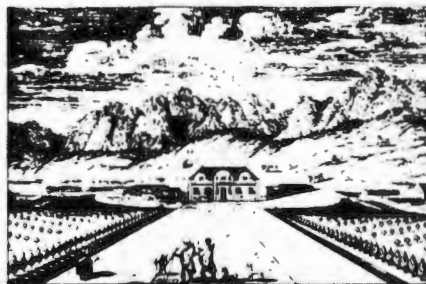
The farm's next owners, Charles "Punch" Barlow and his wife Cynthia, who bought Vergelegen in 1941 began planting vines on a small scale but after their prize Jersey herd was all but wiped out by eating poisoned dairy meal, the Barlows concentrated on fruit farming.

When Tom Barlow took over the running of the farm in 1966 he proceeded to eradicate all the vines. This has left the way open for Anglo to put its specific style and stamp on Vergelegen's vines and wine-making on virtually a clean slate. The oldest vines on the farm are barely two years old.

One another aspect of life on Vergelegen which deserves mention is that it is Anglo's intend policy for the labourers to own their own homes.

APPENDIX 3: VERGELEGEN INFORMATION LEAFLETS

WELCOME TO VERGELEGEN



WE HOPE YOU WILL ENJOY YOUR VISIT AND WOULD LIKE TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO THE MAP BELOW WHICH HIGHLIGHTS AREAS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST:

- THE INTERPRETIVE CENTRE
- WINE-TASTING ROOM (CLOSED ON SUNDAYS)
- OCTAGONAL AND ROSE GARDENS
- THE HISTORIC OAK AND CAMPHOR TREES
- THE HOMESTEAD (OPEN TO VISITORS EXCEPT DURING PRIVATE FUNCTIONS)
- THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

LIGHT LUNCHES AND REFRESHMENTS ARE SERVED AT THE LADY PHILLIPS TEA GARDEN.

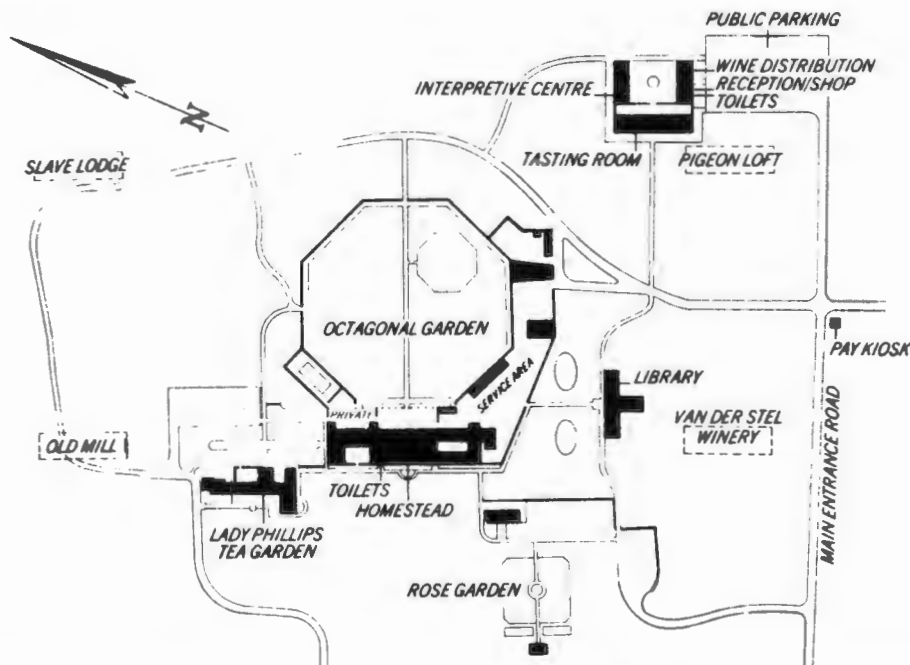
VISITING HOURS: 09:30 – 16:00 DAILY IN SEASON

ADMISSION:

ADULTS R6,00

PENSIONERS AND CHILDREN UNDER 12 R4,00

PLEASE DO NOT LITTER, PICK FLOWERS OR LIGHT FIRES. PICNICKING IS NOT PERMITTED.



NB: VERGELEGEN ESTATE IS A FULLY OPERATIONAL FARM. ALL VISITORS WHO ENTER THE ESTATE DO SO AT THEIR OWN RISK.

VERGELEGEN

ANNO
1700

ALMANAC

SPRING 1992



Wrought-iron de jony were used to link the walls and dress this Anglo-Indian four poster bed.

Vergelegen's historic core opens to public

Almost 300 years after being granted to its first owner, Willem Adriaan van der Stel, Vergelegen Estate, situated in the beautiful Lourens River Valley on the outskirts of Somerset West, is now open to the public.

Since its purchase by Anglo American Farms Ltd in 1987, the estate has undergone meticulous restoration and refurbishment. Today the historic homestead — comprising the homestead and its magnificent surrounds — is as beautiful and authentic as ever any time since the Van der Stel era.

Architects

Restoration architect, John Rennie, of Rennie and Gordon, painstakingly researched the history of the estate prior to undertaking the restoration.

Today the homestead and its beautiful sur-

rounds bear the unmistakable stamp of the era of Sir Lionel and Lady Phillips who were responsible for the previous major restoration following their purchase of the property in 1917. They had employed Walgate and Ellsworth as architects for refurbishing and extending what they described as an uninhabitable ruin of a house purchased for their retirement.

Previously, in succession to Willem Adriaan, Vergelegen had been owned by the Malan family and the Theunissens, who were there for a century. The most recent owners were two generations of Barlows.

In order to retain and enhance the beauty of the gardens and grounds, Amfarms briefed landscape architect Ian Ford to continue the work started by Willem Adriaan and continued by other



The north entrance facade of the guest suites.

owners. An aspect considered particularly important was the formal octagonal garden, initiated by Lady Phillips and her gardener, Hanson, brought

Continued overleaf

Vergelegen's historic core opens to public

Continued from page 1

out from England specifically for this purpose. It was a tradition carried on by Mrs Cynthia Barlow and in later years by Tom and Ilse Barlow.

The magnificent, newly-planted rose garden, with more than 800 rose bushes, stands on the site of the old tennis court. Mr Ford has also designed a formal "white" garden which leads from the north entrance of the house to the ruins of Van der Stel's original water mill.

The interiors were entrusted to Graham Viney with a brief to reflect the elegance of the Phillips' era. The main H and the library are still to be finished — the objective being to follow as authentically as possible the impeccable taste of Lady Phillips.

The residential wing, completed by Lady Phillips in 1923, has been remodelled to provide four comfortable, country-house style guest suites, two of which have been ingeniously accommodated in the roof — and an elegant but simple breakfast room. These suites will be used to continue the tradition at Vergelegen over its long history of providing hospitality for some of the Cape's most illustrious visitors.

Visitors

On entering the estate the visitor will be guided to the new parking area adjacent to the old stables, in one of which a reception area and gift shop have been established.

The Interpretative Centre, housed in the north stable and planned by archaeologist Dr Ann Markell, will graphically explain the history of Vergelegen to visitors. They will then be free to wander through the beautiful grounds, view the restored Homestead and relax in the Lady Phillips Tea Garden.

The Tea Garden, which has been established in one of the original guest cottages erected by Lady Phillips, overlooks the croquet court. Light lunches, teas and coffees will be served and visitors will also be able to enjoy a glass or two of the first wines made and bottled in the new winery.

Details

The estate will open its gates to the public on Wednesday November 4 1992 and will be open 7 days a week in holiday season and Wednesday to Sunday out of season. Hours of admission will be between 10:00 and 16:00.

An entry fee of R6,00 per adult and R4,00 per

child under 12 years of age will give visitors access to the Interpretative Centre, the Homestead, gardens and grounds as well as a wine tasting.



East facing stoep adjoining guest suites.



H. Barber oils were used to decorate the downstairs sitting room.

APPENDIX 4: ACADEMIC PROPOSALS

FROM : ARCHAEOLOGY AT VERGELEGEN: A PROPOSAL (1)

1. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

This proposal is for the establishment of an Archaeological Institute at Vergelegen, an early colonial estate of great historical significance some 50 kilometers from Cape Town. Through participating in excavations, teachers and senior school pupils from the full spectrum of Cape society will be offered the opportunity of discovering the nature of their early history. The Institute will be administered through the Spatial and Historical Archaeological Research Centre, University of Cape Town. Funding for the linked academic programme has been made available by the Chairman's Fund Educational Trust of the Anglo American Corporation, owners of the Vergelegen Estate. This proposal is for financial support for a bursary programme that will allow politically oppressed and educationally disadvantaged participants to attend the Institute. An average of approximately R150 000 per annum is requested over a three year period.

2. THE INSTITUTE

2.1 Archaeology and education

Understanding Vergelegen is, in itself, of considerable academic merit (as is detailed below). However, we propose to conduct our research through a programme which we believe both to have unique educational potential and particular relevance for South Africa today.

Educationalists in South Africa have long realized that the history of this country is partial. The origins and daily life of the ancestors of the majority of South Africans living in the Cape are not readily accessible through conventional documentary sources. At the same time, people of all walks of life are becoming increasingly interested in their origins. By inviting a wide spectrum of people to participate directly in unearthing Vergelegen's early history, we believe we are offering participation in the creation of history in one of the most direct ways possible.

2.2 Administration and participation

The practical operation of the Vergelegen Institute is based directly on a similar, and highly successful, programme operating at Flowerdew Hundred in Virginia, USA. Both of us have recently been associated with the Flowerdew field school.

We will run the Institute in close consultation with an advisory committee of prominent educationalists. The academic programme will be the responsibility of a project director, who will be an archaeologist with appropriate experience, and will be co-appointed with Rutgers University. The project director will administer the excavations and the analysis of artefacts, and will instruct participants.

Working closely with the advisory committee and the project director will be an Education Officer. He or she will visit schools and other educational institutions in order to co-ordinate both preparatory and follow-up seminars. The Education Officer will be responsible for the bursary scheme, and will be crucial to the overall success of the Institute.

We envisage participation in the Vergelegen excavations by groups of approximately ten students for short periods over a six month field season each year. Such would be the normal size of a field crew for excavations on any archaeological site of this size and importance. Participants will be awarded bursaries, appropriate to their circumstances, to cover the costs of their travel, accommodation and subsistence while taking part in the programme.

Weekend Argus

06/04/91

Flora the slave's reburial today

By ESANN van RENSBURG
Weekend Argus Reporter

A 250-year-old skeleton of a woman thought to be a slave will be re-buried today on Vergelegen Farm in Somerset West, once owned by Cape governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel.

University of Cape Town archaeologists discovered the skeleton in the slave lodge on the farm in November last year.

They sent it to UCT for analysis. There it was found to be the skeleton of a woman aged between 50 and 59.

UCT archaeologist Dr Ann Markell said it was assumed she was a slave, although they could not be sure.

"The wooden coffin was badly deteriorated, but her skeleton was reasonably well preserved, especially her teeth. She seemed to have died of natural causes.

"Since we found the skeleton the farmworkers have taken a keen interest in the excavation work at the slave lodge.

"They have named her Flora, but we could not establish her real identity. There are no documents to guide us."

She said the workers often came to look at the skeleton and asked the team to make sure Flora was returned after she was analysed.

"We will re-bury Flora on the farm today. Quite a few people who have left for old-age homes in the town will be fetched to attend the ceremony, which will be performed by a lay minister from the farm," Dr Markell said.

The farm's water mill is next in line for study.



REBURIAL . . . The skeleton of a woman dating back to 1750, and believed to have been slave, was reburied on the historic Vergelegen Farm in Somerset West on Saturday. Workers and community members who had affectionately nicknamed the woman "Flora" requested the reburial on the grounds that they had a cultural identity with her remain

Monday, April 3 1991, Cape Times

Picture: STEWART COLM

FROM : SOUTH : APRIL 25 - MAY 1, 1991

Community finds link with slave Flora

JUANITA PASTOR, trainee archaeologist, was at the burial this month of the remains of an 18th Century slave. She tells of a community and archeologists working together.

WILHEM ADRIAAN VAN DER STEL'S farm, Vergelegen, nestling at the foot of the Hottentot Hollands, a few kilometres outside Somerset West, presents the perfect colonial picture: a beautiful homestead surrounded by rolling green fields, giant oak and camphor trees, peacocks strutting in the garden and horses lazing in their paddocks.

This was the unlikely setting for the reburial of a slave — 250 years after she had died.

This slave woman had probably lived at the time of Willem, a governor of the Cape colony and son of Simon van der Stiel. She might even have belonged to him.

The only sign of the present was the sound of tractor engines in the distance and the new security guard employed by Anglo American, the owners of Vergelegen, who checked our credentials before we were allowed on the farm.

The reburial was held north-east of the gracious homestead and the old octagonal garden at what had once been a slave lodge built in Van der Stiel's time.

We met farmworkers on their way to the funeral. They waved and asked us if we would be there too. Older members of the community had to be fetched from their houses in outlying areas on the farm.

The wooden coffin, covered with plastic to protect it from the rain, stood on two wooden slats directly above the place where it was recovered by a University of Cape Town archaeological team led by Dr Ann Markell, a visiting American archaeologist, in November last year.

Old and young were eagerly asking about the skeleton that had been renamed "Flora": "Who was she? How old was she?"

The ceremony finally took place half an hour late, while people continued to arrive from all parts of the farm. The Anglican priest could not celebrate the ceremony because the remains had not been officially registered.

Mrs Pam Jackson, a community leader, called for silence. She thanked the archaeologists who "out of love and sensitivity" had asked them if they wanted to rebury Flora.

The occasion had reunited the community she said, particularly the older members, many of whom now live in Macassar and Eersterivier at old age homes.

"Although none of us knew Flora, we felt that it was right to give her a proper burial, which she probably did not have when she died." Everyone joined in the traditional funeral hymns as the men of the community gently lowered the coffin into the ground.

Leaves and petals were strewn over the coffin before sand was gently shovelled into the grave.

Over refreshments, the older members of the community told how the slave lodge site used to be a football field.

THE REBURIAL BROUGHT together archeologists and a farm community. Dr Markell said it was the first time archeologists and the community had discussed their mutual needs.

"When we found the skeleton in November, we noticed the extreme interest of the people on the farm. As an American, I felt that they had closer links with the skeleton than I had. Even if they were not linked by blood to the person, they were culturally linked."

Dr Markell spoke to the community, with the help of Mrs Jackson. "The people felt that Flora should be reburied."

Because Flora was of the land that they are part of, they wanted to preserve her human dignity by giving her a proper burial, she explained.

Mrs Jackson had also wanted the occasion to be a time where all generations could meet. They would be able to celebrate their links with one other and with the past.

Since the reburial everyone on the farm has become aware the archeologists' work. People often stop by to ask what has been found.

The archaeological crew has recovered old coins, pipe stems, ceramic pieces and even a cannon ball. A cobbled floor at the lodge has also been excavated.

Flora's identity will probably never be confirmed, although Dr Markell hopes "some indication will be found in church records — if she was baptised."

Scientific analysis at UCT's laboratories have shown that she was in her 50's. Arthritis aside, she was generally healthy. The state of her teeth indicates that she probably ate a lot of fish and very little starch. □

Farm workers and friends at Flora's graveside PHOTOGRAPH: R. Macdonald



APPENDIX 6: QUESTIONNAIRE 1: ACADEMICS

1. When and how did you first get to know about the possibility of archaeological excavations at Vergelegen?
2. What did the initial research proposal comprise?
3. How did you envisage the educational component? Why did you find that this component would be necessary? (Quote: "Our original intention was to carry out this research as a participatory, educational exercise, involving members of the local community in the discovery of their history.") Elaborate.
- 3b. What kind of impact did the reburial issue make on the excavation programme and on relations between archaeologists and the community, if any?
4. Why was the educational component "first to go"?
5. How do you perceive the excavation programme as it is situated in power relations on the farm?
6. What kind of results do you see for the archaeological excavation; how will the knowledge gained be used?
7. What has happened to the idea of a museum to exhibit archaeological finds on the farm? Why do you think the owners place so much/little priority on the museum?

QUESTIONNAIRE 2: FARMWORKERS

Questionnaire

Baie van die plaasmense sê dat hulle daar waar hulle die opgrawings nou doen baie keer rondgeloop het, maar dat hulle nooit kon droom dat daar lank gelede 'n slawenshuis op daai plek was nie en dat hulle die geraamte daar sou vind nie. Hoe voel jy daarvoor?

1. Het u enige belangstelling in geskiedenis of die "dig" wat nou op Vergelegen plaasvind? Was u by die herbegraving?
2. Het u enige van die dinge wat hulle op die "dig" uitgrawe gesien? Hoe sou jy voel as dit aan die plaasmense bekikbaar om te sien gemaak kan word?
3. Wat dink u van die museum/interpretive centre wat Anglo op die plaas aan die publiek wil oopmaak? Hoe sal dit u plaaslewe verander?
4. Dink u dat u dit sal wil besoek? Die ander mense? Wat sal u he moet in 'n museum op Vergelegen wees?
5. Watter nut het die dig vir die plaasmense, dink u?

Hoe sal u voel om so 'n paar dae of Saterdag in die maand met my oor koffie en beskuit saam te praat en te dink om 'n video of 'n klein pamflet oor wat die plaasmense oor archaeologie voel en dink saam te maak?





APPENDIX 8: MUSEUM QUESTIONNAIRE

Het u enige ander museums vantevore besoek?

Warrvan hou u in die museum?

Waarvan hou u nie van nie, in die museum?

Beskrywe die atmosfeer in die museum soos u dit ervaar; hoe voel u in die museum?

Wat het u in die museum geleer?

APPENDIX 9: INTERVIEW EXTRACTS

- HL: Niemand het belanggestel nie. Hulle't maar net gehoor, hulle't nie geweet wat beteken die naam "argeoloog", jy weet. Hulle't nie geweet wat beteken dit nie. En nadat hulle nou die geraamte uitgegrawe het, toe hoor die mense mos nou daarvan. Dis toe dat hulle, van hulle so, so belang gestel het, want toe, toe't Ann mos nou rond gegaan - die mense nou storiëtjies vertel nou, en so, omtrent die geraamte. Later van tyd toe't hulle mos nou 'n naam gegee. 'n Naam vir haar gegee. En dis toe dat die mense ook gehoor het, want almal was so nuuskierig. Hulle wil sien. En al die jare het hulle mos maar nou net hier verby gestap. Hulle't nooit kon besef dat daar, net so vlak, iemand le, gebegrawe is destyds nie.
- HL: Ek het, ek het al gehoor mense wat uitgrawings doen, en grotte, sulke tipe van goed, maar ek het nooit, ek het nooit belang gestel daarin nie.
- HL: Ja, nou, wat ek nou sien dis na in die, op die plaas, en dis na 'n mens, jy weet, nou kan 'n mens, nou sal ek nou 'n bietjie belang stel. Ek sal ook altyd, ek is ook altyd nuuskierig. Net om te sien, wat, wat hulle nog gekry het, of wat, waarna hulle soek, jy weet.
- HL: Man, nee, as hulle praat van Vergelegen, ja, dan's daai gevoel "ek woon op Vergelegen", jy weet. Maar nooit, erm, as hier mense gekom het, somtyds kom die mense, en dan, destyds kon ons mos die mense maar gewys het, enige tyd hier om gestap en die huis gewys het. Maar vandat Anglo oorgeneem het mag jy dit mos nie doen nie. As hier, ons vriende gekry het, dan't ons altyd 'n draai gery het, of gestap, en dan vir hulle gewys dis die plaas, en dan sê hulle altyd "wat ons geleer het op skool - Willem Adriaan van der Stel, die jaar sewentien honderd en..", dan sê ek "Ja. Dis die plaas, en dis die huis". Maar die huis is nou heelwat mos nou veranderd.
- HL: Is daar nie 'n moontlikheid dat jy hulle (die opgrawingsgoed wat hulle op Vergelegen gekry het) kan kry nie.
- HL: Mm. O ja. En waar, ek was nie eintlik by die uitgrawing van, van Flora nie. Hulle't mos gegrawe in die Homestead, toe hoor ek dat die ou borde en goed, breekgoed, wat hulle gekry het. Ja, ek dink hulle moes daar begin het.
- HL: Ja. En toe's daar, toe sê ek "Sjoe!", daai tyd toe werk ek mos op die plaas, toe sê ek "Sjoe! ek sal nogal lyk om te gaan kyk, net om te sien wat hulle uitgegrawe het." Toe's daar, toe's daar, die kan was ook nooit daar nie, maar nadat hulle vir Flora uitgegrawe het, toe, toe dink ek ek moet nou gaan.
- HL: Mm, man ja. Ja, ek was al by 'n hele paar museums. En dis, veral een wat ek was, op George, is 'n museum wat ek laaste by was, en, en, en....
- HL: Daar's klomp, jy weet, klomp ou goed van die, van die tipe van plek wat hulle nou, goed van destyds wat hulle gebruik het op daai plek. En vat dit ook maar altyd so, 'n museum be..bewaar net die goed van daai tipe plek, verstaan.

HL: Soos, byvoorbeeld, die museum, hulle sal natuurlik goed hier stoor van Vergelegen, jy weet.

HL: Miskien, ou Bybels, en...

HL: Ek's seker, ek's seker in die Homestead, in die biblioteek sal daar seker wees.

JP: Oh. Maar sal dit nie daar bly nie, dink jy?

HL: Ek weet nie. Maar ek meen, dit is ook van iets wat jy in 'n museum kry.

JP: Mmm.

HL: Ou Bybels, en ou boeke, en so aan. Omdat hulle mos nou 'n, erm, 'n biblioteek hier het, sal hulle dit nou natuurlik daar hou. Maar ek meen soos die goed wat julle nou, hulle nou opgegrawe het. Nou wat ek hier deur stap, toe dink ek hulle kon maar vir Flora gehou het.

JP: En in die museum gesit het?

HL: Mm, gesit het.

HL: Dit dink ek, net daardie tipe goed sit jy in 'n museum. Jy gaan mos nou nie in daai museum goed sit wat jy in Somerset, daar, opgetel het, of iets wat jy Oorsee van gebring het, wat nou vir jou ook waard is. Ek dink nie jy sal....goed, jy moet goed daarin sit, veral, ja, goed wat, wat, wat destyds gebruik was. Miskien, byvoorbeeld, 'n besem en 'n skoppie wat gebruik was in die Curse (?) se tyd, of destyds in Lady Phillips se tyd, wat gebruik het in die groot huis. Of, of, of, erm, hoe kan ek, 'n reënmeter wat hulle destyds in die boerdery gebruik het, of, jy weet, sulke tipe van goed.....

HL: Nou jy weet, en, en, en, miskien sou hulle ook iets van, naderhand, wat in Somerset Wes is, miskien op Vergelegen kom sit. Mens weet nooit.

HL: Omdat Somerset Wes nie 'n museum het nie, verstaan nou.

HL: Ek dink nie hulle sal gekant wees daarteen nie. Ek moet vir jou sê hulle sal erm, belangrik voel, jy weet. Mense het nou uitgevind van hulle; dit is geplaas in die museum, en, en, ja, ek, ek dink nie hulle sal daarteen wees nie. Jy weet. Net een, ek wil net vir jou een iets sê, nou in die jaar in, is dit nou die jaar, nee, verlede jaar, toe gaan ek en my ma en pa na 'n begrafnis toe, van 'n vrou. En, nou die vrou is my ouma se skoonsuster. My ouma se skoonsuster wat, my ouma het jare kontak met haar verloor. My pa hulle het nooit kontak met haar gehad nie, met haar kinders nie, met niemand van hulle het my pa nooit kontak, kontak gehad nie. En, en, en, en toe, toe gaan ons nou na die begrafnis toe, toe ontmoet ons familie, naaste familie wat ons nooit geken het nie. En toe wys erm, my, my aunty nou fotos van, van, van my pa se oom nou, en, en, en hy's, en hulle, die, die familie op die plaas ken nie vir hom nie. Hulle ken ook nie die vrou nie. Maar ek meen, dis naaste familie! So as ek nou daai moes gelees het, en, en, jy weet, ek het dit nie geken nie en ek sou dit moes gelees het, en ek weet definitief daar's familie van my wat nog lewe, dan sal ek hulle gaan opsoek het, verstaan jy.

- B: Ek dink dit sal baie beter wees man. Kyk vir die kinders by voorbeeld wat nog skool gaan en miskien geskiedenis wil opdoen en hulle weet nie wat nie...miskien so van die slawe tyd. Dan kan hulle mos net daar gaan kyk. Ek dink dit sal..want kyk hier kom'n koffiebar en die winery. Jy sal nie net wil straight koffie drink nie; jy wil altyd nou net in die rondte stap. ek dink dit sal iets goed wees, man.
- Q: En dink mevrou dat die plaasmense na die museum sal...die grrotmense?
- B: Ja, hier's baie mense wat...hier's seker baie mense wat voorheen in die Kaapse museums was nie. Maar nou wil ek weet: het die slawe 'n spesiale drag gehad. Want kyk die boesmans, weet ons nou, het 'n spesiale drag aangehad.
- B: Maar ek dink dit sal baie beter wees, want hierso is nerens waarentoe om te gaan nie. hier's niks nie. Kyk, jy kan mos miskien as jy besoekers kry, dan kan jy sê: kom ons gaan soentoe, ne?
- A: Waar was jy dan gebore?
- B: In Stellenbosch. Dit was 'n baie lekker plaas. ek dink dis 'n goeie ding wat hulle doen op Vergelegen. Dis baie goed; 'n mooi natuurskoon, baie mooi.
- Q: Ja.
- B: Ek het darem die skyfies nou die aand geniet. Jammer dit was so min.
- Q: Ja.
- B: Is daar nog goed wat hulle opgegrawe het toe ons laaste daar gesien het? Of is daar niks verder nie?
- B: Ja, want jy kry so baie besoekers, dan sê ek liever: kom ons gaan Strand toe. Kom ons gaan in die rondte ry..ons gaan Grabouw toe. want jy mag mos nie sonder 'n permit nie. Nou kom hulle net ontydig. Dan is daar niemand wat jy kan vra om in die rondte te ry. Want hulle wil almal so...want almal wat hiernatoe kom wil so graag die plaas sien, die Homestead sien. Nou kan ek mos sê: "Kom ons gaan die museum kyk."
- Q: Ek wil net graag weet of u al by die...terwyl Ann-hulle opgegrawe het, of u daar by die Homestead was?
- B: Ek is te bang om daar te gaan.
- A: Net daarvan gehoor..
- Q: te bang?
- B: Ek weet nie of 'n mens daar mag loop nie. Mag jy daar gaan?
- Q: Ek weet nie self nie.
- B: Ek sal lyk om dit te sien. Ek sal baie graag dit wil sien. Om te sien die grawe. Ek hou van sulke werke.
- Q: Nou dink Mev. dat die geraamte iemand se voorouers kan wees? Nie?
- B: Nie van hierdie mense wat nou hier bly nie. Moet van die slawetyd wees.

Q: En...

A: Maar ek wonder nou wie kan haar begrawe het. Seker nou die mense..

B: Seker maar die slawe self, ne? Maar om te dink dat hulle haar daar begrawe het, maar hulle't daar bo-op gebly

Q: Ja. Miskien wou hulle nie dat die ander mense weet nie. So wat het mev. van die workshop wat ek een Saterdag gehad het, gedink? Nou wat het mev. hulle van die pype en so aan gedink?

B: Die pype wat hulle gekry het? Dit was vir my wonderlik. Ek kan dit nou nog nie glo nie.

A: Het die mense voorheen daarmee gerook?

Q: Ja. Al die mense, die vroue en die mans het gerook.

B: Dis wonderlik om te dink ne? Watter pype het hulle daai tyd en die pype van vandag is 'n grote verskil, ne? Daar's 'n groot verskil.

Q: Nou dink mev. dat dit goed is dat die goed gebere word?

B: Nee, hulle moet dit uitstal dat die mense dit kan sien. Nee, ek sal dit uitsit dat die mense kan sien. Miskien van ons voorouers ook, ons weet nie.

A: Wat as hulle dit nou gehou het?

B: Nee, ek dink dit sal beter wees hierso, want daar's baie ouers, as jy hoor die skool gaan uit, dan sê hulle: nee die kinders kan nie saamgaan nie. Dis te ver; hulle's bang die kinders raak weg. Maar ek meen; dis nou nader. Jy kan net jou kinders vat en hulle dit wys. Dit sal iets goed wees.

Q: Nou ek wil graag weet of die mense nou enige idees het om hoe hulle goed in die museum kan sit...enige goed wat die mense nou belanstel in, bv. Pam het gese sy wou weet hoe die vroue gewerk het en so? Of julle enige idees het om wat in die museum te sit?

B: Ek sal net lyk die opgravinggoeters. Enige iets?

B: Dis die ding. Ek dink meer van die plaas se goeters wat die mense sal belangstel.

Q: Ek hoor dat hulle in die Homestead ou...

A: Ou portrette en boeke.

Q: ..gaan sit.

A: Ja, als wat outyd gewees het. Ek dink dat hulle dit moet het. Hulle't dit seker op 'n plek gepak en gebere het. Voor die tydse mense wat nou dood is.

A: Schaapenberg...

B: Hulle't altyd gese dat Willem Adriaen van der Stel het daar gesit om te kyk waat die skippe sal in kom.

A: Dis hierdie berg, dink ek.

B: Want sy't altyd gese van Schaapenberg.

A: Ja, jy kan mos op die see kyk en als.

B: Ja, hulle moet daar graaf want jy weet nooit.....

Q: En het mev. hulle van 'n skat gehoor?

B: Darem sê ek ookal van die skat. Hulle sê die skat is in Schaapenberg.

B: Want hoekeom, Mr. Nel se kinders het daai klippe met die skerp punte daar opgetel. Hulle het dit huistoe gebring. Toe wys hy dit vir my, toe sê hy vir my: Kyk hier, Babsie, dis waarmede die slawe toe voorheen gekap het. Hul'et sulke skerp punte maar ek dink hy's weg met dit. Toe sê ek : waarkry hy dit. Toe sê hy:"Schaapenberg."

A: Oh.

B: Soos hulle die tractors daar gewoel het, het hulle die klippe gekry. Maar dit luk mooi met so 'n punt af. Ek weet nie wie sal eendag op die skat afkom nie. Ann-hulle moet maar aanhou met grawe.

- PJ: Nee, erm, Juanita sien, ek het mos erm, in die skool ook bietjie ge..ge..geskiedenis gedoen. En altyd het ons nou gehoor van Simon van der Stel, en van Vergelegen, en van die slawe besigheid. En erm, my een skoonsuster wat dood is, sy het saam met my gewerk in die dorp, en dan...
- JP: In Somerset West?
- PJ: In Somerset, ja. En dan het sy nou altyd vir my vertel van Vergelegen, en dit, dit, was 'n slaweplaas. En toe hulle nou jonk ook was, dan kom van die slawe vrouens en mans, ek weet nou nie eintlik waarvandan nie, maar dit was altyd groot excitement wanneer dit tyd is wanneer hulle moet kom.
- PJ: Maar vir my was dit interessant omdat ek ge..er, dit om geskiedenis gegaan en so. My man het vir Ann altyd gese, "Jy gaan iets, 'n, 'n geraamte nog eendag opgrawe. En toe't dit nou die dag en die tyd gekom wat sy nou die geraamte daar ontdek het. En die vloere van die slaaf...slawe se huise. En ek sou wou er, geweet het, whether hulle self die huise gebou, met hulle hande.
- PJ: En so. Erm, Juanita sien, en wat hulle betref gaan dit maar net oor hulle werk, en werk, en werk. Eintlik was dit vir hulle 'n groot aanpassing om nou in die Strand te gaan bly, want hulle's so vas gewortel hier op die plaas, in die plaaslewe in. Maar wat ar..argeoloog betref, kan ek nou nie vir Ann sê, ag vir Juanita sê, stel hulle belang daarin, of so iets.
- JP: Nou sal, sal die mense dit kan besoek, of w..sal, sal Pam dit nou besoek, die museum?
- PJ: Ek sal dit besoek, en ek dink hulle sal dit besoek, ja.
- JP: Nou hoekom dink Pam? Is hulle...
- PJ: Net uit nuuskierigheid, dink ek. Maar nie om iets te leer daarby nie. Of miskien iets dieper uit te vind daar omtrent nie. Of...(pause)...
- JP: Mm, mm.
- PJ: Ek weet nie hoe eintlik om vir Juanita te sê nie. Miskien die jonger geslag.
- JP: Mm, maar nie die ouers nie?
- PJ: Wat nou op skool is, wat nou miskien standerd tien doen.
- PJ: Maar, ek dink hulle sal die museum besoek, as hulle mag. Die groot, die ouers, nou.
- PJ: Willie het gesien. Sy wys altyd vir hom. Hy't gesien. En dan die chips, ne, daai blou en wit erm...
- JP: O, ja?
- PJ: Porcelyn, ja.
- JP: Porcelain.

- PJ: Ek dink ek het dit nog gesien toe ons daar bo nog gebly het. En dis ou spykers, en 'n lepel, ou lepel. Ek dink daai's peuter (?). Dit het gelyk of dit peuter (?) is.
- PJ: O! Die eerste keer! Ek het maar net gewonder, as ek nou daar sien - hulle't mos soos mense gehad, ne.
- JP: O, ja, ja. Mm.
- PJ: Kan ek onthou. Mense.
- JP: Poppe. Ja, so...
- PJ: Mm, en so, wat soos die Boesmans is. En ek het maar net gewonder hoe het dit ontstaan. Waar het hulle lewe begin.
- JP: Ja.
- PJ: Het ek, ek het nou nie gevra vir my onderwyser nie. Maar ek het gewonder waar het dit begin. En hoe het dit begin. En hoe het dit, ons ontstaan. Daarom ek is baie geïnteresseerd in die stuk, erm, "Reap the Whirlwind".
- JP: ja, ja.
- PJ: In 'n opskrif. Ek, persoonlik, dink erm, in die erm, familie-geskiedenis van die mense wat nou lank al hier, hier is, wat nog hier oor is - hier is nie eintlik meer oor nie - sal dit nogal erm, vir hulle miskien er, er, hoe kan ek sê, iets interessant wees, as erm, erm, soos 'n opskrif van hulle lewes. Die werk, soos oom Steinie die dag vertel het. Kan Juanita nonthou?
- P: Mm. En wat sal vir Pam interessant wees?
- PJ: Vir my nou eintlik?
- JP: Ja.
- PJ: (pause) Vir my eintlik sal interessant wees, Juanita, om meer te kan uitvind van die slawe en slavinne.
- JP: Mmm, die vroue.
- PJ: Vroue, eintlik die vroue se leefswyse. Hoe't hulle gelewe het. Watter werk hulle gedoen het. En...hoe hulle getrou het. Of hulle onder mekaar getrou het. En of hulle, of hier ander, mense soos, soos ek nou byvoorbeeld...
- PJ: Maar volgens geskiedenis, dink ek dit is interessant, vir, vir, vir erm, hoe sê hulle, die toeriste, ne, as hulle kom die plaas besoek. Ek meen daar's baie wat nou nog besig is met geskiedenis, en ek dink hulle sal in, geïnteresseerd wees om te sien daai vloere. Hoe uniek dit gemaak is.
- JP: En as jy daarvan dink, hoe oud is dit nie.
- PJ: Hoe oud dit is, ja.
- JP: En dat iemand daar gebly het.
- PJ: En dat daar mense gebly het. Dink ek, hoe sê hulle, "tourist attraction", daai, er...

D: " Julle soek nog iets hierso. Nou my man werk nou daar in die Homestead in, nou hy sê hulle soek nog iets...Hulle soek nog daar. Toe't hulle mos 'n kastrol gekry ek weet nie of hulle 'n kastrol gekry het nie, of wat nie, maar binne in die kastrol is iets. Nou grawe hulle nog so