

**Archaeology and Education
in South Africa:
Towards a People's
Archaeology**

Rushdi Nackerdien

February 1994

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Rushdi Nackerdien

February 1994

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Abstract

The topic of this dissertation developed out of the 1980s era of resistance to Apartheid. At that time, mass-campaigns produced the concept of People's Education, which challenged established State-structures. People's Education was based on participatory democracy and drew on communities' knowledge rather than state-sanctioned knowledge. The concept of People's Archaeology is a product of that time-period. It focuses on involving communities in the practice of archaeology, beyond the stage of consultation.

Within the forthcoming election process, Black communities are to be empowered politically and this empowerment has, in other countries seen an accompanying growth in concerns about identity, cultural property and ownership. I argue that identity politics will be crucial in the future South African society and that archaeology will play an important role in this debate. The discipline faces transformation in the coming decade and education will be critical in this change. In this dissertation I contend that past attempts at popular education in archaeology have had very limited success. Archaeology still remains a discipline unknown to the majority of South Africans. This dissertation explores the reasons for the limited success of these attempts by critically examining the structure of the discipline in South Africa, and the perception that it creates to the public. It also goes further by exploring an alternative to these efforts at popular education through the use of principles and methods developed in People's Education. This project takes the debate about People's Archaeology beyond theory and attempts to implement some of the ideas through two projects, one dealing with an excavation, the other focusing on the production of a popular resource. I explore the pitfalls and benefits of these projects and make recommendations concerning the future of the discipline .

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Chapter 1

Introduction

"...we, the Aboriginal people have been the sources for these academics in the first place. We, the Aborigines, are the experts and authorities on Aborigines. We can speak for ourselves and we do not need white experts to do it" (Charles Perkins, 1982, quoted in White and O'Connell, 1982:233).

"To our enquiries, the archaeologist replied, 'don't you realize that we're doing this for you? By destroying your religion,' he said, 'we are preserving your culture. When we dig up Indian specimens,' he added, 'and place those specimens in paper sacks and plastic bags, we treat them with great dignity and respect'." (Hammil and Cruz, 1989:197).

* * *

At a national bi-annual conference of the South African Archaeological Association (SA3), held in July 1992, a prominent archaeologist claimed that archaeologists will in future be prostituting themselves for the aims of political organisations and communities¹. At the same meeting, questions were raised about a questionnaire I had circulated at the conference².

¹ This occurred at an "informal" debate between Martin Hall and Nicholaas van der Merwe in a pub/club on university property. The debate centred around Hall's interpretation of the development of Iron Age studies in Southern Africa. Hall had written a paper on this subject for Robertshaw's *A History of African Archaeology* (1990), and van der Merwe had contested Hall's interpretation in a review of the book (van der Merwe; 1992).

² The questionnaire and a discussion thereof will be dealt with in Chapter 4.

Another established archaeologist wanted to know what was meant by “accountability to a community”³. He could not see that one could be accountable to anyone but oneself. In his comments he spoke about the freedom to research what he wanted, and not to be dictated to by some “community”. He further spoke about being able to “step out of line” when he wanted to, and not having to answer to any “community”, but himself. This debate is highly indicative of the tensions experienced in South African archaeology, and at present internationally. The sudden ‘threat’ of being held accountable and answerable for their research has led to a knee-jerk reaction in many established archaeological circles. At the said conference a Canadian physical anthropologist, S. Pfeiffer, presented a paper on the topic of reburial. Responses from the audience ranged from snickers at demands that archaeologists change their language/terms of reference⁴, to questions about the possibility of sneaking out bits of skeletal material for ‘secret’ research.

The implicit assumption in all these comments is that archaeologists have a right to research what they want, where they want, free from any interference from communities in which they work or whose past they study. Fagan (1989:446), for instance, indicates that the practise of archaeology was much simpler 30 years ago. Ritchie (1990:40), however, comments that at that point (30 years ago), it was most probably not considered necessary to consult anyone about the removal of cultural property.

³ One of the questions in the abovementioned questionnaire deals with accountability to a community.

⁴ Aboriginal people in Canada are no longer referred to as Indians, but for example, are called First Nation Peoples.

Whereas archaeologists in South Africa are very willing to negotiate the terms of any contract-work⁵ with all the parties involved, most often 'big business', no such consultation or negotiation with communities is deemed necessary in the completion of 'normal' or 'mainstream' archaeological work. The perception is created that archaeology can and will operate in a social vacuum. Van der Merwe (1992:405) writes of the "splendid isolation" in which the early practitioners of South African archaeology operated. It is further implied that 'scientific enquiry' is by its very nature 'neutral' and objective (cf. Van der Merwe; 1992) and must proceed as such. Researchers are therefore able to be 'neutral' from politics and are able to stand outside these debates.

As a black archaeologist, I have great problems with this. Being raised on the 'wrong side of the river'⁶, has meant that I could not choose my 'freedoms', they were thrust upon me. I had no vote, I could only attend the schools available for 'coloureds'⁷, I could only use certain public facilities; like toilets marked 'Slegs nie-blankes'⁸.

⁵ Contract-work here describes Cultural Resource Management or Rescue Archaeology.

⁶ The Berg River in my home-town, Paarl, serves a natural boundary between black and white residents. This division is a product of the 1950 Group Areas Act. The Act served to divide South Africa into black and white land and create buffer zones between the two. Manufactured and natural features, such as rivers, served this purpose.

⁷ The Population Registration Act of 1949 formally divided people into distinct 'watertight' racial categories. These categories were based on 'historical and scientific fact'. In the case of the distinction between whites and coloureds, however, this proved more difficult. The distinction in this case was partly expressed in social terms (Omer-Cooper; 1987:196). Omer-Cooper (*ibid*) uses the example of a white person being defined as white, due to their appearance, their social acceptance as white and their association with whites.

⁸ Translated from Afrikaans as 'Non-whites only'.

School was a series of boycotts interrupted by classes, where annually you were sjambokked⁹ or teargassed by the police for your attempts to mount any peaceful protest action against the government. The police represented all that you hated and feared, and you became used to living with it. There was no academic freedom or freedom of speech.

Those were my realities before coming to the University of Cape Town (UCT) in 1986. It took me 6 months to begin to learn the 'language' of the university and to get to a point where I could write an exam competently. It took me 2 years before I voluntarily spoke in a tutorial session. Today, I am still not sure as to whether I am 'silent'.

It angers me to hear people speak about freedoms they deem as 'natural', freedoms they assume as universal rights. These rights have for a long time not existed outside the university environment. It angers me to be told that: "You can only be accountable to yourself, that you have the 'right' to 'step out of line'". These comments make a mockery of the liberation struggles of black people in this country. This patronising attitude is not indicative of how all South African archaeologists feel about or practise their discipline¹⁰. It is however disturbing that these sentiments can be expressed so *easily* by some of the more established archaeologists. I will argue in this thesis that although progressive voices exist within the discipline, South African archaeology is characterised as conservative in its guiding principles.

⁹ Beaten with rubber quirt/baton used by the police

¹⁰ As recently as 1992, researchers within the Department of Archaeology at UCT, have begun to negotiate archaeological work in District Six with community organisations. District Six stands a symbol of the repressive Group Areas Act and forced removals.

The research topic of this dissertation has not been one which I 'naturally' chose, because I was 'ideally' situated, as a black student in the Department of Archaeology. I have never considered myself as overtly political or radical. Throughout my university career I have always attempted to fit in, to do more 'traditionally accepted' research. This project has been arrived at after 3 years as an undergraduate, 1 year as a postgraduate and a year employed in the department as a full-time research assistant.

It took me 5 years to realise that the traditional "excavation to site report" archaeology was not what I was interested in. These were 5 years of being one of a handful of black students in the department, intent on graduating in and doing postgraduate research in archaeology. It involved doing research that felt alien to issues that directly affected my life. Issues of the States of Emergency¹¹, detention without trial, mass action and my mother having to run a gauntlet of teargas to buy food.

¹¹ The States of Emergency, declared in 1985 and 1986, represents the State's response to popular struggles against Apartheid. In an attempt to counter the growing profile gained by the local anti-apartheid movement, the Botha-government unleashed a reign of terror through the Emergency-legislation. These included laws restricting press freedom, and seemingly limitless powers to the police and military force. The increased militarisation of the State during this period saw the proliferation of vigilante movements, which received almost carte blanche rights to disrupt, in which ever way, any resistance to the State in the black townships. The Catholic Institute for International Relations (1987:28) states that between September 1984 and February 1987 approximately 2400 people were killed as a direct consequence of 'unrest'-related violence. Much of this has been described by the State-propaganda as 'black on black' violence. The direct result of the Emergency has been that most of the resistance movements went 'underground', but, despite this, still managed to maintain a high profile locally and internationally.

In 1990 my path crossed with that of Gabrielle Ritchie¹², and the experience was to direct me into a research that I felt was close to my heart, archaeology that was addressing things I felt strongly about, such as democratic practice and accountability. It was an archaeology where I could “prostitute” myself and feel comfortable.

Archaeology and Education

The title of this thesis refers to People's Archaeology. Within this introductory chapter I want to examine what People's Archaeology is, where it comes from and some of the problems involved in the concept. In order to understand what People's Archaeology is, it is necessary to show how it differs from previous work.

Ritchie (1990:6) first defined the concept of People's Archaeology and attempted to demonstrate its applicability to the South African context. She draws a sharp distinction between popularising knowledge and the democratization of knowledge, the latter being central to a People's Archaeology. Ritchie divides history into 4 types:

- state history, which is presented and controlled by the state, eg. in state-controlled textbooks;
- public history, which is presented in the public media (TV, newspapers, radio, video museums, etc.). This corresponds very closely with state history, as it is controlled indirectly by the state and validates this dominant position;

¹² At that time a Master's graduate in the Department of Archaeology at UCT. Her Masters' thesis forms a crucial platform for the work conducted in this thesis.

- popular history, which is often described as ‘history from below’. It focuses on the history of those traditionally excluded from the major forms of history, such as state and public history. The methods used in this form of history replicate “the traditional academic methods of producing knowledge about the past”; and,
- people’s history, which is *not only* history about the people, but “it also means history *by* the people and history *for* the people”. This process involves the empowerment of communities in order for them to produce knowledge themselves, and work independently of the traditional academic intellectual (Ritchie, 1990:31).

Archaeologists in South Africa seem to have ‘always’ been involved in public education¹³, and have on numerous an occasion given talks, presentations and slide-shows to schools, made several public statements in the media and other areas of the public sphere. This has however happened on a very *ad hoc* basis, and more on a response-basis, where archaeologists have responded to invitations from schools, for example.

These ‘one-off’ attempts at public education would not fall into Ritchie’s framework for a People’s Archaeology. A People’s Archaeology would be more concerned with the democratization of archaeological knowledge, whereby members of the community *participate* in the generation and accreditation of knowledge (Muller and Cloete, 1986:11). An example of how this would work in a democratic learning-setting, is that it is assumed

¹³ A.J.H. Goodwin, the first professional archaeologists to be employed in the country, was a firm believer in public education. In the post World War 2 years, he worked hard to encourage interested amateurs to write articles for the South African Archaeological Bulletin.(Deacon, 1990:48) He also managed to secure a regular space in a local newspaper. See Chapters 2 for a more detailed discussion on Goodwin.

that all participants bring important knowledge¹⁴ to the forum and it is the role of the facilitator to coordinate the realization of this knowledge¹⁵. The facilitator is therefore also a participant, who has different knowledge to offer.

The many attempts at public education in archaeology have predominantly been more of a 'give-receive' nature, where the archaeologist 'tells' the audience about archaeology and answers the audiences' questions afterwards. The archaeologist is, and remains therefore, the 'expert' conveying knowledge, and not the facilitator of knowledge.

I would argue that this kind of popularisation contributes to demystifying the discipline¹⁶. It therefore, in some way, begins to fall into the People's Archaeology framework. However, although popular/public education is an integral part of the democratization of knowledge, it itself is not necessarily democratic. It is my experience that the *ad hoc* and response-based nature of these efforts in popular archaeology create difficult points of interaction with the public. Too often these act also as points of closure between the archaeologist and the public. As 'one-off' ventures they work fine, but what is sought by People's Archaeology is a

¹⁴ This knowledge is often in the form of personal experiences of certain situations.

¹⁵ Although the facilitator is most often in control and guides the direction of such forums, they are not there to 'tell' the other participants the 'answers'. The importance of the situation is the idea that participants realize the knowledge within themselves, through the guidance of the facilitator.

¹⁶ In Chapter 7 I will argue that these popular attempts merely present archaeology as seen through the eyes of the professionals and hence limits what archaeology is.

sustained interaction, where there is more flexibility in what is conveyed about the discipline and the method by which it is done¹⁷.

People's Archaeology

Ritchie (1990) defines a People's Archaeology as follows,

“...an archaeology *dependant* on community participation in research, interpretation and presentation...” (my emphasis).

This concept developed from the cauldron of the mid-1980s mass resistance movements. People's Archaeology marks a deliberate attempt to politicise archaeological study and as such, was developed as a political term within the academic environment by activist academics. Its main elements were conceived in resistance to the highly repressive government measures of the time, some of which I have described earlier. What follows is a brief description of this genesis.

The campaign for a 'People's Culture' was launched by the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the National Education Crises Committee (NECC)¹⁸ in the mid-1980s¹⁹. The campaign marked a move to create an 'alternative' or 'new' culture in South Africa, alternative to state-produced structures. Along with this came calls for the creation of a 'national culture',

¹⁷ In Chapters 6 and 7 I will examine two educational projects which I did with non-archaeologists. These projects show the marked difference in the quality and content between *ad hoc* educational work and that which is done over a longer period of time.

¹⁸ In recent years the name has been changed to the National Education Coordinating Committee.

¹⁹ This was adopted as a strategy of resistance at the second meeting of the NECC in March 1986.

which Press (1990:19) refers to as “...a vision of the sort of culture that will be in the interests of the oppressed people in South Africa, and not to any specific campaign or cultural programme”.

Press (1990:27) attempts to encapsulate ‘People’s Culture’ in four characteristics. These are:

- an attempt to change the conventional ways in which art (I would add information in general)²⁰ is made available to audiences,
- an aim of building a national culture to unite the oppressed community,
- an emphasis on a type of content that relates very directly to the daily experiences of the oppressed community²¹,
- an insistence that progressive work be guided by the political agendas of the African National Congress(ANC) and UDF. I need to emphasise here that I do not believe

²⁰ The 2nd State of Emergency, declared on 12 June 1986, placed severe restrictions on the flow of information in the media, with the government launching its own campaign of “disinformation”. Many organisations were almost crippled following waves of detention by the government-in 1986 alone, 26 000 people were detained(Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1987). One of the main reasons the Community Education Resources Project at UCT was set up, was in response to calls for resources and information by the mass-based democratic organisations (Ritchie, 1990:21).

²¹ This relates directly to building of people’s power’, described by Marshall (1990:24) as

“...the experience of genuine popular democracy allowing women and men new forms of controlling their lives in the workplace, community, and family”.

She further argues that people’s power is central to a socialist construction of society, where people’s power recognizes “...the richness and specificity of diversely located groups” (Marshall, 1990:25). I would argue that, in the South African context, the struggle towards a People’s Culture was more towards developing a united nation. What was therefore emphasised as a homogenous ‘oppressed’ group, rather than diversity. The issue of ‘homogenization’ can be witnessed in the debate about the Women’s struggle. The dominant argument has been “National Liberation first, Women’s Liberation later”, where it is often argued that the national liberatory struggle must precede any other struggle.

that research or any other work can occur *without* being underpinned by a political framework. This framework does not necessarily have to operate on a narrowly party/organisational level, as suggested in this context.

Along with the calls for a People's Culture came other calls, such for a People's Sport, a People's University, People's Education and People's Courts. Roughly at this time, a People's History also became a point of debate. Ritchie (1990:34) notes that the People's History Project at the University of the Western Cape was set up as an academic response to this debate. A 'People's History' forms the platform from which the concept of a 'People's Archaeology' is constructed (Ritchie, 1990).

This borrowing of the central idea of a People's History is not an unproblematic one. Firstly, history, as a means of studying the past, is fairly well known amongst the broader public²². Calls for a People's History are therefore not very far removed from an understanding of the discipline of history. However, archaeology is not a subject known very broadly, and subsequently does not form part of the general public's understanding of the past. A call for a People's Archaeology is therefore problematic, as there is not a basic knowledge of archaeology²³ outside university and museum circles. There cannot be attempts to establish

²² As a discipline taught at school-level, I would argue that any reference to 'the past' or 'heritage' conjures a link with history amongst the public and archaeology does not necessarily form part of this link.

²³ What I am referring to here is the knowledge concerning details of the discipline itself. This does not mean that a perception of archaeology does not exist. Later (in Chapter 5) I will show that non-archaeologists do have a perception of the discipline and draw on it when needed.

an alternative in the public sphere to the current practice of archaeology, if mainstream archaeology does not form part of the vernacular vocabulary of the past²⁴.

Secondly, archaeological methodology differs from that of history and the techniques for employing this methodology, eg. excavations²⁵, are not as easily accessible as in history. Legislation prevents the public from attempting to reconstruct their own local past through large-scale excavations²⁶. Although people do transgress these laws²⁷, the resources to do so on a non-profitmaking basis are extremely scarce, and unless there exists some backing from sponsors or funders other than those immediately involved, the possibility for doing so is almost zero. Archaeology is expensive by any standards, and an ideal People's Archaeology therefore lies beyond the limits of most black communities.

This does not mean that ideas of People's Archaeology should not be introduced into archaeological education debates. I would favour that this is done, as many of the ideas being attempted herald a different approach to the method and content of archaeological education. Through this criticism I do not wish to 'drive' a distinction between the disciplines of history

²⁴ This vocabulary is built and added to through the mass-media (tv, newspaper, radio), as well as at school-level.

²⁵ This assumes that excavation is the primary archaeological method archaeologists employ to gather data. This does not imply that it is the only method of archaeological research. This is, however, the dominant view that archaeologists recreate for the public (cf. Lewis-Williams; 1993).

²⁶ See Abrahams, 1991 for a full discussion.

²⁷ Almost every major craft-market in Cape Town has people selling bottles and other artefacts that they've dug up from old rubbish-dumps.

and archaeology, as both relate very closely to one another. This division has been of too artificial a nature.

A Question of Identity

As a People's Culture is essentially a nationalist idea, I want to begin by examining what is meant by 'the people'. I will be setting out some initial ideas which will be explored through the course of the thesis. I hope to offer some initial criticisms of the terminology and what it implies in this chapter, with the view to fleshing it out and examining it through the structure of the coming chapters.

Throughout this thesis I refer to the 'public', 'the community', and 'non-archaeologists'²⁸ in reference to members of society who are not involved in the study and practise of archaeology. These members or individuals within a society *do* however participate in the production of versions of the past, just like academics and other intellectuals do, and therefore it is important to understand who they are and to begin examining how they perceive themselves as 'a community' or 'a people'.

Marè (1992) asserts that a 'group of people' is structured by the group itself and accept an inter-relationship, "even if they do not know one another". Benedict Anderson (1983) speaks

²⁸ Similarly I speak of black. The government has managed to create divisions of race into a variety of different groups. These include Whites, Indians, Coloureds, Malays and Africans. These divisions have proven so successful that many individuals perceive the different categories as real and distinguishable. Over the years a progressive definition has developed to counter this and has rather called all people, who are considered as 'other', black. This definition lumps together many of the categories created by Apartheid. This is the definition that I use in this thesis.

of “imagined communities”. Individuals perceive themselves as belonging to a group with other individuals, most of whom they may never have any contact with whatsoever. Marè (1992) uses the example of supporters of a soccer-team, who sense a loyalty to the team and will act in unison to support that team, but may never know one another, even passingly. In reference to Anderson, Sharp (1988:80) writes that

“...both ‘ethnic groups’ and ‘nations’ are fundamentally constructs of the human imagination rather than entities with a concrete, practical existence in the social world”.

Sharp also offers a definition of ethnicity, being “ a political process by which people seek to form groups, and to differentiate one set of people from another, by appealing to the *idea* of ineluctable cultural difference” (*ibid*).

Lowe (1991) argues that there exists in South Africa two nationalisms, one based on ethnicity, the other on non-racialism. Ethnic nationalism²⁹ derives its origin from the policy of “separate development”, whilst non-racial nationalism developed out of resistance to Apartheid. Lowe does not expand on the concept of non-racial nationalism, but his arguments seems to fit in well with Press’ ideas of People’s Culture (Press; 1990). In Lowe’s discussion, he focuses specifically on the example of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) as an example of ethnic nationalism which has its roots in apartheid policy. Here, the apartheid

²⁹ Within the study of ethnicity, the implicit suggestion is of an ‘ethnic whole’, a homogenous group that can be studied and can be objectified. Dominguez (1989:13) describes some of the problems facing the ethnographer studying ‘others’:

“At our most penitent stage, we accuse ourselves of objectifying the other as if the other were inanimate and incapable of subjectifying himself or herself. At our most modest, we admit to having been ‘constructed’ by those we set out to study, who in objectifying us turned the ethnographic process into a project of forced resubjectification. Subject and object become terms of analysis of a phenomenon we experience but are always grasping to understand”.

-project has successfully united its policy on bantustans³⁰ with the symbols of “tradition” and “tribal” identity. The power of ethnicity is juxtaposed against that of non-racial nationalism:

“On the other side of the question is the problem of non-racial nationalism, of imagining a community *without* the powerful binding forces of language and ethnic myth? Where is the nation in such nationalism? What provides its unity? Perhaps the struggle against politicized ethnicity itself?” (Lowe; 1991:204).

Non-racial nationalism is therefore a relatively new concept compared with ethnic nationalism, as the former has developed out of the struggles of the UDF, ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

Within the framework of People’s Culture, it has become easy to make reference to ‘communities’, ‘the oppressed masses’, ‘the people’, ‘the workers’, etc. This has largely become rhetoric or slogans of ‘the struggle’, an attempt to group people together who have been disadvantaged by white state policy, aimed at maintaining minority rule and the advantages of that position. However, when one examines the ‘rhetoric’ more closely, one can identify within these groups an almost infinite number of further categories, of being black; of coming from a rural environment; of being a woman, of being differently-abled.

The major criticism of the ‘People’s-rhetoric’ is the fact that it homogenises groups. It attempts to gloss over class and other differences in order to demonstrate the bond between different groups in resistance to the state. Roosens (1989) points out that class division is a vertical differentiate, while ethnic division exists horizontally, “and creates equivalences rather

³⁰ “Separate development” has had its greatest effect in the development of the bantustan or homelands system, whereby blacks are relegated to specific areas of the country. These bantustans are governed as if they are sovereign, but in reality are dependant on the South African economy and are subsidised by South African citizens.

than hierarchies". It becomes more appealing to link yourself with other 'equal' groupings, than with a class that is considered to be lower on the socio-economic ladder.

Roosens (1989) remarks that De Vos and others have identified a noneconomic psychosocial dimension of ethnic identity

"Every person experiences the sense of belonging to one or another social category, network, or group and knows that he or she is partially determined by it".

However, the economic *does* play a very important role in the individual's perception of group-belonging. As all social categories, which one assumes a belonging to, are constructed by society, those constructed categories are always imperfect and are influenced by the market forces bringing its own determinism to bear on it. Economy therefore affects the individual's perception of the group-identity very strongly, although sometimes unconsciously. This is not just applicable within 'Western' society, as global communication and the spread of the accompanying "ideology of consumption" has very successfully penetrated even remote areas of the earth. Roosens points out that

"There seems to be a far-reaching consensus among human beings, whatever their cultural tradition, that a number of material goods and social values, whose production originated in Western society, are highly desirable. ...this quasi-universal consensus affects the cultural expression of ethnic formation and ethnic feelings..."(1989:11).

Each individual always belongs to several social units or a number of Anderson's "imagined communities". I would, for instance, consider myself as Black, from Paarl, a Moslem, Middle-class, South African, an Archaeologist, a Male and so forth. Roosens (1989:16) describes this hierarchy as one that can be inverted and changed over time, where "one social identity can simply be more relevant than others in a given context". We are always aware

that we belong to these categories and use them as the occasion requires. Ethnic identity is therefore not something biological, as Apartheid would have us believe, but is created to suit the individual's purpose at a given time.

From the above argument it seems that 'People' does and does not exist. It exists as a *group*, sometimes only in an overtly political form, as a doctrine promoted by a political party or player. A common ethnic consciousness only becomes *widely* recognised (especially by others) upon calls or attempts to mobilise a section of a population, such as the Inkatha Freedom Party's (IFP) calls on the 'Zulu nation' to unite against the ANC³¹.

On the other hand, the 'People' appear as too heterogeneous a group to hold as a category for any significant period of time. The 'people'-category is a very 'soft' and malleable entity, and not something 'hard' that can be caught and held. To talk about a People's Archaeology is therefore only to talk about the ideals and aims of the concept, but not about a 'People' themselves.

Press's (1990) ideas of People's Culture differ from this. She considers People's Culture as a specific time-bound phenomenon of the UDF. People's Archaeology never formed part of any political calls during the 1980-era. It should be borne in mind that a People's Archaeology was developed as a political term within the academic environment, and is

³¹ Over the past years, weekly newspaper-reports and research by academics, such as Marè and Hamilton (1987), Marks (1986) and Marè (1992), have focused on the power exerted by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi over what the meaning of 'Zuluness' and the political uses of this identity through "coercion and control over ethnically-based networks of patronage" (Lowe; 1991:195).

therefore a conscious attempt to politicise archaeological study³². The liberal context of the University of Cape Town has, in a sense, been the ideal context in which this debate could have started. The same “academic freedom”, which I challenged earlier in this chapter and is espoused by white english-speaking liberal universities, has allowed the development of concepts which actively challenge and undermine the values these institutions hold dear³³. In this regard, these institutions have played a valuable role in terms of the research that has been generated by progressive academics in support of struggles against apartheid.

Uniting the academic and political worlds within the personal is, however, a very complex issue. Debates with other students, who also refuse to regard these as separate entities, identify similar problems of working within an environment which attempts to force the two apart. This has been highlighted many times in debates within the Community Education Resources Project at UCT. The main issue has often been described as, “How does one remain accountable to your community, which you are attempting to empower through your work, when you have to produce a piece of academic work such as a Masters’ thesis, which, in content and analysis, is very far removed from that community?”. This issue is however only the tip of the iceberg and has many other different facets not described here. Within the South African context, the issue of ‘community’, and ‘nation’ is especially complex, as it ties very closely to the major personal and political struggles currently experienced. Any

³² Archaeology has always been a political study, but has not always been recognised as such. The proclaiming of the ‘scientific neutrality’ and ‘objectivity’ has denied the political nature of the discipline.

³³ These include the separation of the personal from academic work and the ‘neutrality’ of such work.

discussion of change in archaeology has to take into account the struggle to forge a 'new' South Africa and a new 'nation'.

In the forthcoming chapters I will examine the applicability of People's Archaeology to the current South African context. Chapters 2 and 3 will deal with the historical and international context in which the discussion of People's Archaeology occurs. In Chapter 4 I examine the attitudes of South African archaeologists to the role of archaeology in South Africa. Chapters 5 and 6 deal with two projects that I undertook through the course of my Masters'. These chapters describe the process the I went through, as it may benefit other scholars doing similar work in future. One project focuses on an excavation run with non-archaeologists, whilst the other centres on a series of educational workshops that were done with a group of schoolchildren and the production of a popular resource. These chapters are followed with an examination of South African archaeology as it stands today. The emphasis here will be on the state of professional archaeology and the opportunities for community-involvement. The latter will be carried forward into the Conclusion, where I will argue against the notion that such concepts as People's Archaeology are time-bound (cf. Press; 1990) and out of place within the changing era of the South Africa of the 1990s. In essence this thesis will take Ritchie's definition of People's Archaeology, and argue that it is a pragmatic means by which the stagnation of the discipline can be prevented. To what extent People's Archaeology is a workable option for South African archaeology therefore forms the basis of this thesis.

CHAPTER 2

A Historiography of early Southern African Archaeology

"Where are those civilizations now? They have all disappeared, and barbarism once more rules over the land and makes the thoughtful man nervous about the white man's future in Southern Africa. There are many people in South Africa—and no very foolish people either—who do not feel that our white experiment will be a permanent success, or that we shall ever succeed in making a white man's land of Southern Africa; but at any rate, we mean to press on with the experiment" (Smuts; 1917:85).

* * *

A historical examination of Southern African archaeology is essential for any discussion about a People's Archaeology. Earlier I attempted to demonstrate the connections between People's Archaeology, politics and nationalism. In this chapter I would like to demonstrate that the issues of politics and nationalism are not new to the history of archaeology, particularly the early years of the discipline. I will examine the development of both Iron Age and Stone Age Archaeology in this country, concentrating primarily on the latter. Within this discussion, I do not deny the role of individuals agency in this growth. In fact, I would argue that it is precisely due to the impact of specific individuals of the middle class that the discipline has developed in the way it has. I will also examine the development of the South African

Archaeological Society, the only formally structured organisation established to encourage the participation of interested non-archaeologists in the discipline.

The dawn of Archaeological study in Southern Africa

Trigger (1989:14) recognises a correspondence between the development of archaeology and the “rise to power of the middle classes in Western society”. He argues

“that much of the public interest in archaeological findings has been found among the educated middle class, including sometimes political leaders”.

This does not mean however, that the bourgeoisie exists as a homogenous group. Trigger (*ibid*:15), in fact, sees archaeology as being associated with only a part of the middle class, being mostly scholarly professionals. In this regard I agree with Trigger, “that archaeological interpretation represents an expression of the ideology of various fractions of the middle class” (*ibid*:416) and that that ideology is expressed and recognised as a shared and legitimate interest amongst members of those fractions.

The intellectual issues debated in Europe did not start making an impact on Southern African research into the past until the mid-19th century. At the time the debate surrounding the antiquity of humankind was dominated by the Church and interpretations of Noah's flood, described in the Bible (Trigger; 1989:90). This catastrophic theory, challenged during this time by both French and English scholars, dominated many interpretations of stone tools that were found amongst the bones of extinct animals, including that of Boucher de Perthes.

In 1869 George Busk wrote of the role the Bowker brothers¹ played in early collections of stone tools in *Transaction of the International Congress for Prehistory and Archaeology* (Goodwin, 1955:2). The import of the Bowker's finds were that they recognised artefacts as such when they were discovered at considerable depth in river deposit. Goodwin (*ibid*:2) notes that at that point in time, Boucher de Perthes had not yet convinced others of the antiquity of the tools found in the Somme River gravels. Bowker's recognition of stone tools in 1858² (Deacon, 1990:40) therefore predates their recognition in France and Britain.

The Establishment of Archaeology in Southern Africa

Patterson (1988) argues that the development of archaeology in the United States grew out of expansionist ideas. Archaeology was used to justify the taking of Indian land and the domination of Latin American countries. His argument rings true for the South African context as well. Here I will focus on two prominent political leaders, Cecil John Rhodes and Jan Christiaan Smuts, both of whose expansionist ideas created and assisted the opportunities for the scholarly growth of archaeology in the sub-continent.

¹ Colonel J.H. Bowker and Thomas Holden Bowker were both born in England and arrived in South Africa amongst the 1820 British Settlers (Deacon,1990:40). Both were keen collectors, for instance, Deacon (*ibid*:40) describes them as "typical of Victorian colonial antiquarians of their time".

² There appears to be some conflict as the precise year when Thomas Holden Bowker first began his collections in the eastern Cape. Goodwin (1955:1) refers to 1855, while Hewitt (1955) argues that it was only in 1858. Boucher de Perthes' own work was only validated by Prestwich and Evans in 1859 (Sharer and Ashmore, 1979:41).

Cecil John Rhodes and Iron Age Archaeology³

Cecil John Rhodes arrived in South Africa from England in 1870 and through his sharp entrepreneurial sense, managed to, within two decades, dominate mining capital. An amalgamation with Barny Barnato's Company in 1888 (Omer-Cooper, 1988:123), made his domination of the diamond-industry complete. His dominance was not just restricted to South African finance, but also to politics. Rhodes became Prime Minister of the Cape in 1890 (*ibid*:1988:130). These financial and political exploits were aimed at achieving a particular ideal,

“the whole Africa united under the British flag, knit together by a Cape-to-Cairo railway and telegraph system” (*ibid*:123).

This implied

“linking the financial resources of modern capitalism to the expansive energies of the two white South African peoples (two branches of the Teutonic race which he believed was destined to rule the continent) and lead them in a great northward push through the continent” (*ibid*:123).

This vision was not shared by everyone. The Cape administration did not necessarily condone Rhodes' ideas, as they were more interested in consolidating the British Empire at the time rather than expanding its boundaries. Expansion would warrant a heavy financial burden which they were not willing to carry (*ibid*:126). However, they were not going to put a stop to any expansion which Rhodes managed to achieve without tapping any of their resources.

³ Hall (1987) traces the development of the term “Iron Age” from the previously called “Bantu Period”. He also notes the inaccuracy of the term as many of the communities that would fall under this umbrella did not use or make iron.

In an attempt to realise his dream, Rhodes made an effort to gain the support of the Afrikaner Bond⁴ at the Cape. This he did by supporting measures serving the interests of Cape farmers and by limiting non-white votes (*ibid*:135). Jan Hofmeyr, a leading member of the Bond at the time, was won over by Rhodes' ideas of an Anglo-Dutch unity expanding northward. Rhodes' immediate plan was to gain control over modern-day Zimbabwe, following the discovery by Karl Mauch in 1872 of the Great Zimbabwe ruins and rumours of massive gold reserves in the country (Hall, 1990:59).

To fund the expansion north, he founded the British South Africa Company (BSAC)⁵ in 1889. Its sole purpose was to exploit a concession regarding mineral rights forced out of the Ndebele king, Lobengula (Omer-Cooper, 1988:132). By 1890 the BSAC occupied Mashonaland in Zimbabwe (Hall, 1987:5). Rhodes clearly grasped the political usefulness of the Great Zimbabwe ruins. By demonstrating an earlier occupation by Europeans at Great Zimbabwe⁶,

⁴ The Afrikaner Bond represented at the time a loose grouping of Afrikaans-speaking white men from the cities, linked with Dutch-speaking Cape farmers. Omer-Cooper (1988:134) describes the movement as being "boosted by the upsurge in Afrikaner pride and emotion which followed the successful independence struggle in the Transvaal". Based strongly on Afrikaner nationalism and the preservation thereof, this group would later give rise to the Afrikaner Broederbond, who were to dominate South African politics from 1948 onwards (Davies, O'Meara and Dlamini; 1988).

⁵ Rhodes managed to convince the British government to support the exploitation of Zimbabwe's mineral-wealth, and with the prospect of rich profits, was approached by many rich and influential backers (Omer-Cooper; 1988:132).

⁶ These ideas were not exclusive to Rhodes, but were generally shared by some of the most prominent academics in the country. Prof. Raymond Dart, well known for his early work on *Australopithecines*, published an article in 1925 arguing quite fervently for early Phoenician, Egyptian and Chinese influences in South African rock art and clothing (Dart; 1925). Related to this, he implied that the remains of a ship, which had been found on the Cape Flats by railway workers in 1880, was that of a Phoenician Galley (*ibid*; 1925:429). This "identification" would later lead to a resurgence of interest in finding remains of the ship (Sampson; 1948, O'Sullivan; 1990).

the current colonialisation of Zimbabwe and the rest of the African continent could be fully justified (*ibid*:6).

Rhodes funded two expeditions to explore the ruins of Great Zimbabwe. The first occurred in 1891 and was led by Theodore Bent, an 'expert' on Phoenicia (Hall; 1993:15). Bent's interpretation focussed on demonstrating a mixture of Biblical Mediterranean influences in the architecture of the ruins. The second expedition was led by R. N. Hall, a journalist employed by the BSAC to investigate the ruins in 1899. His interpretation followed very closely on Bent's (*ibid*:17), but the method he employed attracted criticism.

The digging by Hall and a prospector, W.G. Neal, caused serious problems for later researchers, as it verged on plundering, rather than systematic archaeological excavation (Garlake, 1973). This represented one of the first major archaeological enterprises in Southern Africa. Bent and Hall's research lent credibility to what Rhodes believed⁷, i.e. that the Phoenicians and Sabaeans originally built the structure (Hall,1905). This early work on Great Zimbabwe marked the beginning of what would become Iron Age Archaeology in Southern Africa.

The vandalistic manner in which R.N. Hall's results were gained drew sharp criticism from English scholars (Hall;1990:62) and following this, the British Association for the Advancement of Science sent two expeditions, one by Randall MacIver and one by Gertrude

⁷ Of the 6 famous soapstone bird-columns found by Hall in his digging, Rhodes had 2 placed in his estate at Groote Schuur, Cape Town (Cape Times; 1926).

Caton-Thompson, to investigate the ruins⁸. Both expeditions employed experienced archaeologists, both of whom argued for the local origin of the ruins⁹ (as opposed to it being built by foreigners, like the Phoenicians, Arabs or Sabeans). The second expedition, undertaken by Gertrude Caton-Thompson in 1929, proved the more credible of the two.

Caton-Thompson tested the stratigraphic relationships of different parts of the site and allowed her work to be inspected by a committee of her peers (Hall;1990:63). Her peers were not necessarily open to her interpretations though. Upon a presentation of her ideas at a meeting of the British Society for the Advancement of Science in Johannesburg, Prof. Dart verbally attacked her,

“in a fierce outburst of curiously unscientific indignation with the whole course of the discussion, charged the chairman with having called upon none but supporters of the Caton-Thompson theory to speak”

and

“ After a few further remarks, delivered in tones of awe-inspiring violence, Professor Dart sat down very hard on his chair...”(Cape Times; 1929).

In a further comment on MacIver's work, Dart was further quoted as saying that

“The work and report of MacIver...killed in this country the investigation of Rhodesian antiquities and their history. We are today trying to recover from it” (Cape Times:1929).

⁸ For a fuller description of these ventures, see Hall (1984; 1987;1990).

⁹ John Schofield, an architect, developed an early interest in the ruins, prior to the Caton-Thompson expedition (Hall;1990:63). Schofield came to the conclusion that the ruins were part of phase of “Bantu culture”. His work, presented at a Congress of the South African Association of Science in 1926 at Pretoria, was challenged in the Cape Times by a columnist known as “Phylo” (Cape Times; 1926). “Phylo” states that “there is no trace of Bantu origin or workmanship...” and that Prof. Flinders Petrie also asserts that the artefacts found are of “a distinctly Assyrian character”.

Caton-Thompson's work opened the sphere for further systematic research into the early farming communities in Southern Africa¹⁰. This avenue of research owed much to Rhodes' ideal of an Africa united under the British flag.

Jan Christiaan Smuts

Jan Christiaan Smuts was an early supporter of Rhodes's vision¹¹. A biographer (Ingham; 1986) describes Smuts as reaching his ideas through intellectual inquiry¹², whilst Rhodes did so through pragmatic methods. In a demonstration of the depth of Smuts' support for Rhodes, Smuts sided with Rhodes in a crisis involving President Kruger's bid to remain independent from the British, and in a speech delivered in Kimberley,

“...called for the pursuit of the themes for which he believed both he and Rhodes stood. The first of those themes was a call to foster a South African nationality in which all white men, who believed the interests of their country were paramount, might share. Rhodes, Smuts said, had done more to promote that national spirit than any other man had done ” (Ingham; 1986:13).

¹⁰ See Hall (1984, 1987, 1990) for a comprehensive discussion of Iron Age research in Southern Africa.

¹¹ Smuts' early studies concerned “the nature of man”, concentrating on the holistic view of South Africa (Ingham, 1986:5). White South Africa, in his eyes, formed a commercial and moral unit.

¹² Smuts, a graduate from Cambridge, had developed an early interest in prehistory. In July 1932, he presented a paper on “Climate and Man in Africa”, which was critically acclaimed by his peers at the South African Association for the Advancement of Science (Smuts; 1952:336).

Rhodes' support of the Jameson Raid¹³ jeopardised this relationship. A disillusioned Smuts left the Cape¹⁴ to live in the Transvaal (*ibid*). Relations between the South African Republic and the Cape soured to such extent that war was declared in 1899 (Omer-Cooper;1988:145). In the subsequent years, Smuts' reputation as war and political leader increased substantially. The first post-war white elections, in 1910¹⁵, were won by the South African National Party, with Smuts second in command¹⁶ (Davies, O'Meara and Dlamini; 1988). Rhodes' "betrayal" had not diminished Smuts' ideas about expansion and white unity.

"As I have said, we have started in previous times to civilise Africa from the North. All these attempts at civilization from the North have failed. We now try to proceed from the other end ---from South Africa. We have built up a stable white community in the south of the Continent and given them training for two hundred years, and they have learned the ways of Africa...now we are ready to go forward...towards the North" (Smuts;1917:90).

¹³ I have summarised Omer-Cooper's (1988) description of the Jameson Raid below. British plans to overthrow the Transvaal government had been in preparation for a long time, but only culminated in a fully developed project after the British Liberal government fell in 1895. When Transvaal declared independence in 1881, its gold-mining industry allowed it to exert a major economic influence in Southern Africa. This independence from Britain diverged from British ideas of controlling the sub-continent. Moves for an armed uprising within the Transvaal boundaries were met by a willingness to lend the support of the British South Africa Police. Rhodes managed to smuggle arms to the Rand, but following consultation, the uprising was postponed. Jameson, leader of the column that would support the uprising, decided to go ahead. Kruger's forces suppressed the raid quickly and Rhodes was forced to resign as Prime Minister of the Cape.

¹⁴ " ...by the middle of 1897 he had concluded that the leadership of the movement to establish a white-ruled, united South Africa had devolved upon the people of Dutch descent and particularly upon those who lived in the South African Republic" (Ingham;1986:17).

¹⁵ The four British colonies which emerged out of the war, were combined to form the Union of South Africa (Omer-Cooper; 1987:159).

¹⁶ General Louis Botha was the Prime Minister.

As head of state, Louis Botha combined the post of Prime Minister with that of Minister of Native Affairs, a move copied from earlier Cape administrations (Hanock; 1968). When Botha died in 1919, Smuts therefore took over as both Prime Minister of the Union and Minister of Native Affairs. Interestingly, Hanock (1968:112), notes that the tertiary-based anthropological disciplines only began in 1920, when "...the University of Cape Town appointed A.R. Radcliffe-Brown to its new chair of Social Anthropology". At this time Smuts was slowly asserting his voice on the issue of Native Affairs¹⁷, and it was becoming obvious that Smuts was beginning to take his position seriously¹⁸. In order to explore Smuts' role in the development of archaeology, it is necessary for us to examine the establishment of the precolonial studies in South Africa.

¹⁷ Hanock (1968:111-125) also notes that during the first year of Smuts' rule, he did not spend much time on Native policy. Following a challenge by the Bishop of Pretoria on the issue in 1920, this changed. Within four years, Smuts succeeded in achieving more legislation than his four predecessors had achieved in a dozen years.

¹⁸ The degree of repressive legislation and actions Smuts enforced are observed in the Bulhoek and Bondelswarts massacres of 1921 and 1922 respectively. See Omer-Cooper (1987) and Hanock (1968) for further discussion on these massacres.

Stone Age Archaeology in South Africa

Pre-colonial Archaeology in South Africa only took off with the arrival of Astley John Hilary Goodwin. Goodwin came to South Africa in February 1923 from Cambridge. Working under Professor A. Radcliffe Brown, he identified his initial task as

“to build up an ethnographical survey and bibliography intended to provide the foundation of an Africa Institute at Cape Town”¹⁹ (*ibid*).

Goodwin's arrival initiated a long struggle to sort out the terminology of South African prehistory. Dr. Louis Péringuey, then the Director of the South African Museum, followed in the footsteps of the Bowkers and other keen amateur prehistorians and was primarily responsible for the huge collections of artefacts at the Museum (Goodwin,1958:25). Péringuey classified all the local stone tools in European terms, ie. he saw historical connections with the European artefacts and hence classified tools in terms of the Lower Palaeolithic, Mousterian and Upper Palaeolithic, according to a classification system developed by De Mortilett. Goodwin, in 1924, saw the inappropriateness of De Mortilett's French classification scheme to the African context (*ibid*:25). In fact, Goodwin refers to other amateurs and collectors as viewing “every find in South Africa...through European spectacles” (Cape Times, 1926). The only term used by the South Africans that had a local origin was “Strandloper”²⁰ which was perceived as inappropriate to describe certain artefacts.

¹⁹ An institute was eventually developed independently in London, as there was a shortage of funds here(*ibid*:25).

²⁰ “Strandloper” translated from Afrikaans means “beach-walker”. Van Riebeeck used it to describe the first people he met when he landed in South Africa in 1652.

During the later half of 1924, Goodwin contacted one of the amateur prehistorians from the Orange Free State, Clarence van Riet Lowe²¹. Lowe was a keen follower of Péringuey's terminology (Goodwin, 1958:26) and this began a correspondence and collaboration between the two which precipitated the development of a new structure to South African prehistoric terminology. Goodwin refers to this initial correspondence as one that

“...disciplined me to clarify and set down my own views and methods for a man I had not met and who had no access to my material from the Cape Province, while I, too had no access to the material he was finding or to the sites he was trying to unravel” (*ibid*:27).

Deacon (1990:49) refers to Goodwin as the academic prehistorian and teacher, while “...Van Riet Lowe was the public relations man...with tremendous enthusiasm and drive”. This difference in personality and, I would argue, the different influences that they brought to bear played a significant role in the development of the discipline.

Goodwin describes his and Lowe's early archaeological surveys:

“Having no car, I visited accessible sites near the railway, while he continued with precarious help from government cars on which every mile was departmentally checked against official reports of work. He developed an excellent grapevine among his men, rewarding the finding of each new site with a few shillings.” (Goodwin;1958:27)

²¹ This follows from a letter, dated 27 August 1923, written to Radcliffe-Brown by van Riet Lowe, upon hearing of the death of Péringuey. Radcliffe-Brown turned the letter over to Goodwin, for him to take up the correspondence. Lowe was a trained geologist who was working as a civil engineer for the government at the time (Goodwin;1958).

Lowe's access to the resources of his government-job provided him with the opportunities of broader access to sites than Goodwin. His (Lowe's) interest in Prehistory had reached such a depth by 1928 that Goodwin writes,

“From now on van Riet Lowe's work was quite clearly independent of and well in advance of mine. His researches were to go from strength to strength, filling in gaps I had perforce to leave”. (*ibid*:32)

Lowe's outward nature served him well in his contacts with Miles Burkitt; Goodwin's mentor, and the Abbè Breuil, the world renowned French prehistorian. Furthermore, his relationship with General Jan Christiaan Smuts was of great significance. Deacon (1990:45) states that both Goodwin and Lowe approached Smuts “with ideas on government involvement in archaeology”, but that it was Lowe who advanced quicker and further in the field. When the Abbè Breuil visited the Union of South Africa in 1929, upon the recommendation and efforts of Miles Burkitt²², Lowe suitably impressed him to the extent that the Abbè wrote a report to the then Prime Minister, General Hertzog, recommending that an archaeological survey be established and that Lowe be appointed as its director (Broderick;1963:152). The establishment of the institution and Lowe's appointment followed six years later. When Goodwin had hoped to be appointed as Director of an Institute of Prehistory attached to the South African Museum, Lowe was appointed ahead of him as Director of the Bureau of Archaeology in Johannesburg (Goodwin; 1958:32).

²² Burkitt, along with the British Association for the Advancement of Science, managed to secure an invitation from General Hertzog (South African Prime Minister) for Breuil to attend the joint meeting between the British and South African Associations in South Africa in Johannesburg (Broderick;1963:151).

The potential for this appointment was enhanced by Lowe's relationship with Smuts. Deacon (1990:46) notes that the fact that Lowe served in the First World War at the same time as Smuts, lay the groundwork for their growing friendship. He and Smuts met several times following a shared journey from London in 1931²³, where they affirmed their combined interests in archaeology (*ibid*). Malan (1962:40) states that

“Not only did the two men become firm friends but Smuts' deep interest in the subject was to make him an important ally and a powerful patron of archaeological research in South Africa. We can hardly doubt that Breuil's recommendation two years earlier and van Riet Lowe's presidential address were discussed during the voyage, as they certainly were later at Smuts's home at Irene near Pretoria.”

Smuts' son states that his father had in fact “...persuaded van Riet Lowe to give up his structural engineering work with the Public Works Department and to start a new Bureau of Archaeology at the Witwatersrand University” (Smuts;1952:336). So it happened that in 1935, the Government established a Bureau of Archaeology with Lowe in the Directorship²⁴. It was established at the University of Witwatersrand for reasons of geography²⁵, as well as closeness to a number of prominent scholars, such as Dr. A. W. Hoernlé²⁶ of Social Anthropology and the physical anthropologist, Prof. R. A. Dart (Malan;1962:40). The University also offered Van

²³ See Malan (1962:40) for a fuller description of the background to this journey.

²⁴ Goodwin (1958:32) admits that this appointment “precluded my somewhat selfish idea of an Institute of Prehistory attached to the South African Museum; for I had hoped to be freed from archaeology to concentrate on material culture, the Later Stone Age and ethnology”.

²⁵ It had to be centrally situated to facilitate access to all parts of the country and be associated to an university. The University of Cape Town, with Goodwin, did not fulfil the geographic criterion (Malan;1962:39)

²⁶ Around 1923 Lowe “sought strenuously to cultivate contacts which would assist him” and at this time he met the Hoernlés from Johannesburg (Malan;1962:39).

Riet Lowe a Chair of Archaeology, with positions on the University Senate and other committees, free from any teaching commitments (*ibid*). Goodwin (1954:99) describes the

Bureau:

“The project and the man became one, Van Riet Lowe was built into the pattern, or a pattern was built around him, whichever way we choose to look at it.”

Within a few years the status of the Bureau had changed to that of the Archaeological Survey. The Archaeological Survey was to remain the only government-funded archaeological body in South Africa to date to be funded from a budget other than the Education budget (Judy Sealy; pers. comm.). Van Riet Lowe's influence grew to such an extent that he was appointed as Secretary to the Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques²⁷ (*ibid*). In 1941, Smuts was convinced by Lowe to employ the Abbé Breuil²⁸ as an officer at the Archaeological Bureau. Smuts and his son informally met with the Abbé and Lowe in 1942 to discuss this (Hanock;168:397, Clark;1962:21). With the Abbé's acceptance of this position, Stone Age Archaeology in South Africa seemed firmly entrenched.

²⁷ As Secretary, Van Riet Lowe wielded significant influence in the Commission. Deacon (1992:3) states that “the relatively high number of archaeological sites declared in the 1930s and early 1940s can be traced to the fact that the Secretary, Professor Van Riet Lowe, was an Archaeologist”. A demonstration of this, is the fact that out of the 10 rock painting/engraving sites declared as national monuments in South Africa, 7 were declared during Van Riet Lowe's term of office. It is also interesting to note the first cultural conservation legislation was passed during the first years of the Botha/Smuts government in 1911(Deacon;1992:2) . Smuts also subsequently supported a motivation by Van Riet Lowe that the state buy property that holds the Makapangs Valley Caves (Deacon;1992:7). This was however not allowed. When Van Riet Lowe retired from the Commission in 1954 he was succeeded by B.D. Malan, one of Goodwin's students, as Secretary of the Commission, as well as Director of the Archaeological Survey (Shaw;1986:48).

²⁸ The Abbé had been living as a refugee from the Germans in Lisbon (Hanock;1968:397).

The dependency of the discipline on Smuts did not end here. In 1947, a South African delegation of archaeologists was flown, by special arrangement from Smuts, in a military aircraft to Nairobi, to attend the first Pan-African Congress on Prehistory (Deacon;1990:48). Along with this delegation, Smuts had sent an invitation to hold the next Congress in South Africa. Smuts' failure to win the next elections in 1948, however, was a setback for the development of the discipline. The Congress was cancelled due to lack of support from the ruling National Party (*ibid*). Goodwin (1952:53) notes the growing antagonism from the new government towards archaeology, due to the perceived clash of archaeological findings and biblical belief. Deacon (1990:48) also refers to the threat to the explicitly racist government of evidence of early non-white occupation of the country²⁹. The new government heralded a new period of oppression in South Africa, that would later lead to a long phase of isolation of South African academia from the outside world.

Goodwin and the South African Archaeological Society

Deacon (1990:48) notes that the aftermath of the Second World War had a favourable effect on Goodwin's motivation. Soon after Goodwin had arrived, he had built links with the editor of a daily newspaper, the *Cape Times* (Goodwin; 1958:28). At that time Goodwin was requested to write a descriptive guide or handbook for the South African Museum. A series of articles was published in the newspaper in order to

“expedite the Handbook and at the same time to meet the demands of interested amateurs for further information” (Goodwin; 1958:28).

²⁹ This corresponds strongly with Hall's “settler-paradigm” (1984), identified in Iron Age research.

These articles³⁰, originally called *Sermons in Stones* and later changed to *Stories in Stones*, mark the first attempt to popularise archaeology in this country in this manner. Although attempting to be of a very general nature, the articles appear to be directed primarily at describing Goodwin's ideas on new terminology related to South African pre-colonial history. They were directed at preparing amateurs for a conference in Pretoria to discuss this terminology (Goodwin;1958:29). Copies of each of these articles were distributed to all possible interested parties for comment. The articles proved a success. Goodwin (1958:31) quotes an editorial note in the *Cape Times* of 17 July 1926:

“The theory of Stone Ages as set forth from time to time by Mr. A. J. H. Goodwin, M.A., F.R.A.I., under the heading *Stories in Stones*, has been accepted by the South African Association for the Advancement of Science at an archaeological conference convened for the purpose.”

In his final article, Goodwin proposed the possibility of an monthly archaeological magazine to promote the publication of research results. This proposal, however, only saw fruition at the end of the Second World War. Deacon (1990:48) notes that Goodwin had begun attempts to establish an archaeological society in the early-1940s. In 1944, The Cape Archaeological Society was formed at Goodwin's house (Malan;1956:31)³¹. At its inaugural meeting on 9 August 1944, Goodwin was appointed as Honorary General Secretary and General Jan Smuts was made first member of the Society (Society Minutes in the South African Archaeological Bulletin;1945:23). Although its early aims were very modest, demands from other provinces

³⁰ Twelve articles were printed in the week-end editions of the newspaper, from 27 March to 21 August (Cape Times; 1926).

³¹ People who attended this meeting included Dr. Eric Nobbs, Mr. H.S. Jager and Ms. D.F. Bleek, each of whom had similar, yet independent ideas about the creation of an archaeological society (*ibid*).

compelled the Society to expand³² and the South African Archaeological Society (SAAS) was formed in 1945 (Goodwin; 1945:1). The SAAS was extended over the Union and neighbouring states, and the first copy of its journal, the South African Archaeological Bulletin was published in December 1945 (*ibid*).

The SAAS aimed to produce two series of publications, a Handbook Series and the Bulletin, each with very specific aims. The Handbook Series aimed to form “an encyclopedia of Archaeology in South Africa”, while the Bulletin was to be very different:

“It is instructive, and will be written, so far as is possible, in language that can be readily understood. We shall try to weed out curious compound words and classical creations that have acceptable equivalents in our common language. Terms that have no adequate synonyms, or are used in a special sense, will be explained. We cannot publish in a simplified English, but we can fight against embroiled and over-complicated jargon” (Goodwin; 1945:2-3).

From the beginning therefore, the Bulletin was aimed at presenting accessible material for amateurs³³ and other interested parties. Goodwin had already demonstrated his commitment to producing articles for the general public through his *Stories in Stones*-Series and this continued through the Bulletin. Goodwin (1945:175) stated that

“It is our immediate task to create a public, and to supply people with the necessary introduction to the many possibilities of an enthralling and versatile hobby”.

Deacon (1990:48) registers Goodwin’s early attempts to stimulate the contribution of articles by non-professionals. He had a limited degree of success, especially in terms of the quality

³² Smuts and Van Riet Lowe were the main supporters of such an expansion (Malan; 1956:31).

³³ In 1945 Goodwin, R.J. Mason, B.D. Malan and Van Riet Lowe were the only archaeologists in the country employed as such, of which only the latter was not professionally trained (Deacon; 1990:50).

of work presented, but prior to 1960, fifty percent of the articles in the Bulletin was being written by amateurs (Deacon; 1990:51). In the second volume of the Bulletin, Goodwin's editorial hints at contributors sending in work of unacceptable standards. He states that;

“It takes a discerning mind to write a good popular article that is not merely a rehash of someone else's work. It needs expert knowledge, even if only in a limited field.”

and

“It wants accurate and clear expression and a correct simplification of ideas. One day we shall reach this pleasant level of publication without prostituting archaeology by inaccuracy, the cheaper forms of journalism or by sensationalism” (Goodwin; 1946:1).

With the professionalization of archaeology beginning in the 1960s the nature of the Bulletin and the practice of archaeology in South Africa changed. Both Goodwin and Van Riet Lowe died in the late 1950s. Whilst they both made tremendous contributions to the discipline, Goodwin was the one to have devoted enormous effort into archaeological education, both at a university and popular level. Three of his students went on to fill major positions in the country, and once Ray Inskeep replaced Goodwin in 1960, this began a new era of archaeological research in South Africa (Deacon;1990:52). What is also interesting to consider is the fact that this new era of professionalization marked the end of the Archaeological Survey at the University of Witwatersrand. The survey was closed in 1962 and Deacon (1990:50) describes it as a “major loss”, which has “never been adequately replaced either by the National Monuments Council or by the Archaeological Research Unit at the University of Witwatersrand”. Deacon, however, does not expand on the reasons why a body of such importance was closed down, specifically at such a critical time in the history of the discipline.

The introduction of a more scientific framework widened the rift between amateurs and professionals, which has never been bridged successfully. By the 1970s amateur's contribution to the Bulletin was down to ten percent (*ibid.*:51)³⁴. The distinction between professional and amateur in archaeology is not necessarily a clear one. Deacon (1990:51) mentions that prior to 1960 the discipline depended heavily on amateurs, or "with people not employed full-time nor formally educated as archaeologists". Early amateurs in the discipline had been committed enough to fill archaeological posts which had become available in South Africa. The efforts of Van Riet Lowe is a case in point. Professionalization has therefore not just meant the employment of trained scholars, but also includes the employment of committed amateurs. In 1970, a body of professionals was formed, called The Southern African Association of Archaeologists (*ibid.*:52). This body represents the professional interests and aims of archaeology in South Africa. Today the primary criteria for membership to this body is based on employment, as well as training³⁵.

By the 1970s the Bulletin had become inaccessible to many amateurs and there was a need to create an space for popular articles for, and sometimes by, amateurs (Judy Sealy, pers.comm.). In 1984 a newsletter was produced along with the Bulletin, called the Digging Stick³⁶. For all intents and purposes, the Digging Stick took over that aspect of the Bulletin,

³⁴ The role of amateurs within the archaeology is important within a discussion of a People's Archaeology. I will examine this role in more depth in Chapter 7.

³⁵ My reference to amateurs, in the current context, would be to those interested individuals who are not attached to any of the major archaeological institutions in this country and who are not necessarily formally-trained in the discipline.

³⁶ The SAAS today produces 4 publications. These include the Bulletin (twice a year), the Digging Stick (thrice a year), the Goodwin Series (irregularly) and the Monograph Series (irregularly). The Goodwin Series was begun in 1972, as a tribute to Goodwin.

which creates a space for amateurs to express themselves. The small editorial of the first issue expressed the hope that it will be established separately from the Bulletin, "...with different aims and interests" (Pager;1984).

The success of the Digging Stick has only been minor³⁷, as a restricted budget does not allow for distribution of the publication outside the membership³⁸ of the Archaeological Society (Judy Sealy; pers.comm.). Educational initiatives undertaken by the SAAS have included talks, seminars, fieldtrips, exhibitions, site-displays³⁹ and the publication of popular material⁴⁰. Concerning the latter, the SAAS has produced three major educational resources recently. These have all formed part of a series and include general books on archaeological practice⁴¹, rock art and a wallchart with an accompanying explanatory handbook on archaeology in Southern Africa (Humphreys; 1986, Lewis-Williams; 1990, Thackeray, Deacon, Hall, Humphreys, Morris, Malherbe and Catchpole; 1992). These were all done through publishers whom the SAAS believed would assist in creating easier access to the material (Sealy; pers.comm.). The sales and circulation of these resources have not been carefully measured

³⁷ Often contribution to the Digging Stick has not been sufficient to fill its pages and other material had to be substituted (Judy Sealy; pers.comm.). A brief examination of the contributors to the newsletter also seems to indicate a heavy dependence on professionals to write popular and accessible materials.

³⁸ The membership of the SAAS itself has varied over the years, currently consisting roughly of 1100 members, of which 110 are professionals and institutional members (Judy Sealy; pers. comm.). The rest of the membership consists of students and amateurs.

³⁹ The most popular of these ventures, amongst SAAS members, have been focused on underwater archaeology and rock art (*ibid*).

⁴⁰ Questionnaire data in Chapter 4 and discussions in Chapter 7 will explore educational initiatives in more detail.

⁴¹ This booklet was used for a short while as an undergraduate textbook at the University of Cape Town, but no longer serves that function (Sealy; pers.comm.).

or monitored and one can only speculate on the success of their usage. Future plans of the SAAS are restricted by the limited funds⁴² and lack of members who are willing to undertake such time-consuming and labour-intensive ventures (Sealy; pers. comm.).

To summarise therefore; the early initiatives of politicians, like Rhodes and later, of Smuts, played a crucial role in the establishment of archaeology as a discipline in Southern Africa. Although the discipline enjoyed a flurry of interest and support under the Smuts government, the advent of legislated Apartheid under the Nationalist government marked the end of such a high level of government support for and of archaeology. This period went hand-in-hand with the increase of trained professionals, who by the 1970s had begun to change the structure and practice of the discipline⁴³. This change from a discipline dependant on amateur involvement to one based on professional dominance, has effectively moved it from the public (amateur) sphere to the private (institutional) domain. Archaeology is therefore today an institutional practice, with very little involvement outside this sphere. The only non-institutional archaeological body⁴⁴ involved in encouraging amateur-participation, the

⁴² Funding of the SAAS comes primarily from members' subscription fees, investments, sales of publications and donations/grants (South African Archaeological Bulletin Annual report;1992). Countless editorials in the Bulletin, dating back to the SAAS's inception, decry its financial situation, and demonstrate that, although the only formal non-institutional South African body devoted to encouraging amateur-involvement in the discipline, its existence has always been based on meagre earnings and professional assistance.

⁴³ As an example, see Mazel's (1987) article on Later Stone Age studies in South Africa, for an in-depth discussion of theoretical changes and research approaches in that area of archaeological research since the 1960s.

⁴⁴ I will discuss the development of informal bodies of archaeologists interested in educational initiatives outside the traditional environment of archaeological institutions in Chapter 5.

South African Archaeological Society⁴⁵, has itself been dominated by professionals to the extent that the Society's major mouth-piece, the *Bulletin*, has become the most prominent outlet for academic (ie. professional) publication of research-results in the country⁴⁶.

The maturing of archaeology, in this country, into a fully-fledged discipline during the 1960s and 1970s has, as a consequence, led to its isolation from the public. Although archaeologists have attempted to popularise the discipline⁴⁷, this has had only limited success⁴⁸. The next chapter will discuss the fact that this "awakening" has not been unique to the South African context and has become a very topical issue internationally.

⁴⁵ The objects of the Society, as stated in its constitution, include
"2a)...to encourage and to foster interest and support for the study of archaeology and archaeological research;
(b) to promote adult education, by the way of lectures, seminars, educational courses and excursions under professional guidance;..." (South African Archaeological Society Constitution; 1992).

⁴⁶ In 1992 a new archaeological journal, called *South African Field Archaeology*, was launched by the Albany Museum in Grahamstown. It aims to "communicate basic data to professional archaeologists and the public" (*South African Field Archaeology*; 1992)

⁴⁷ See Chapter 4.

⁴⁸ See Chapter 7.

Chapter 3

International Archaeology in Transition

In 1985 a decision was taken to ban all South African and Namibian¹ delegates from the first World Archaeological Congress to be held in Southampton in 1986 (Ucko; 1987). This decision acted as witness to the increasing politicization of archaeology over the last few decades. The banning also marked the culmination of exclusions of South African archaeologists from several other major international archaeological events. The first such action began in 1950 with the South African government withdrawing its support for the proposed hosting of the Pan African Congress of Prehistory (Goodwin; 1950).

The World Archaeological Congress (WAC) of 1986 set out to actively involve participants from both the Third and Fourth Worlds², in an attempt to be “truly international” (Ucko; 1987). Its organisation was set against the backdrop of a wave of repressive legislation in South Africa and the banning of South African scholars from the Pan African Congress in January 1984 (*ibid*:53). The banning from subsequent Pan African conferences was imposed

¹ The Namibian delegates were included in the banning as the territory still fell under South African control (Ucko; 1987).

² Ucko (1987) refers to the Fourth World as “...the indigenous ...people (eg Aborigines...) in countries, such as Australia, and in the New World, where an alien majority has now become established in government.”

by host nations, following the policy of the Organisation for African Unity to bar South African passport holders (Deacon; 1986:3).

By June 1986 a second State of Emergency was declared in South Africa, to halt the resistance politics of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the then banned African National Congress (ANC)³. The events of the mid-1980s focused the world's attention on South Africa, and in academic circles, specifically calls for an academic boycott. An academic boycott of South Africa had been advocated by the ANC since 1959 (Ucko;1987:286). Pressure from the Southampton City Council, Southampton University students and academics, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and some of the prospective participants in the WAC, compelled the organisers of the congress to take the calls for an academic boycott seriously (Ucko;1987, Deacon;1986). The decision to ban South African and Namibian participants, drew strong reactions from some South African quarters (Deacon; 1986, Sampson; 1988), with Professor Phillip Tobias writing a stern letter to the Congress protesting the decision:

“Another implication of the Committee's decision is that, by keeping out all South African participants, you are in effect identifying all those researchers with the policies of South Africa. To be so identified, a number of my colleagues and I take exception”(Ucko;1987:66).

The banning remained in place and more than 70 different countries participated in the Congress. The resulting publications⁴ reflect the growing concern with the role of politics in interpretations of the past and the involvement of indigenous and local communities in the practice of studying the past (*ibid*). This chapter draws on material from these publications.

³ See Chapter 1 for a detailed discussion.

⁴ Most of the papers that were delivered at the Congress were published in a series of books called “One World Archaeology” (Ucko; 1987).

What I intend doing in this chapter is focusing on 3 different parts of the world, Australia, Mozambique and Canada, in an attempt to draw out major trends that are developing internationally concerning the relationship between archaeologists and non-archaeologists.

Politics and the Past

Friedman (1992:837) talks about the making of history as

“...a way of producing identity insofar as it produces a relation between that which supposedly occurred in the past and the present state of affairs.”

Identity is rooted in the production and learning about that past, and therefore appears rooted in the past itself. Control over the past, or what constitutes the past, is therefore an important feature of this construction of identity. The expression of this control amounts to power being exercised over what constitutes identity⁵. Ritchie (1990) has demonstrated that power in this form is exercised by academia over the production and presentation of knowledge⁶. This control rests in the control over the credentialising system and expertise, in terms of what constitutes legitimate knowledge (Muller and Cloete; 1986).

“Many Third World archaeologists, among others, see clearly the ability to name things, to create the categories of analysis through which we perceive reality, as a source of power.” (McIntosh, McIntosh and Togola; 1989)

⁵ In Chapter 7 I will discuss the ownership of the South African past in more detail.

⁶ She focused specifically on the relationship between the public and academic understanding of early Khoikhoi herding in South Africa (Ritchie; 1990).

Awareness of this control and what it constitutes is becoming increasingly widespread. Resistance by indigenous⁷ communities to 'accepted' interpretations of the past and archaeologists' willingness to involve these communities are becoming more prevalent than before. Coupled with this, is the challenging and transformation of traditional boundaries between different disciplines which deal with the past, such as linguistics, history, archaeology, anthropology, psychology (Ucko; 1983a).

However, gains made by indigenous groups, such as the Aborigines or Native Americans, have always been on the terms of the colonisers (Roosens; 1989), and as such, these gains could be perceived as 'concessions' by governments or authorities who are not willing to relinquish any power or control over these groups. This dependency on political and legislative powers can be clearly seen in Australia. Here the government has implemented laws to assist Aborigines in the claiming and owning of land, but stipulated the terms on which it can be done and by whom. This move has forced academics to evaluate their role within the debate, and accept the political nature of the discipline (Moser, in press).

Archaeology in Australia

Aboriginal sites represent the only Australian cultural sites that receive mention in the World Heritage Listings (Sullivan; 1985:139). However, although the sites are easily recognised as

⁷ The term indigenous or aboriginal is used as specified in the Oxford English Dictionary as "first or earliest as far as history or science gives record...An original inhabitant of the land, now usually distinguished from subsequent European colonists."

being of great antiquity and in need of protection, Aboriginal culture⁸ does not acquire the same recognition. Understanding 'Who is an Aboriginal?' has been central to the recognition of Aboriginal rights.

In 1967 White Australians voted for the first time to acknowledge Aborigines as citizens of Australia (Langton; 1978:5). White politicians have interpreted this Aboriginal identity as being composed of

“...those few Aborigines who still lead a so-called traditional life..., who live in remote parts of Australia, and who speak an Aboriginal language.”
(Ucko;1983a:25)

The perception of indigenous people being 'unchanged', 'primitive' is not unique to Australia, but has been described in the United States as well (Trigger; 1985, McGuire; 1992). McGuire (1992:817) talks of the perception of the “noble savage” and the “savage savage” amongst White Americans. The definition of Indian (or Aborigine) generalises an 'otherness', which is different from Whites. This alien 'otherness' places indigenous people outside the realm of White society and its rights and privileges (*ibid*).

This view that indigenous peoples are 'stuck in time' is contrasted, on the other hand, by the view that they no longer exist. Matthiessen (1992) states that American Indians recognise this as “the new fashion of racism”, which denies that Native Americans still exist. The 'primitive other' can be successfully banished to the past, beyond the current. Through this denial,

⁸ The generalisation “Aboriginal culture” denies the underlying complexity of the indigenous population of Australia. Ucko (1983a:31) states that Aborigines have developed “...some 200 separate languages with different vocabularies and different grammars.”

indigenous people have been successfully separated from a connection with their past, allowing it to be used by Whites for “nationalistic and scientific purposes” (McGuire;1992:818).

Groube (1985:50) identifies a difference between ownership over ‘things’ from the past and ownership of the past:

“Things can be precisely defined and legislated for; there is no doubt who ‘owns’ the things from the past in Papua New Guinea. *The National Cultural Properties Act (1967)* clearly defines the state’s ownership of all material culture and archaeological sites within Papua New Guinea.”

Ownership of the past rests with the researchers who claim to be the ‘experts’ or ‘specialists’, who give words to the past (Groube 1985:58).

The creation of an ‘Australian national past’, which included Aboriginal sites, allowed the state to construct histories which today still dominate popular consciousness. Education has been used by the state to reinforce stereotypes about Aborigines and to alienate them from their past (Barlow;1990). Groube (1985:58), whilst referring to the situation in Papua New Guinea, makes the point that the colonial historians⁹ of the late nineteenth century have impacted so much on the interpretations of the past, that the influence of archaeology has done little to change these interpretations. The effect has been so powerful that Polynesian

⁹ Hiatt (1989:152) argues that in the Australian context, the work of the anthropologist; Radcliffe-Brown, in the early part of this century, structured anthropological ideas, as well as popular consciousness, about Aboriginal ownership. His work formed the basis for later legislature regarding Aboriginal land tenure in Australia.

people are unwilling to accept a different or alternative view¹⁰ of their past, which archaeological evidence demonstrates (*ibid*:61).

Within Australia school-history, "colonial knowledge" as Barlow (1990:76) terms it, has led to the marginalisation of Aborigines from their past, as well as alienation from White Australian culture. This "colonial knowledge" has been constructed during the early colonisation of Australia, focusing on the 'otherness' of the Aborigines, in opposition to the "hard-working God-fearing Christian European gentlefolk" (Barlow, 1990:78).

Barlow (*ibid*) further notes that the sympathetic research conducted by scientists since the 1930s has been attempting to counteract this "colonial knowledge" and the stereotypes it has created, with little effect. As in the Papua New Guinea case above, the understanding of the general public and their attitudes towards Aboriginal culture remains unchanged, despite the existence of a wealth of information which demonstrates an increasing respect for past and contemporary Aboriginal people.

The attitude of dominant governments, based on racist "colonial knowledge", has allowed the denial of the 'aboriginality' of indigenous peoples. Any 'savages' who were swept away by 'civilisation' and adapted their lifestyles to conform to that of the colonisers, were immediately labelled "not worthy of their heritage" (Dippie; 1982, quoted in McGuire:1992:819). This conveniently excluded them from recognition as Aborigines and therefore any recognition in issues such as land rights claims (Ucko; 1983a).

¹⁰ Different to the "authorised" version.

Federal and State politics have played a crucial role in defining Aboriginal identity and access to land (Ucko; 1983b). In 1976 legislation¹¹ was passed by the Northern Territory in Australia which recognised Aboriginal rights to land tenure (Maddock; 1989:156). This legislation was the first of its kind in the world to recognise the rights of indigenous people over ownership of property (Wilmsen;1989:1). In 1977, this Act became law in Australia (*ibid*). The fact that Australia is a federation of states implies differences in the status of Aborigines and implementations of this Act (Maddock; 1989:176).

The passing of this legislature, at this time, had much to do with the fact that; 1) Aborigines formed a majority the Northern Territory, 2) anthropological writing of the 1960s and 1970s shifted opinion in this direction (Maddock; 1989:156-157), and 3) the fact that the liberal Federal Labour Government won the Australian elections in 1972 (Ucko;1983b:14).

Although seemingly ground-breaking, this legislation itself imposed a set of criteria on Aborigines, who wished to claim land, based on need and “traditional ownership” (Ucko; 1983a:32). Langton (1978:5) also states that only in the Northern Territory

“...has anything remotely resembling genuine Aboriginal Land Rights been enacted and even there, Aboriginal land ownership is hedged with concessions to white mining and pastoral interests.”

The formulation of White legal and political perceptions of what constitutes “traditional ownership”, has affected the relationship between disciplines concerned with Aboriginal matters¹² and their subjects of study, Aboriginal communities.

¹¹ The Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act.

¹² These disciplines include archaeology, anthropology, ethno-musicology, linguistics, genetics, art and history.

This interaction has led to archaeologists awakening to the strong Aboriginal connection between the past and the present (Ucko;1983b:13). Sullivan (1985:140) proposed that the debate around ownership has mainly been between archaeologists and Aborigines. I would argue that it has included anthropologists, as they have played a crucial role in the attempts to define this "traditional ownership"¹³ and deal with Aboriginal perceptions of ownership (See Maddock; 1989).

Prior to the mid-1970s, Australian archaeology was rooted in the British tradition through its aims, interests and methods (Ucko; 1983b:13). The Aboriginal Land Rights Act challenged this tradition and led to the restructuring of the discipline in Australia. Aboriginal land claims were (are) totally dependant on academic assistance (*ibid*). Under the Act, anthropologists were responsible for the researching, compiling and submitting of claim books to Land Councils¹⁴, which were used in actual land claims (Maddock; 1989:159).

Ucko (1983b:16) states that

"...it was the evidence of archaeology which gained immediate publicity so that it became visible to the public at large as being crucial to Aboriginal interests..."

Archaeologists attempted to deal with this attention in the political spotlight through 1) involving Aborigines in their research; as well as in the Australian Institute of Aboriginal

¹³ Hiatt (1989:102) argues that the 1976 Act developed its concepts from the work of Radcliffe-Brown. His (Radcliffe-Brown's) model became "anthropological orthodoxy", although it was subject to heated challenge during the 1960s and 1970s.

¹⁴ Land Councils are established under the Land Rights Act. (Maddock; 1989) Consisting exclusively of Aborigines, they are charged with the administration of Aboriginal land and submission of land claims. The Land Rights Act also makes provision for a Land Commissioner who acts as judge over 'traditional' land claims (*ibid*).

Studies (AIAS)¹⁵ decision-making bodies, 2) embarking on public-education programmes amongst the Aborigines, 3) changing their site-recording practices¹⁶, 4) consulting and negotiating with Aboriginal groups regarding excavations and 5) recognising Aboriginal claims to certain museum objects and returning these objects to the Aborigines (Ucko; 1983b:17-19).

Strong initial Aboriginal distrust of archaeologists changed when archaeologists, through the AIAS, advocated the reburial of the skeletal remains of an Aborigine in 1974 (Ucko; 1983b:15). This pro-active step precipitated improved relations between Aborigines, especially urban Aborigines, and archaeologists. This relationship has developed to such an extent that by 1983, archaeologists were contracted by Aborigines to do an excavation of a threatened burial-site (Sullivan; 1985:154). This entire project was marked by close consultation between the archaeologists and the Aborigines.

However, the act of archaeological practice, enforced by law, to identify and demarcate “sites of significance”, itself is shown to be an act of cultural oppression (Barlow; 1990:81). This reflects archaeology's British origin, where emphasis is placed on plotting visible remnants

¹⁵ AIAS is described as “...*the* Statutory Body with the main responsibility for the national funding of research topics on almost all subjects to do with Aborigines” (Ucko; 1983b:13). A Prehistory Advisory Committee was established in 1965, as part of AIAS, which employed several influential archaeologists and obviously set the tone for Australian archaeology. However, Ucko (1983b) notes that the involvement of archaeologists in Aboriginal affairs was not necessarily condoned by all archaeologists. There were individuals who rejected this involvement and considered it to be “...beyond the limits of ethical compromise”.

¹⁶ Site-recorders were forced to change their focus from sites that were archaeological-ly important, to those which were of importance to the “living” Aborigines (Ucko; 1983b:17).

of the past on maps for further study (Ucko; 1983b:14). This is in stark contrast to Aboriginal interpretation of Dreamtime activity, which resulted in every physical feature on the landscape having significance. Within the Dreaming, time is not separated into notions of past, present and future (Watson; 1990:90). The Dreaming is, therefore, always happening. Attempts at assimilation of Aborigines into systems of acceptance of the archaeological frameworks of “sites of significance” have been ongoing at many different levels (Barlow; 1990:81). Different institutional bodies, ranging from national parks to colleges, seek to employ or train Aborigines in these theories, which differ from their own.

At another level, Maddock (1989), points out that anthropological evidence outweighs those of Aborigines in land-claim trials, notwithstanding researchers’ ‘openness’ to Aborigines’ requests. This can partially be contributed to the legislative emphasis on the role of the ‘expert’, as demanded under the Land Rights Act. The testimony of the anthropologists has rarely been disputed, as the prosecution has had a difficulty in obtaining anthropological advice (*ibid*). This stems from the obvious sympathetic and moral commitment to assist the people they are studying. Aborigines have therefore gained tremendously through the involvement of sympathetic academics.

This sympathetic relationship has, however, thrown into doubt the ‘objectivity’ of anthropologists. Maddock argues strongly against this. Aboriginal claims, regarding who falls into the Act’s “local descent group”¹⁷, does not depart from any anthropological concepts

¹⁷ The Aboriginal Land Rights Act defines “traditional owners” as “...a *local descent group* (my emphasis) of Aborigines who—(a) have common spiritual affiliations to a site on the land that place the group under primary spiritual responsibility for that site and for the land; and (b) are entitled by Aboriginal tradition to forage as of right over that land.” (Maddock; 1989:161)

of descent. He argues further that anthropologists have at times challenged the interpretations of claim books. This challenge was at no time geared towards gaining the support of the Aborigines.

Ucko (1983b) also indicates that instances were beginning to arise where articulated Aboriginal demands were in direct conflict with those of archaeologists. This has occurred when Aboriginal concepts of what constitutes 'valid' research have conflicted with Western academic notions. Archaeologists have however begun to recognise that Aboriginal ownership of knowledge does exist and must be recognised (*ibid*:22). This implies that challenges to these Western academic conventions often arise when Aborigines bring forward requests for specific research or attempt to enforce certain restrictions on researchers. Issues which proved to have reached a stalemate have sometimes been resolved through archaeologists conceding to Aborigines' demands. Ucko (1983b:21) mentions a case where female archaeologists had to be barred from working on a specific site, due to Aboriginal insistence on the religious significance of the site. This has highlighted the strongly patriarchal character of Aboriginal society, as well as the male-oriented research foci of archaeologists. As a result Aboriginal women are starting to make land claims and are requesting the aid of women researchers.

Ucko (1983b:24) suggested in 1983 that the framing of Aboriginal identity will change as new governments take over. This in turn will demand a change in the role that archaeology will play in Aboriginal affairs. However, the beginning made in the 1970s to "aboriginalise" the AIAS, has not faded. Moser (in press:6) notes that one of the debates that have arisen out of

the AIAS policy of aboriginal involvement in its activities, has revolved around 'community-based archaeology'. This kind of archaeology

"...goes beyond simply negotiating with Aboriginal organisations for permission to carry out field research and employing Aboriginal people as assistants in field work." (Moser, in press:6)

The actual involvement of community members in the design and execution of archaeological research forms the basis for this work.

To summarise, it appears that the relationship between progressive academia and Australian national politics has played a prominent role in the direct involvement of academia in Aboriginal political and social affairs. On the one hand academia, in the form of anthropology and archaeology, has penetrated legislative consciousness to the extent that ground-breaking legislature was passed concerning the rights of indigenous people and land-ownership. And on the other hand, this legislature has committed these academics to playing a far greater role in Australian Courts. Maddock (1989) is however, critical of this commitment by demonstrating that anthropological testimony still outweighs that of the Aborigines themselves. This process has functioned quite well in firstly elevating and making anthropology and archaeology very prominent in the public eye, specifically amongst Aborigines, and secondly, making Aborigines dependant on progressive academics to succeed in the land claims. Langton (1978:5) recognizes this in her statement that

"The extent to which we are forced to pursue our legitimate claims outside the Australian political system will depend on how long Australian politicians continue to confuse their success in expunging the guilt of white Australians with implementing their policies on Aboriginal affairs."

The prominence that archaeology has gained, as described by Ucko (1983b), has not, however, led to a major change in consciousness amongst the broader Australian population. Barlow

(1990:80) maintains that archaeological research has done very little to change what is taught in schools, or in fact the popular view of Aborigines. A greater acceptance by Aborigines of the value of academic research has occurred, as demonstrated in the case of Sullivan (1985), described above. Western academics, on the other hand, have made gains in terms of the acceptance of the existence of other modes of interpretations and evidence. This acceptance has not filtered through to the educational practice yet. However, Barlow (1990:85) insists that Australian Aborigines continue to distinguish "... education as a means to break from their colonial status and to gain equality with other Australians." Moser (in press) however, argues that AIAS policy to actively recognize Aboriginal control over their cultural heritage and the empowerment of Aborigines to exercise this control, through their involvement and employment in AIAS structures, has gone a long way to develop this equality.

Archaeology in Mozambique, Africa

The role of archaeology in an African context takes on a distinctly different colour. Land claims have not been very prominent, and as a result not much emphasis has been placed on legislature in this regard. The most recent case in Southern Africa to enjoy a significant amount of media exposure (Balic; 1990) involved the establishment of a National Park in the North Western Cape, South Africa. The establishment of the Park challenged the rights of local people over ownership of the land¹⁸. The fact that indigenous groups, such as the San/"Bushmen", have for so long been denied a voice in any matters affecting them, has contributed to this situation. Only recently, at a regional conference held in June 1992 to

¹⁸ See Sharp, 1992 for a fuller description.

fight for their rights, has there been murmurs of a political awakening amongst the San/Bushmen (Kasale; 1992:6).

On the other hand, many governments have only focused on the role archaeology can play following their independence. Archaeology within the post-independence era in Mozambique has enjoyed a much greater profile than before. Within Mozambique, an emphasis had been placed on nation-building and within this framework historical consciousness has played a crucial role. Archaeologists have become much more pro-active¹⁹ than they had been before. During the colonial period the primary focus of historical research was on Portuguese colonial relics (Sinclair; 1990:152). The educative approach adopted by archaeologists after 1975 independence was brought on by the local political changes of the independence process (João Morais, pers. comm.).

Similar developments were evident elsewhere in the African sub-continent. Garlake (1983:1) quotes a speech by the Zimbabwean Prime Minister upon independence as stating:

“Independence will bestow on us a new personality, ...a new perspective and indeed, a new history and a new past.”

This statement embodies much of independent Africa's emphasis on developing new identities, different from the oppressive colonial identity given to them (Trigger; 1990). The expression of this new identity has most often been made in strongly nationalist tones.

¹⁹ In terms of being willing to take decisions about the future of the discipline and attempting to implement these, rather than have decisions taken for and enforced on them.

In Zimbabwe, Ken Mufuka published a book in 1983 on Great Zimbabwe, in which he dismissed 78 years of archaeological research, in an attempt to 'set the record straight' (Mufuka; 1983): "... We must be allowed to have the final say on what is black" (Garlake; 1984:121). Strong criticism was forthcoming from Garlake (1984), while Hall (1989:76) notes that the firm alignment of archaeology with white domination, in the public view, has allowed popular understandings of the African past to favour statements such as those of Mufuka, rather than Garlake.

Within Mozambique, the awareness of the need for new identities was equally strong. Sinclair (1990:153) refers to a speech by President Samora Machel in 1976, in which Machel "...spoke of the need to reorient the work of the university towards the needs of the country, and to proceed systematically to investigate areas of sciences and humanities relevant to the needs of the people of Mozambique." This implied a change in disciplinary focus away from esoteric scholarship. As the historical consciousness of the people became a priority, so academic goals changed. The traditional aims of producing academic research, in the form of papers in foreign journals, was restructured in a period of consolidation of archaeology as a discipline and an examination of its role within independent Mozambique.

The first archaeological research body to be established in Mozambique, with the support of an institution, occurred in 1975, when archaeology was introduced within the Institute of Scientific Research (Sinclair; 1990, Morais;1984). This developed into the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology in 1980 (Sinclair; 1990:153). With independence, it became obvious that a shift in archaeological praxis was necessary.

An acute shortage of trained staff, the need for public education, including a policy regarding the preservation and dissemination of information about known sites, had to be dealt with (Morais; 1984:117). Assistance was forthcoming from Swedish authorities, such as the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries (SAREC) and the Swedish Centre of National Antiquities (Sinclair, Morais, Adamowics and Duarte; 1993). The latter is stated as providing support "...towards developing the potential of archaeology in Mozambique in education and providing the necessary infrastructure to enable a broader range of archaeological research to take place." (*ibid*:412). Involvement of the Swedish Antiquities services allowed archaeologists to look at the total archaeological system of the country, think long-term and to harbour resources to guard the range of archaeological resources; from the landscape to the artefact, and get involved in organised forms of public communication (Paul Sinclair; pers. comm.).

Within the theoretical transformation of the discipline, there was a shift towards a historical materialist perspective. The benefits of these were, firstly that it fulfilled an important requirement for material for the remodelled school and adult education system (Sinclair *et al*; 1993:410). Secondly, a flexible interpretation of this paradigm, which links specific modes of production with social and material contexts, allowed a fuller integration of the available archaeological evidence (*ibid*:411). What also became obvious was the need for interdisciplinary cooperation, especially with the social sciences, such as anthropology, whereby theoretical concepts could be fleshed out and research pooled.

The empirical expression of this concept created difficulties. These were overcome by adopting what Sinclair *et al* (1993:412) called a multivariate approach to the interpretation of ceramics.

Traditionally ceramic analysis in Africa has involved the correlation of ceramic types with groups of people. In Mozambique this has been substituted by the examination of ceramics in terms of their form and decoration (*ibid*). Emphasis is therefore placed on the comparison of ceramic assemblages, rather than associating them with ethnic groupings. Furthermore, work at an archaeological site at Manyikeni provided a test case on which future work became based (Sinclair; pers. comm.). The results from this excavation allowed the development of suitable methodology for the excavation of similar sites (Morais; 1984:117). Sinclair et al (1993:429) describes it as having

“...resulted in a form of praxis which integrated scientific and cultural work and established the first links between the practice of archaeology and popular involvement and education.”

Manyikeni is a major Zimbabwe site in south central Mozambique (Morais; 1984:117). Following independence, a significant amount of energy was poured into the exploration of the site, resulting in local residents assisting in the excavation (Morais; pers. comm.). It is clear that the educational approach adopted at Manyikeni did not flow from previous work in archaeology education in Sweden. The educational approach at Manyikeni therefore seems to have been ‘demanded’ by local residents who had become frustrated with the free labour they were supplying to researchers, with very little gains to themselves.

In 1977 residents working on the excavation compelled researchers to initiate a series of meetings to discuss payment for their labour (Sinclair; 1990:154). Following several days of discussion it was agreed that residents from a 40 km radius would voluntarily participate in the excavation on a rotational basis and that a site museum and culture centre would be established. The time spent on the site would be split between education and excavation

(*ibid*). A guide and curator for the site was chosen from the participants following general agreement between the residents and the archaeologists.

The site museum and the media coverage that ensued from the work at the site, focused national attention on the archaeological work. Following a magazine article on Manyikeni, a flood of more than 150 letters was received in response to the position of “high powered exile political economy academics” that there was no value to anything older than thirty years (Paul Sinclair; pers. comm.). The site of Manyikeni reached such national recognition that the locality was named after the archaeological site, and postage stamps were issued, bearing archaeological finds from the site (Sinclair; 1990:154).

Further work included the writing of suitable educational texts for usage in the Mozambican school syllabus (Morais; 1984:124). Research results in precolonial archaeology, badly neglected prior to independence, are being included in the form of primary and 5th-grade textbooks. Sinclair (1990:158) notes that although this has been advantageous to archaeology, only a small portion of the schoolchildren benefit from it, as only about 40 000 students reach 5th grade a year, and of these, only a small portion can afford to buy textbooks.

Conflict in Mozambique, between FRELIMO and Renamo, has led to the scaling down of archaeological research. Morais (pers. comm) remarked that since 1980 local communities have been excluded from fieldwork. Since the beginning of the civil war therefore, archaeologists have had no access to Manyikeni, and it is believed that some of the displays at the site-museum have been destroyed by Renamo. Sinclair *et al* (1993:429) state that

“The implementation of the project at Manyikeni in an area which was adversely influenced by the war situation symbolised for a wider audience in

Mozambican society the people's determination both to comprehend and to affirm their historical role in the struggle for nationhood.”

The fruits of the Manyikeni-experience are being felt, where possible, throughout the country, as the practice of archaeology now goes hand in hand with education about the past. Although similar excavations to Manyikeni are not referred to, the educational spin-offs has led to new and creative ways to explore interaction between researchers and the public. Sinclair *et al (ibid)* describe the development of teacher training programmes and correspondence courses, which have yielded a good response and demonstrated the healthy interest in archaeology expressed by ordinary people.

Archaeology in Toronto, Canada

The educational approach to archaeology in North America has taken several different expressions. On the one hand there are archaeologists who are actively trying to involve indigenous people in their work (McGuire; 1992), some of which have proven very successful (Nassaney; 1989, McDonald, Zimmerman, McDonald, Tall Bull and Rising Sun; 1991). While on the other, there are archaeologists whose efforts have been concentrated on educating the broader public. Within this group there are two different attitudes towards public education. The American movement has concentrated mainly on heritage conservation, whereby educational materials are provided for teachers to teach schoolchildren archaeological values (Karolyn Smardz; pers. comm.). Education is therefore used to teach people about archaeology.

In Toronto, Canada, the approach has been to use archaeology to teach education. Archaeologists, rather than teachers are, in this context, responsible for the teaching of archaeology. Effectively archaeology is the means by which the end, ie. education, is achieved, rather than the opposite. The realization of this approach in Toronto has been accompanied by changes in the teaching model used by the Education Board of the city, and an aggressive marketing strategy adopted by Karolyn Smardz and Peter Hamalainen to establish an archaeological education facility in the city (Smardz; n.d. a).

Toronto is the biggest metropolitan city in Canada and also most likely has the most complex cultural, multicultural and political environment in which education is practised in the country (Smardz; n.d. a). The school system is administered and funded by the city's municipality, in the form of the Toronto Board of Education. When the concept of an archaeological educational facility was introduced the Board was very receptive to the proposal. The Archaeological Resource Centre (A.R.C.), as it became known, was designed and marketed to the Board "...in a form that was advantageous and beneficial to meeting public education goals and requirements." (Smardz; n.d. a).

In 1985 the Board of Education received a grant from the Ontario Ministry of Culture and Communications (Smardz; 1990:297). As the Board was looking to invest the grant in a fully equipped facility, the proposal for the establishment of A.R.C. therefore came at an opportune time. Initial contact with the Board of Education started in 1982, with the City of Toronto's Sesquicentennial celebrations, when several secondary school students volunteered to participate in an excavation, which formed part of the celebrations (*ibid*). This

initiated a collaboration between the Board and a small group of archaeologists which culminated in the establishment of A.R.C.

Just prior to the 1982 celebrations, the Ontario Ministry of Education initiated a change in their curriculum model (*ibid*). A Cognitive-Skills-Development Model was introduced in 1980, which viewed the child as an active participant in the learning process, and not merely the recipient of knowledge. This model opened the way for the introduction of archaeology into the Toronto school-system.

The model outlines the following goals for education across all disciplines:

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|--|
| 1 | FOCUS | Limit, direct, or define the problem or issue |
| 2 | ORGANISE | Select or develop a visual presentation, chart, for organiser for the focus |
| 3 | LOCATE | Identify, find, and use reliable, relevant sources of information |
| 4 | RECORD | Summarise and translate information |
| 5 | EVALUATE/
ASSESS | Determine the validity, appropriateness, significance, and accuracy of information |
| 6 | SYNTHESISE/
CONCLUDE | Observe relationships in and draw conclusion/s from information |
| 7 | APPLY | Predict, generalise, compare and decide, basing these formulations on the conclusion/s |

- 8 COMMUNICATE Express information and ideas, describe the cognitive processes involved”

(Ontario Ministry of Education 1986, quoted in Smardz; 1990:294-295).

What archaeologists at A.R.C. have realised is that the average teacher already has an overburdened workload, and that it is unnecessary for teachers to teach another subject, which most often is not even eligible for teacher certification. Archaeologists have therefore educated themselves about teaching, in order to fill this role. Within this scenario, archaeology can be used to teach about other subjects (Smardz; n.d. a). The multidisciplinary approach inherent in the discipline makes it an excellent vehicle for this purpose. Seven professional archaeologists are today employed by A.R.C., with various skills regarding education.

When A.R.C. was started the most important decision to be made revolved around how archaeology was going to be marketed to Toronto public (Smardz; n.d. b). After examining the demographic profile of the city (Smardz; n.d. a: 16), it was realised that the city was comprised virtually entirely by immigrants²⁰. The project was developed to focus on this aspect,

“that irrespective where you come from, you live in Toronto now. You should be proud of your heritage as a Torontian, because it is now your own precious possession by virtue of the fact that your future lies here. It doesn't matter that your family wasn't here at the time this pioneer log cabin was built. What matters is that this Toronto's heritage belongs to you, and you are helping us to learn more about it.” (Karolyn Smardz; pers. comm.)

²⁰ The First Nations Community within Toronto is very small and hence their presence is not felt very much (Smardz; pers. comm.). However, some of the classes, taught at A.R.C., focus on precolonial archaeology and aim to create a respect for First Nations.

Following this principle, A.R.C. identified a niche for itself within archaeological research which had not been explored before, that of Toronto's 19th century immigrant heritage (Smardz; n.d. b:139).

What arose was a six month public education programme, which involved an excavation of a site in the middle (core) of the city, from May to November, in which schoolchildren did accredited school-courses in archaeology, under the supervision of qualified archaeologists. Sites are excavated within the legal restrictions set out by the 1974 Ontario Heritage Act, which requires that

“...all excavations be conducted under the supervision of qualified archaeologists and result in the production of a competent archaeological site report before the next year's licence is issued” (Smardz; 1990:299).

Schoolchildren are actively involved in excavating archaeological sites and therefore contribute to the knowledge that is being accumulated about Toronto's past.

Outside the excavation programme, time is spent by A.R.C. staff and volunteers analysing material from the previous season's excavations, with the aim of producing research reports. At the same time educational programmes are undertaken at the Centre in order to produce curriculum material for schools (*ibid.*303). Excavation results are therefore fed back directly into schools, from where a significant amount of the labour for the excavations come from. Concurrent with this is the establishment of links with community organisations, institutions and schools, to set up or explore new possibilities of involvement in the following year.

Therefore, what results is a year-round programme of involvement of the people of Toronto in the study of the city's past. As A.R.C. is part of the Toronto Board of Education, its

situation allows it to tap directly into the social, political and economic factors affecting education in Toronto (Smardz; n.d. a). This favoured position allows it to respond to changes within the education system far better, than if it were more independent.

A.R.C.'s success can be measured by the fact that since 1986 the Centre has not advertised its excavation programme, and although booking for a programme commences one year in advance, the programmes have always been filled (Smardz; n. d. b). This success can be attributed to the staff's dedication to archaeological education, and the willingness to draw on a variety of fields, such as advertising, public relations, education and social work, in order to make it work (Smardz; n. d. a).

The recognition of Toronto's multicultural heterogenous population and heritage has opened further avenues for introducing archaeology to the public. This has resulted in educational texts being available in English and French, staff being able to facilitate the involvement of differently-abled participants, such as deaf children and the awareness of different cultural festivals that occur in the city and being willing to participate in them²¹.

The establishment of the Centre appears to have been carefully calculated. The coincidence of a change in the teaching model, the receipt of a grant by the Board of Education, and a handful of archaeologists, dedicated to archaeological education and who were sensitive to

²¹ Smardz (n. d. a) describes the initiation of a project in a predominantly Portuguese part of the city. A.R.C. invited people attending the Portugal Day Festival to come and participate in the excavation immediately after the parade. It is believed that there were 150 000 people attending the Festival, where the announcement was made in English, Italian and Portuguese.

these developments, has resulted in the culmination of the only facility of its kind in the world which is run by a municipal school system (Smardz; n. d. a:7).

SUMMARY

What becomes apparent through the examination of the 3 cases above is that all the archaeologists involved have been sensitive to political developments which have occurred, whether at a national, city or site level. These developments have challenged and shifted disciplinary boundaries and resulted in the redefinition of the goals of the discipline and its contribution to the broader society. This response can be perceived as an increased sense of accountability to the public (Smardz; n. d. b:136). The shift in focus has not gone unchallenged by members of the discipline. Smardz (pers. comm.) was accused of “vulgarising the profession by allowing children onto real archaeological sites and handing them trowels”. Maddock (1989) also alluded to the accusations of ‘bias’ amongst academics who dare to involve themselves in the land claims of Aborigines. However, the above cases demonstrate that archaeology has developed tremendously through grappling with the problems of its changing political and social contexts and attempting to develop suitable and effective solutions, rather than concentrating on blinkered research and hoping that the relevant political players will sort out the situation. Having set the international and historical context, the rest of this thesis will now focus in a more detailed fashion on South African archaeology.

Chapter 4

What South African Archaeologists Think?

Within the current phase of transformation in South Africa, it seems natural that the views of archaeologists about South African archaeology and its role would be varied. This variety is evident in the answers to a questionnaire¹ which I had circulated at a national conference of South African archaeologists. At the beginning of this thesis I made reference to this conference, which was held in Cape Town during 1992. The conference was organised by the Southern African Association of Archaeologists, and accompanied its biannual General Meeting.

As a national gathering of archaeologists, the conference drew participants from all over the country², as well as several participants from other countries, such as England, Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique and Canada. The conference was organised over 4 days and included sessions on African Places, The Introduction of Domestic Stock into Southern Africa, The Biology of Southern African Populations, Palaeoenvironmental Context of Human Settlement; and Art and Decoration.

¹ See Appendix 2. I have also included a sample of some of the returned questionnaires.

² Archaeology is currently taught as a subject or as a component of anthropology courses at 8 different universities (Thackeray and Thackeray, 1986). These universities include the University of Cape Town, the University of Witwatersrand, the University of Stellenbosch, the University of Fort Hare, the University of Western Cape, the University of Port Elizabeth, the University of South Africa and the University of Pretoria.

Quite early on in my research I had reached the conclusion that archaeologists' perceptions and attitudes would be crucial in a discussion around People's Archaeology and community involvement. When I had initially drafted a proposal for this Masters', I had planned to go to every major institution which dealt with archaeology as a research topic, in order to interview archaeologists. Through this venture I had hoped to gather information about archaeologists' views about community involvement in archaeology, and the future of the discipline. Logistical problems, such as the lack of funding and the actual amount of work involved, prevented the this process from happening.

The national conference was therefore an ideal context in which to draw on the perceptions of South African archaeologists. The questionnaire which forms the basis of this chapter is therefore a substitute for these interviews. The questionnaire was structured during the course of the conference to examine how archaeologists felt about the role of education, community involvement in the discipline and the role of archaeology in South Africa.

As a secondary aim, I wanted to gain a sense of the extent of archaeologists' efforts to do educational work concerning the discipline. Thirdly, I wanted to examine how archaeologists felt about Cultural Resource Management (CRM) funding future research. CRM had become a major issue at the beginning of the decade and several institutions were starting to invest quite heavily in it².

² In Chapter 7 I discuss CRM and its impact on South African archaeology in more detail.

As far as I could gather, no similar survey had ever been done. Thackeray and Thackeray (1986) ran a national survey on the knowledgeability of South African archaeology students in the mid-1980s. This survey was based on a similar survey done in Connecticut in the United States (Feder; 1984). Both surveys served to examine the role archaeological teaching played in assisting, or not assisting, archaeology students to refute pseudoscientific claims made in the name of archaeology. Their survey showed that there were differing levels of knowledge, and that university education did not necessarily equip students to deal adequately with pseudoscientific claims³.

Ritchie (1990) also ran a questionnaire in 1987 within the Department of Archaeology at the University of Cape Town, but failed to include a complete discussion of this questionnaire in her thesis. In a reference to her survey, she indicates that 30% of all archaeology students (including Honours students) felt that archaeology was of little relevance to the public (Ritchie; 1990:45). This showed that, even amongst archaeology students, there was a fair number who were ambivalent about the role of the discipline. However, Ritchie's discussion of her survey is very limited and, as such, cannot be expanded upon.

³ This questionnaire was clearly based on their assumptions of what students needed to know in order to be considered to be 'adequately' schooled in archaeology.

The Questionnaire⁵

The context in which the questionnaire was distributed was itself limiting⁶ and therefore it was attempted to keep the questionnaire brief and to the point. The questionnaire was split into two sections. The first section included questions regarding the background of the respondents and educational initiatives they may have been involved in outside the context of the archaeological institution. Options were presented to the respondents, and they had to tick the appropriate block. The second section of the questionnaire focused on respondents' views on issues involving the role of archaeology in South Africa.

Approximately 80 questionnaires were distributed and 37 were received back over the following two weeks. The response-rate was therefore 46%, much higher than the expected rate of 25%. Of all the respondents, 22 were male, 14 were female and 1 person declined to complete this portion of the questionnaire.

Respondents' Background

The background questions concentrated on the length of respondents' involvement in archaeological practice, as well as whether they were currently or had ever been employed in an archaeological post. These questions attempted to filter respondents into possible undergraduates, post-graduate, and a more senior or experienced group. The question had 3 options provided: less than 5 years, 5-10 years and more than 10 years. As it takes

⁵ See Appendix 2 .

⁶ The questionnaire would be completed mostly during tea and lunch breaks.

approximately 3 to 4 years to complete an undergraduate degree at university, it was assumed that people in the less than 5 years category would either be undergraduate, newly graduated, doing an Honours' degree or beginning a Masters' degree. In this case it was assumed that most of the respondents were Honours' students or undergraduates. Within the 5 to 10 year category, respondents were regarded to be Masters' students or Doctoral students. Within the more than 10 year category, respondents were assumed to be at a post-doctoral level. I am aware of the fact that these groups do not correspond neatly to the divisions I have created, as there are several people who lack academic qualifications, but have been involved in the discipline for more than 10 years. However, these people today remain the exception to the rule. Therefore, taking into consideration the nature of the audience that the conference was aimed at, and the presentations, as well as the tertiary context, I believe that there is a close enough fit between these groups for these assumptions to be justifiable.

The majority of respondents (83%) appeared to have at least a Masters', or greater, qualification in archaeology. Of the respondents, 31 were currently or have been employed in an archaeological post. Only one respondent, who had been involved in archaeology less than 5 years was employed (or had been), whilst 2 of the respondents have been involved in archaeology for more than 10 years, but have never been employed in any archaeological post. This information basically confirmed that the conference was held for, and was attended by, a specific audience, the membership of the Southern African Archaeological Association, and represented the core of professional archaeology in South Africa. The results also show that the majority of the respondents had already invested a considerable amount of time and energy into studying and practising archaeology and this implies that the majority of

respondents have a large stake in the future of the discipline, as well as their involvement in the field.

Education

The responses to the next section of the questionnaire challenged assumptions I had made about the involvement of archaeologists in educational work. Whereas I had known that many archaeologists had done educational work in the past, I had assumed that this was restricted to a very small group within the profession. From the questionnaire it was obvious that this was not so. The majority of the respondents (29) have taught archaeology to non-archaeologists, and had done so to a variety of different audiences :

- 11 (38%) taught/spoke to tertiary level students (other than archaeology students)
- 17 (59%) taught/spoke to secondary level students
- 17 (59%) taught/spoke to primary level students
- 20 (71%) taught/spoke to adults
- 15 (52%) used the media (printed media, radio or tv)
- 6 (21%) spoke to another audience (not included in any of the above groups). These include farmworkers, a women's group, local archaeological societies, museum curators and as part of environmental education courses.

This information implies that the educational work in archaeology forms an 'unspoken' part of the general practice of the discipline⁶.

⁶ There is no archaeology-course taught in South Africa which deals comprehensively with educating the public. Scholars therefore have no guidelines for such interaction.

When one examines how these educational ventures were structured, it appears that archaeologists both contacted and were approached to present talks/workshops on archaeology. The majority of ventures (90%) however happened through individuals or groups contacting archaeologists to do presentations. The educational work was therefore predominantly in response to requests, as opposed to responding to a perceived need. Only 41% of the presentations were responses to a need. What this demonstrates is that although many archaeologists are involved in educational activities, the work has been reactive rather than pro-active. The responsibility therefore lies with individuals or groups to request presentations, rather than a more active approach by archaeologists to examine areas where they could make an impact.

Tied with this reactive responses, 93% of the cases related to solely educative presentations. These, one may assume, may centre around general issues of what archaeology is, or specific areas which the audience would like to hear of. Only 35% of the presentations related to the respondents' fieldwork or was tied into completing research. Although this percentage is quite high, it lends some weight to Ritchie's (1990) survey data that archaeologists do not perceive their research to be important enough to be presented to the public. Alternatively, archaeologists have not considered education to be an important enough issue to structure into their projects.

The Role of Archaeology in South Africa

The next section of the questionnaire focused on the broader issues surrounding the future of the discipline. Respondents were given sufficient space to voice their ideas. One person had

in fact used an extra sheet of paper to complete this portion of the questionnaire. This, therefore formed the more substantive portion of the questionnaire. There were 5 questions in this part of the questionnaire. They covered the following topics:

- the role of archaeology in the current South African context
- accountability
- the extent of community involvement in archaeology
- whether this involvement would warrant a change in archaeological methodology
- the possibility for future research funding being drawn from contract archaeology projects.

Question 5 of the questionnaire dealt with respondents' perception of the role of archaeology in the current South African context. There were 2 major responses. The majority of the respondents (59%) believed that archaeology had a positive role to play in the current South African context. Respondents believed that archaeology broadens "the scope of history" and that "it is important in redressing the past and correcting biases and myths". In this sense it is "crucial in nation-building and reconstruction", as "it builds a consciousness of heritage".

Thirty two percent (32%) of the respondents were critical of the role archaeology could play. Some of the respondents felt that "it's educationally interesting", but that was it. The discipline was "too academic", "it was of little consequence in the light of overwhelming economic problems". One of the criticisms included that "it has delusions of offering the people what they want". Further comments were that "it's elitist and white male-dominated", and that "it is compromised by its identification with colonialism". This demonstrates the

continued ambivalence and cynicism about the discipline and the impact that it can have on South African society. What it also does is reinforce Ritchie's survey, by demonstrating that the established archaeologists are similarly ambivalent about the discipline as students with lesser qualifications.

Accountability and Community Involvement in Archaeology

Although the majority of archaeologists felt that archaeology had a positive role to play, their responses concerning the question of accountability to a community were more varied. These ranged from being sensitive to community needs to challenging the concept of community and refusing to be held accountable in any way. Thirty five percent (35%) of the respondents believed that accountability involved the "empowerment of blacks and others" and "allowing the community to have an impact on research and in so doing aid the theoretical development of the discipline". This implied "the recognition of audiences outside academia, to which we need to justify our existence and continued funding".

Approximately 30% of the respondents felt that accountability to a community should manifest itself in the form of increased scholarship and publication. This involved "a need to publish results, teach and increase scholarship" and "moral integrity in an academic setting". Mazel (1991:59) summarises this issue in an guest editorial dealing with the publication of research results:

"Not all archaeologists consider themselves to be public educators, and not all will be in future. However, if we do not publish our research findings, then those who do will not be in a position to communicate them to the public."

A significant group of the respondents (24%) challenged the concept of community and “don’t believe that archaeologists are accountable to a community”. Some considered it to be “highly dangerous. It strips objectivity. I won’t be held accountable to any community or faction. This sounds like fascism”. Others believed that this could entail changing archaeological results: “archaeologists shouldn’t fashion history to suit communities”.

Tied into this question of accountability, respondents were also asked whether the involvement of communities in archaeological research should be limited, and to what extent. The majority (51%) felt that community involvement should be restricted, as “minimum standards must be upheld”. It was felt that the community cannot impose interpretation, and that involvement would result in political misuse. One of the respondents was willing to allow community involvement, “as long as it doesn’t interfere with the production of archaeological knowledge”.

A good proportion of the respondents (43%) felt that there should not be a limit to community involvement. It was felt that “valuable insights are gained through community involvement” and that “archaeologists have a responsibility towards the community concerning research design”. The gap between archaeologists and communities could be breached through research design that would include them as participants in the production of knowledge.

Most of the respondents seemed wary about the involvement of communities in archaeological praxis. The majority felt that accountability plays an important role in archaeology, whether this accountability is in the form of developing accessible research for communities

to get involved in, or through an increase in, scholarship and publication of results. However, there was an unsureness about how community involvement would occur. "How does one handle this?" was a frequent query.

Archaeological Method

In an attempt to address this issue, Question 8 dealt with a possible change of archaeological methodology. The assumption in this question was that community participation in archaeology would warrant some restructuring of archaeological method. As some archaeologists (19%) did not see communities being involved in archaeology, they did not see the need to change any method. Other archaeologists (30%), who encouraged community involvement, did not see it necessary to change the method either. This group argued for the maintenance of minimum standards. The majority of respondents (46%) however, did believe that changes were necessary. However, opinions on the degree of change required was varied. Some felt that there was a "need to change the research goals, questions and attitudes", whilst others felt that "empirical procedures shouldn't be sacrificed, just adapted". At least one person realised the need for "methodological innovations".

Future Funding and Cultural Resource Management (CRM)

The final question in the questionnaire pertained to difficulties in funding future research. Respondents were asked if they thought that contract archaeology could fund future research. An overwhelming majority (65%) felt that it would definitely not. It seemed obvious that archaeologists saw the goals of research as separate from the goals of CRM, and that the two

never overlapped. "CRM will kill intellectual challenge" was the general sentiment expressed. Twenty four percent (24%) of the respondents were however unsure about this issue. This was coupled with an uncertainty about the future economic situation of the country. It was further felt that "it will inhibit the contribution of lay or non-archaeologists".

From the responses in this section of the questionnaire the following tendencies emerge. Archaeologists feel strongly (59%) about the role that archaeology can play in the current South, African context. However, on questions on accountability, community involvement, and changing archaeological methodology, they are more ambiguous. This clearly demonstrates the complexity of the issues involved.

Discussion

From the result of the questionnaire it seems that the most of the established archaeologists have been involved in educational activities at some point or other during their archaeological career. As people who have a stake in the future of the discipline this is encouraging. However, it still seems as if archaeologists are more willing to continue their own research and respond to requests to deliver presentations, than to make educational work a major priority. Mazel (1991) has pointed that not all archaeologists would consider themselves to be public educators. However, a very large proportion of them have experience doing it. This could relate to the majority of respondents' perception that archaeology can play a constructive role in the country.

Accountability to a community seems to be an issue which split responses. However, if one groups the respondents together who do feel that accountability is an issue which affects their practice or should, then this figure changes to 65%. This proportion is counter-balanced against those conservative attitudes who challenged the concept of community and at times refused to accept that they may be held accountable as academics to any community. The archaeologist referred to in Chapter 1 is a case in point.

Community involvement also appears as an ambivalent issue. This ambivalence is also tied into the issue of changing archaeological method. What comes through in the responses is a concern firstly with professional qualifications, and secondly, the maintaining of standards within the discipline. This concern manifests itself in a sense of controlling any community involvement, through supervision or restricted involvement or not allowing it at all. A greater percentage of the respondents agreed that archaeological method did not have to change with community involvement. One could argue that this ties in with the abovementioned perception that community involvement should be controlled.

When it came to the issue of funding, a large proportion of respondents (65%) disagreed about funding from contract archaeology supporting future research. This majority formed the most pronounced amongst all the questions in this section. Although CRM has shown a potential growth area in archaeology at the end of the 1980s, a cynicism seems to have crept in about this potential and future.

Mazel (1991:59) notes that South African archaeologists have, through the last decade, gone through an "unprecedented level of introspection". This is reflected in the willingness of

archaeologists to address issues involving community participation in archaeology. However, this willingness seems guarded, as archaeologists want to 'control' the degree of this participation and maintain that archaeological method is applicable to public education. Through the course of the next two chapters I wish to challenge these perceptions of 'control' and the suitability of the archaeological method to education.

Chapter 5

A Case Study in People's Archaeology

In 1991, when I first enrolled for a Masters' degree, I was also accepted into the Masters' Student Programme (MSP) of the Community Education Resources Project (CER) at the University of Cape Town. CER was established in 1986 by a small group of progressive academics (Ritchie, 1991). That year marked the renewal of the State of Emergency, which had as one of its consequences a clamp-down on the flow of information in the country. This group of progressive academics responded to the requests from mass-based organisations to provide information for alternative structures to the government by establishing the CER Project (Kell; 1991:153). It sets as one of its goals, "...to facilitate the use of the research, resources and skills of the university by progressive organisations and the community..." (*ibid*). The MSP was initiated to examine the relationship of intellectuals and mass organisations through the production of popular material for these organisations. At the same time it also attempted to study the process of popular education. The MSP is a two-year programme which runs concurrently with students' formal Masters' studies in their different departments.

Masters' students were encouraged to become involved with a community or service organisations which could benefit from their research. Theoretically this relationship between students and community groups would impact on students' research in such a way that it could contribute to the transformation of the university. In order for the students to offer community groups a tangible means by which they can benefit, the students are required to produce a popular resource which the community group can use. This popular resource need not be in a physical form, as at least one student has worked on using drama to popularise her work, while another has examined the possibilities of radio-broadcasting for his work.

In January 1991, with the CER-Masters' Programme in mind, I approached the South African Committee for Higher Education (SACHED)¹ in Cape Town². I was referred to the Department of African History at Khanya College³, where I contacted the lecturer, André Proctor. Proctor had developed a knowledge of archaeology from being involved in archaeological work in Zimbabwe, as well as co-authoring a history textbook with Peter Garlake, an archaeologist in Zimbabwe.

¹ The SACHED Trust is an independent educational organisation aimed at countering apartheid education imbalances and attempts to relate this educative process to the empowerment of those disadvantaged and oppressed communities.

² I need to point out that, by this time I had contacted numerous community organisations and had achieved very little success in interesting them in my work and archaeology in general. Several of the organisations I spoke to were not aware what archaeology was, or what it entailed.

³ Khanya College is a tertiary project run by SACHED. Matriculated students, who have had their school careers disrupted by political upheaval, such as detention, boycotts, etc., are presented the opportunity to do two university-accredited courses. For one year these students' tuition and accommodation fees are paid, while they are intensively taught academic skills to equip them for further tertiary education. As many students apply annually, applicants are "screened" through an interviewing-process before selection. As part of their College curriculum, these students are placed with community/service/worker organisations, where they are required to assist those organisations.

Proctor was very amenable to allowing students to become involved in an archaeological project, which would serve as an alternative to the oral history project students were required to do. This project stretched over several months, ending with a completed report at the end of October. This report would be evaluated and would count towards their course assessment. This idea of doing a project, fulfilled my CER requirements, as well as accommodating the students. Students would not have the time available to become involved in a project outside their College curriculum.

To stimulate interest in such a project, I was asked to present a talk to the African History students. A two-day presentation on archaeology was organised. On the first day, I presented a talk at the College and, on the second day, they were taken to the Department of Archaeology to view artefacts. In my presentation, I spoke about archaeology, material culture and the subjective nature of all studies of the past. This “theoretical” talk was followed the next day by the viewing and “handling” of artefacts at the department. Professor John Parkington, of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Cape Town, gave a short input on archaeology and answered questions. Many of the latter centred around dinosaurs, the dating of artefacts, establishing race from skeletal material and “creationism”. The enthusiasm displayed in the classroom confirmed students’ interest in archaeology.

The Initial Project

During the first few weeks of students receiving lectures at Khanya, I attempted to draft a project which would suit both their and my needs. After enquiring about various possible projects within the Department of Archaeology, an archaeological excavation on university

property was suggested. After careful deliberation I chose this option. The decision was informed by the following:

- i) at a time when I was still unsure as to where to start my research, it would allow me to test my “ideas” practically concerning a People's Archaeology
- ii) I would be able to fulfil the requirements for the CER Masters' Programme
- iii) the excavation would be accessible to the students, as well as being on university property; which meant an established infrastructure through support and equipment. This was an important consideration, as the project could then be completed without any need for major funding.

The Archaeological Site

The property to be excavated, Welgelegen, currently houses the University of Cape Town's Public Relations Office. The archaeological excavation was to be on a small scale, part of assessing the archaeological potential of the property. Welgelegen had been identified as an area of possible archaeological and historical sensitivity by an archaeological survey⁴ carried out earlier in the year.

The project that was devised concentrated on the educational aspect of the project, rather than the immediate archaeological content of the excavation. I drafted a project outline for a group of students, which would involve them learning archaeological methodology and then having to teach others. The latter would aid the development of a critical perspective of what

⁴ Unpublished report of a survey conducted by the Archaeological Contracts Office of UCT, 1991. University property on Middle Campus, Rondebosch, was surveyed.

they knew of the discipline. The assumption behind this was that the student would develop a deeper understanding of the discipline if they had to teach others about it. My initial plans were to invite teachers from several primary schools to bring schoolchildren to the site, where the Khanya students would interview the children and then attempt to teach them about archaeology. The assumption behind all this was that one develops a far better understanding of a topic when one has to teach others about it. The site would therefore serve the purpose of building the critical knowledge of the students, while exposing children and teachers to archaeology. The students would then evaluate the various activities and assess how these could be improved. Upon reflection I now realise that, although an exciting project, it was extremely ambitious in its aims.

The Students from Khanya College

Ten students initially volunteered for the project, but only 9 participated throughout the course of the excavation. The 9 students⁵ were divided into 3 groups and each group had to examine three different parts of the Welgelegen excavation. Storage space at Welgelegen was organised for the excavation equipment. Throughout the early phases of the project, I was concerned about evaluating what students were learning and their ideas about archaeology. While the students were deliberating about the project, it was decided an interview-process would be the most efficient means of evaluation. With hindsight I realise that I should have interviewed students prior to the talks they received as well as the lessons given by Proctor.

⁵ 10 African History students initially volunteered for the project. They were Kobi Mosia, Vuyani Maneli, Tshepo Phali, Ndyabo "Marx" Nbutye, Cecil Mthetheleli "Ngwenya" Landu, Zolani "Buddy" Mabele, Cebo Tahoe, Makwena "Kenneth" Mojela, Mbuzeli Mayekiso and Matete Thabang Mohale. The last student was already involved in an another project and subsequently left the project.

However, it would have been impossible to identify which students would be interested in doing the archaeology project at such an early stage, and it would have to imply that the organisation of such a project would have to have occurred well in advance. This was however not possible for this project. The *ad hoc* nature of much of the planning was attributed to the time-constraints which I faced and the fact that I was responsible for the planning, coordination and execution of this project.

Work-Schedule

At our first meeting in May, I obtained the students' permission to interview them during the project and outlined the process awaiting us. We established the days we were to work on and a regular meeting schedule. Due to their heavy work-schedule and commitment to community organisations, we decided to work on two weekday-afternoons; Monday and Thursday; and entire Sundays. Meetings were to be held every Wednesday at their residence/hostel in Mowbray.

During the time that I was negotiating the project with the Khanya students, I organised to have History trainee-teachers from the University of Western Cape (UWC) work on the excavation as well. This process was a difficult one in itself. The UWC-students were busy writing mid-year examinations and were on the verge of going on holidays. Transport-problems prevented me from meeting these students and interviewing them. This idea of

involving the trainee-teachers in the excavation was later abandoned due to bad weather delaying the excavation and their going on holiday⁶.

The Khanya-Interviews

I will now turn to a discussion of the interviews that I had conducted with the students. I drew up a questionnaire for the first set of interviews with the Khanya students and proceeded with them soon after. The questionnaire was aimed at finding out what the students knew about archaeology, where they had heard about it first, and to what extent they considered archaeology to be important. These interviews were all done before the first structured meeting at their residence⁷.

The interviews demonstrated that the presentations on archaeology and subsequent teaching at Khanya had made a definite impression on the students.

“Actually, I was encouraged in class where I was taught about it, because I was new to this field of study. I was attracted to it, out of interest.” (Interview #1, my emphasis)

“Yes, especially when we went down to UCT. I don’t remember who that man was, but he was a lecturer, I think so. It was much more interesting when I saw those artefacts and saw something like that.” (Interview #2)

“I didn’t hear about it before coming to Khanya. And you gave us a lecture on archaeology. That is the first time.” (Interview #4)

⁶ Many of the students who were interested in working on the excavation were not from Cape Town and had therefore left the city during their vacation to go home.

⁷ See Appendix 3 .

Although most of them had no knowledge of archaeology, they did have preconceived notions about who practised it. These ideas would manifest themselves more clearly as the project continued. Coupled with this, were quite clear political ideas about the role of archaeology and its uses in South Africa. This is not surprising as all the students had strong activist backgrounds and belonged to youth organisations of either the African National Congress (ANC) or the Pan-African Congress (PAC).

“Exactly! It can play a major role, because there is a lot of distortion in history. And history has been used to serve the interests of a certain social group. So, archaeologists excavate and have that concrete evidence for everyone to see. The only problem with it is that people who would be shown the evidence they have excavated won't be able to interpret it. But myself as an African, by learning archaeology now, I think I can be able to help my fellow-Africans to understand.” (Interview #3)

“And what I like is the thing of disproving the distorted information which was written by colonialist historians or the imperialists. That thing of physical evidence, 'cause they just had ideas and writings, but there's that thing of using physical evidence to disprove what they say. Like for instance what Rhodes used to say about Zimbabwe, you see. He had a distorted view – he gave false information about Great Zimbabwe, on how Zimbabwe came to be a big city in Africa. Like for instance when he said that Africans could not build such a big kingdom, maybe it was the Europeans or the Romans and he was just justifying the position of the Europeans.” (Interview #6)

“Ja, archaeology can play a major role, more specially these days. On this thing of the land issue, who came to Africa the first, Who are the legitimate rulers of this land. I mean archaeology can do that job, for instance just excavating and finding things of 3000 or 5000 or 6000 years ago. Just to prove that during those times...Like they did at Zimbabwe, for instance, to find out that there were blacks there, and the lineage system and all those stuff. I mean even here in South Africa, they can help and their job would be a great contribution to this political dilemma that is going on in South Africa these days you see. I see as archaeology as the best solution to these problems and if they are allowed to do so, they can play a major role.” (Interview #6)

“Oh yeah. If I were deemed to be biased to one political party... If we were to look to the Black Consciousness Movement, then we can really say these people can retrace their being to this African continent and archaeology can prove this. It has been proved they are part and parcel of this continent. But, because Europeans came and changed their history, there's a great need for them to redistort this in a way to be understood. I think archaeology has

done much of the political awareness of the people, but there's still much to be done." (Interview #8)

At our first meeting, we discussed our expectations/fears and the days of work. Fears were expressed about the amount of work awaiting us and that it might infringe on their other academic work. This fear became reality as the project proceeded and student's work-load became heavier. At the second meeting we discussed the structuring of the archaeological excavation. A problem was posed and students were divided into two groups to discuss it. The students were placed in the position of the "expert" and required them to "solve" a problem. The problem was as follows:

"The community where you live wants to find out about its archaeological past. Ancestors of this community had lived there for at least 10 000 years. As archaeologists, how can we learn about this past, starting from scratch?"

Group 1's response:

- 1) Find a place suitable for excavation—through the use of maps
- 2) Get permission to excavate from the relevant authorities
- 3) Do a survey—look for evidence on the surface/ground
- 4) Acquire equipment - through borrowing from university department/laboratory and buying
- 5) Get funding from the community who asked for the archaeological search
- 6) Draw up a budget for approval by the community
- 7) Need a labour force - recruit a small group from the community and organise educational workshops to inform them of the methods/skills applied
- 8) Set up a newsletter for distribution amongst the community, informing them of the archaeological exploration.

Group 2's response:

- 1) Speak to elders to establish an oral history for the region
- 2) Go to the archives to compare the oral history with the documents
- 3) Get permission from the authorities to excavate
- 4) Acquire equipment/facilities
- 5) Complete an excavation relating to a specific event, eg. a battle

- 6) Move the excavated material to the laboratory, where analysis; such as radiocarbon dating; can be done
- 7) Compare the oral, documentary and archaeological material
- 8) Take the information to academics for publishing a book. The book would be called "Archaeology from Below".

This exercise exceeded all my expectations. Several of their responses were close to the mark, as regarding "standard" archaeological practices. The role of the "expert" started to wane with the 2nd group, as can be seen by the closing comment made about taking the information to "academics" to publish. To what extent some of the suggestions derived from their exposure at Khanya, I cannot be sure. Several could be considered to be "logical"⁸ steps in the process, eg. like knowing to look at past studies/work done, etc. As students who have at least partially committed themselves to future tertiary education, they would have begun to learn the skills necessary to survive in the academic world. These students are, quite self-consciously, in the process of socialization into the academic community and the culture that community forms part of. The above responses may therefore be construed as part of "academic logic". Although I was excited by the fact that so many of their responses were consistent with archaeological practices today, one needs to view it in the light of their present educative process. I am arguing that the Khanya students are not lay-community/public⁹ which have no knowledge about the discipline. They possessed/were being equipped with a certain logic/skills which could be applied to any general academic situation, skills which have proven very successful in the "academic project".

⁸ "Logic" as relating to academic process of research approach and framework.

⁹ I do not believe that such a group exists that could be described in this fashion. The public can never be said to be a lay-public, devoid of knowledge.

Changes in the Project

The first two meetings were undertaken in a very *ad hoc* fashion, as I was often unsure as to what to talk about or how to approach teaching them about archaeology. The problem was that I had no guidelines along which to plan and very few people to consult with. Words of encouragement were often heard and only one person in the department actually questioned the validity of results gained from working with non-archaeologists¹⁰. Mostly I had to rely on skills learnt through the CER Masters' Programme¹¹ and ideas stimulated by discussion with others. It would have been invaluable to have developed these skills before committing myself to this project. This process therefore was often frustrating, as progress seemed slow and difficult. In further sessions I resorted to more traditional methods of providing them with readings on archaeological reconnaissance and excavation and outlined several concepts.

Complications in the Project

There seemed to be a constant confusion/disagreement over which days we had decided to work and this would increase as the project continued. Although consensus was always reached, the topic would always arise at some point during a meeting. Although the days agreed on suited everyone, there were always attempts to change them or to do away with some.

¹⁰ See Chapter 4 for a discussion on the attitudes of South African archaeologists.

¹¹ The CER Masters' Programme started with an intensive training session in popular education and the methods/skills used in this process. These methods/skills involved organising, facilitating and evaluating workshops, using media and looking at ways of popularising different material.

Bad weather complicated the execution of our plans, dramatically decreasing the number of days available for work. This bad weather had also done away with the chances of contacting primary school teachers before their mid-year vacation. Impending tests at Khanya, as well as the beginning of the vacation, meant that we could only work for two days on site before the vacation-break. As all the Khanya students lived away from Cape Town, none of them would be available for work during their vacation. Involving primary school pupils in the excavation at this time would also have defeated the purpose of having the Khanya students teach them about archaeology. This part of the project was therefore shelved.

The Excavation

The first day on site involved basic surveying and reconnaissance. The loss of time incurred through bad weather forced us to reconsider our strategy for work. On the second day, we decided that an intensive period of work was needed when everyone returned from the mid-year break. The time-constraints of the project were made quite clear and it was established that we would all work every afternoon of the first week after the vacation and the entire weekend.

During this first week after the vacation, rain again delayed work. Students began arriving late on a regular basis and there seemed to be a change in the mood of the group. Comments such as "...tired of archaeology..." were heard in passing by the end of that week. It appeared that the labour involved was starting to take its toll.

"Well, not necessarily that I disliked, but that manual labour we did, it was too much. Not that I disliked it, but it consumed much of my time. The time I wanted to do something else, I was forced to go there because I agreed to be part of that." (Interview #13)

During this week we decided to excavate in two areas, identified by archival sources as having some archaeological potential. The excavation in the one area was very tedious, as there was little artefactual material and a lot of building debris, such as bricks, plaster, stones, etc. The laborious process of excavation in this area proved very demoralising. The excavation in the other area was the complete antithesis. The soil was softer and very artefact-rich. The clay-like nature of the soil, however, caused the excavated hole to fill up when it rained. When most of the water evaporated/was scooped out, the hole was unpleasantly muddy, delaying work in this area.

“The problems I would say were the site conditions, the rain. I was thinking that instead of those trowels we should use spades (laughs). Things wouldn't go quicker, but the soil is hard.” (Interview #15)

Two of the groups ended up working on the excavation, while it was negotiated with the third group that archival research on the excavation could prove useful. This group, however, developed their own problems, as certain records, which they were hoping to find such as probate inventories, were non-existent for the property. This complicated the archival research, as very few maps were also found which could be of use to the other groups working at the site. What was decided in the end was that this group's project would examine the dependency of colonial archaeology on documentary evidence, as maps and descriptions guided the extent of the excavation.

At the site, the nature of the deposit and the bad conditions was causing much frustration on the part of the students. The delays caused by the slow work and bad weather was necessitating a greater effort from everyone. So much so, that they raised the question of how much longer they had to continue in the field with their lecturer. The latter arrived at the

site one afternoon and stated the students' worries. It was decided that we would complete the excavation within the next two weeks. Conditions in the one area reached such a low that the deposit was turning into a muddy slush. The prospect of the deposit drying out sufficiently enough for work to continue was remote and it was decided to stop the excavation in that area.

Further Complications

Frustration (on my part) reached a high point over the next two weeks as students would arrive very late to work or not at all. I had a sense that I was wasting my time, because when students did arrive, they would decide to leave early, citing other work commitments. The "laxness" on the part of the students was in fact delaying the excavation more than was necessary. The initial excitement of the project had definitely waned. In the later set of interviews I conducted, some expressed the view that they were not aware of the amount of labour that would be required in the excavation and were, in fact, "put off" by this.

"It was introduced in the class that archaeologists sort out materials, and predict who was living there and the kind of life they were living. I thought I would also be able to learn. I was just going to see these artefacts in front of me and then being asked, 'what can you say about this and that', that's what I thought, maybe just to go and analyze artefacts. I never thought that I would have to go and dig them myself." (Interview #13)

"Frankly, for me, I never knew we'd get to manual labour. What I expected was maybe to use these short ways. But using this longer method we get more artefacts, using shorter methods would be a grievous mistake." (Interview #16)

At the time I was very despondent and did not know what to do to maintain interest and morale within the group. Ann Markell, an American archaeologist working at the Department of Archaeology at University of Cape Town, pointed out that public involvement in excavations at Flowerdew Hundred; Virginia, was successful, because the high artefact-density

on the site maintained sufficient interest (Ann Markell, pers. comm.). The low artefact-density at Welgelegen could well have been one of the reasons for the decline in interest.

When confronted about not arriving on site on scheduled working days, students became uncomfortable. On several occasions the excavation was done only by myself and one other student. Fortunately, the deposit was not much deeper and the excavation in this area could be concluded.

Resolving Complications

Following the decline in motivation, I decided that it might be better for the students to undertake the analysis of the excavated artefacts at their residence. This would mean that they would not have to come to the department to do this and would take pressure off already overcrowded laboratory-facilities in the department. I arranged to have all the artefacts and cleaning equipment brought to the residence, where I explained and demonstrated the cleaning of the artefacts.

I also arranged for the students to attend a talk on ceramics and their classification to be given in the department. A ceramics-specialist in the Historical Archaeology Research Unit presented them with an overview of the different ceramics and the possible ones they would be likely to encounter. A debate ensued about the quality of overseas versus South African ceramics, as some strong nationalistic sentiments were expressed by some of the students. Another talk was arranged on the use of ceramics as markers for dating-purposes. A similar debate ensued at this talk, as some students were unwilling to accept that Chinese porcelains

were of better quality than African ones in the past. In this instance the students were willing to confront ideas that were contrary to their own political ideas. This was the only occasion during the project when students openly challenged a contrary standpoint.

The cleaning of the artefacts proceeded very quickly and the ceramics were classified according to the classification scheme applied in the department. These ceramics were checked by the ceramics-specialist, who attempted to place them into a broad dating framework, which would assist students in their interpretations. Within the following few weeks the students began writing their final examinations, as well as completing all their outstanding assignments. I provided students with much of the relevant documents that they needed and advice on the assignments. However, much of this part of the project was left to the students to do on their own, as it was for purposes of examination. Each group of students completed an assignment, whereby they described the excavation process they were involved in or the documentary research they had done.

Reflections on the project

As an experimental project I feel that it was too ambitious in terms of what it attempted to do. The amount of work involved in such a project demands the full-time involvement of at least two people. This project emphasised my belief that effective educational work undertaken in archaeology cannot be done on a part-time basis. It requires a significant amount of effort if it is to succeed as planned. As I was the only person involved in organising and coordinating the project, several aspects of the project could not reach fruition. The intention to involve schoolchildren and other groups in the excavation and

getting the Khanya students to teach them was never realised. This was primarily due to my not having enough time to organise. By the time excavation began on the site, these plans were shelved as it became obvious that the core of the project was going to be demanding enough.

In one of the very first meetings with the Khanya students, I stated that I would attempt to demonstrate how 'easy' it is to do archaeology. What I was naively trying to do, was to transfer my archaeological knowledge, which has been gained through 5 years of tertiary education, to the students in approximately 7 months. My initial expectations for what the students could accomplish in this project were far too high, as the project was not conceived in a realistic light or based on much previous experience.

What I had expected was that these students would develop a sufficient knowledge of archaeology to develop a critical awareness of the discipline, which would result in development of an alternative educational programme of this nature. What I only came to realise during the course of the project is that the students already had a specific critical perspective of the discipline, which they had brought to Khanya, although most of them only heard about archaeology there for the first time. This perspective was confirmed through their lectures at the College, that firstly;

“Seeing that, I’m not trying to be racist, but mostly the archaeologists are white people. It is my wish also for blacks to be involved. Because even though they might come with their evidence, it might be biased in how they interpret the objects and so on.” (Interview #2)

and that secondly;

“Ja, like what I learnt is that it was a colonialist information. So, I would like to give an input if I have the chance, maybe the way I see it.” (Interview #4)

At one of the meetings we had, I decided to introduce the idea of a People's Archaeology into the discussion. This was done after a brief explanation of the development of archaeological theory. In a discussion about the current status of the discipline, students identified archaeology as being "part of the Apartheid ideology", "serving the interests of a certain class", "controlled by whites", "disempowering blacks by focusing on white history", etc. These views I challenged by drawing their attention to the case of Great Zimbabwe¹² and the attempts by "white" archaeologists there to present the archaeological evidence in the face of oppressive restraints/threats from the government. This, however, did little to deter their general view of archaeology in South Africa. Twice during the excavation I was jokingly questioned about my "whether I was white" and there seemed to be some degree of shock to discover that I was not. What I am trying to point out is that the students had a particular image of what archaeology was, and this tied into their broader political views, which were formed before and during their stay at Khanya College.

These perceptions manifested itself in different ways:

"Maybe at first I didn't see the vitality or importance of this. I thought that "No, this Proctor, because we are blacks, he wants us to offer our free labour there". I had that kind of idea to be honest..." (Interview #13)

"When we first went to Welgelegen, there was this thing of Rhodes being involved and so I have my own political ideology and I'm anti-them, you see. I felt like I need to excavate some thing of African origin, not European you see. So my political views influence what I would find. Like I found out that what happened at this place Driekoppen. What they found was that Driekoppen was named after 3 slaves who were beheaded. So it was called Driekoppen. So now I mean, when they do that kind of excavation and find

¹² Great Zimbabwe appeared as a focal point in many of the interviews that I conducted. It came across as strong reference point for the role archaeology has played in African history, and the abuse of historical interpretation. The emphasis placed on this "symbol of resistance" could be traced to the Khanya lecturer, whose experience of archaeology derives from Zimbabwe and work at the Great Zimbabwe ruins.

out about was buried below, then it hurts me inside. What I mean is the past can influence my political views, as in how whites treated people. They were also barbaric and dangerous, and also you become angry and anti-white based on what you learn from the past, if you see how they treated people. So, that is all I can say, I mean there is bias in everything, you see.” (Interview #17)

This obviously affected the students' commitment to the project and resulted in them becoming frustrated and bored, and the project slowing down. The project stretched over roughly 7 months, and I can now see that it may have been unreasonable to expect the students to have remained motivated for such a long time, especially with the site-conditions and bad weather.

Coupled with the latter two was the very intensive Khanya curriculum. The time we had allocated to work was being taken up more and more by students' obligations to their community projects, extra-mural classes on writing and research skills, and youth-organisation meetings. The fact that they still had to make time for an archaeology project that involved manual labour was expected a lot from them.

“To be frank, the excavation consumes a lot of time. Moreover when you are a student you are loaded. So it consumes a lot of time, it consumes a lot of energy...”(Interview #11)

So, one may ask, why did they get involved in the project in the first place? The main reasons for their involvement appeared to centre around:

“...its going to change my way of thinking, I would say. Maybe I'll look at things in a much more broader perspective.” (Interview #2)

“Ja, this project seems to me to be of very vital importance, because in this project we going to do something which is practical. On those practicalities which we will be having, we'll be learning at the same time about how to do this work of archaeology, how to interpret the findings that we do get through the digging, and what tactics and strategies of dating and some aspects we get through digging. So, that's what made me very much enthusiastic to do archaeology.” (Interview #5)

“The reason why I chose this project is because I mean as an African, and as I’ve been taught in the DET schools for instance, I mean I’ve been given this kind of history. I mean they never even mentioned this thing of archaeology in our history in high school for instance. I just saw it on TV and more specially at Khanya. So I had this wrong history of South Africa, whereby they were trying to justify the positions of the Paul Krugers and all of them, Cecil John Rhodes, as the big masters of the Cape and South Africa. Now I’ve heard a lot of sufferings about that for instance. Now I think that if I can continue or just join this thing of archaeology, this project of archaeology, I mean that would mean a lot for me, because now I will be able to secure my position and to argue facts with physical evidence not just oral evidence.” (Interview #6)

“Because I was trying to run away from this thing of writing a 25-page essay, I thought in archaeology I’ll analyze that and I’ll go back and my coordinator will tell my subject-coordinator “Oh, he is doing well” and that’s finished.” (Interview #13)

“For instance I’ve got another reason. As myself, I am not someone who would like to talk, for instance I am not interested in oral history, because I don’t like to interview many people. So I think that archaeology is very adventurous, that’s why it’s also very interesting to want to find out about our past.”(Interview #10)

Students were saying that they were not properly informed that they were going to have to do manual labour, or they were not aware that they were going to have to dig. What several students recommended was that in future other participants are made fully aware of this part of the project.

What is obvious therefore is that both the students and myself made assumptions about the project. Some of them thought it would be an ‘easy’ alternative to the Oral History project, while I had incredibly high hopes for what the project would accomplish. When the students submitted their final assignments, they all passed it. Proctor, himself, also seemed to have high expectations of the project. He was quite critical of the content of the assignments, stating that it was not of a very high level. When I examined the assignments it became clear

that the students simply had too much information to digest in such a short time-period. Essentially, they were trying to write archaeological site-reports based on 7 months of archaeological experience.

Benefits of the Project

This project, although very experimental, has demonstrated that one could accomplish an archaeological excavation with the assistance of non-archaeologists, where consultation with the group in almost all research matters was a key factor. The project however also demonstrated the dependency of the non-archaeologist on the archaeologist in order to make the project a success.

When the expectations of the project became more realistic, students came up with very clear ideas as where the problems lay in the project and areas that needed more work. In a way therefore the project did achieve a degree of success. Students were able to develop a sense of what archaeology was and what it entailed. From this experience they were able to be critical of the project and allowed them identify problems in the project, although they were not able to offer any suitable solutions. In this manner, the project was therefore an invaluable exercise.

It revealed the value and importance of prior construction of an educational project well ahead of its implementation, the identification of simple realistic goals and the allocation of time to meet those goals. Coupled with this is the development of suitable alternatives which could be set in motion if parts of the project were delayed or proved difficult to implement,

due to unforeseen problems, such as bad weather. The structuring of realistic goals would therefore allow for more comprehensive planning to achieve them. Within all of this, time and assistance played a crucial role. In order for any such programme to be a success, there needs to be at least two people involved. This would allow for the more effective splitting of available time and tasks into manageable proportions. The experience gained from this project, however, played an important role in the development of subsequent educational programmes. One such programme forms the topic of the next chapter.

Chapter 6

Archaeological Education at Wesley Primary School

The Khanya College Project formed part of the Masters' Student Programme (MSP) of the Community Education Resources Project (CER). As the Khanya-project only lasted for a year, I had to explore the development of a new project in the second year of the MSP. So, at the beginning of 1992, I developed another project, this time working with children from Wesley Primary School in Salt River¹.

This project differed from the Khanya Project in several respects. Firstly, the aim of the project was different. The Khanya Project was developed in order to assess my ideas about People's Archaeology and students reaction to it. This Wesley Project as directed at developing a popular resource on archaeology. A tighter time-frame was placed on all the interaction with the children. Whereas contact with the Khanya students ran over several months, contact with the Wesley students only last one month. This was consciously planned to allow sufficient time to produce the resource.

¹ This is a suburb of Cape Town.

Secondly, it was clear from the Khanya Project that archaeological excavation proved a difficult point of interaction. This was primarily due to my being the only person in charge of the supervision and execution of the project and inadequate planning. The Khanya Project served to create excavators, but that was not the primary aim of the project. Excavation, therefore did not form the main feature of the new project. What would be emphasised was:

- 1) that archaeology was not 'foreign' to history and people's daily experiences;
- 2) that many aspects of archaeology could be practised outside the context of the university, museums and archaeological sites;
- 3) that archaeology made a valuable contribution to our understanding of the past and present
- 4) that archaeology was not *only* about excavating.

Essentially this project hoped to demonstrate that archaeology could be practised beyond the narrow confines ascribed to it by archaeologists².

What also emerged from the Khanya Project was a realisation that the 'general public' develop an interest in archaeology often for very specific reasons. Susan Pearce (1990:133) divides the 'general public' into three broad groups. These include people who take no interest in the past; a smaller section who take "an informed interest" in the past; and children "whose interests are not yet fixed" (*ibid*).

² See Chapter 7.

Ritchie (1990:46), on the other hand, identifies 5 broad categories amongst the 'general public'. These are:

- “1. those who consider it a “cultural attainment” to be involved in some or other way with archaeological endeavours;
 2. those who might be interested, but have little or no access to archaeology;
 3. those who wish to redress historical misrepresentations, imbalances and exclusions;
 4. those disinterested because of the negative or inaccessible presentations of histories;
 5. those who are “unreachable” in that they are not likely to be interested.”
- (*ibid*)

I would add a sixth category to Ritchie's groups, and that would be those people who see a clear political use of the past and attempt to use it for their own purposes. The Khanya students would fall into Pearce's group of people who take an informed interest in the past and into Ritchie's group 3. The Khanya students would also fall into the group who see a clear use of the past. They have identified history as important in terms of nation-building and are aware of its use/abuse. The Wesley Project, which would fall into Pearce's third group of children, therefore also served to counter-balance the Khanya Project.

The Wesley Project

In 1991 I had begun to write popular articles on archaeology for Molo Songololo, a children's magazine in Cape Town. This relationship proved crucial for the development of the Wesley Project. When I had drawn up a proposal concerning the production of a popular resource, I presented it to the staff of Molo Songololo. Through their assistance, a project was initiated through which I would produce a popular book on archaeology for schoolchildren and teachers. This would be done in conjunction with schoolchildren from a local school.

Along with the editor of Molo Songololo, we identified schools that might be amenable to my working with them. The main role the magazine played was the establishment of initial contact with primary schools. The principal from Wesley Primary School offered the most support for such a project. A meeting was set up between the principal, the Standard 5 History teacher at the school and myself. At the meeting I outlined a project whereby I would do a series of workshops with a small group of children at the school.

It was agreed that I could proceed with such a project and that the History teacher would select approximately 15 children from a variety of classes to participate in the project. It was recommended that I draft a letter to the children's parents, informing them of the project and their children's possible participation in it. All the children who became involved in the project had to receive their parents' permission to do so, as the workshops would be held on Saturdays, outside normal school-hours.

In my initial proposal, I had developed a series of workshops, based on the work I had done with the students from Khanya College. The aim of the workshops was to 'test' material that could be used in a popular resource. Coupled with this, was the purpose of exploring new ways to teach the public about archaeology. These workshops would develop the focus of archaeology slowly over a period of three sessions, while in the final session the children would be taken on a fieldtrip to Newlands Forest, where they would be given a talk on a completed archaeological excavation³. Afterwards, students would be taken to an ongoing

³ This site had been developed into a site museum recently and I had contacted one of the archaeologists, who had been involved in the excavation, to present the talk.

excavation, where they would be allowed to participate in the excavation under my supervision. The site where they would be taken for excavation was Welgelegen⁴.

The workshops that I would hold fulfilled a component that was missing from the Khanya Project, which was to have been the involvement of schoolchildren in the excavation-process. The motivation behind this had been to have the Khanya students educate others about archaeology. This aspect was never fulfilled.

Three 2-hour workshops were organised to be held on Saturday mornings at the school-premises. The school-textbooks that the children used were examined to establish the content of their current education. Based on this, each workshop was carefully prepared beforehand. The workshops were meant to make the learning experience fun, yet educational. Therefore, it was attempted to make the workshops simple and task-oriented.

Excavation itself is a very task-orientated context. In the earlier description on the Archaeological Resource Centre (ARC) in Toronto⁵, it is noted that children are actively involved in archaeological excavations. However, the South African context differs from the Toronto-model. Firstly, the education-systems serve different purposes. Toronto educators emphasize skills-based learning, while locally a system of rote-learning dominates. Secondly, ARC employ several skilled and experienced archaeological educators who work and assist on excavations. Excavation in South Africa presents a difficult setting in which to attempt to

⁴ Following the Khanya Project, it was decided to use the site for teaching undergraduates archaeological methodology. This site, therefore, became a field-school during the mid-term vacations.

⁵ See Chapter 3.

educate the public about the past and through that, to empower them. The Wesley Project therefore marks an attempt to move away from excavation as the primary means by which people are taught about archaeology.

The workshops were designed to concentrate on one or two central ideas. The aims of the workshops were therefore very specific and realistic. An important emphasis was placed on the evaluation of the workshops, as they aimed to 'test' the information and children's perception of this information. Another reason for this evaluation was the possible improvement of the workshops. A simple evaluation-form was developed in which the students were also asked to complete a task, in order to assess their understanding of the content of the workshops. The workshops were therefore planned to include a significant amount of time allocated to evaluation.

The Workshops

Workshop 1

Aim

The first workshop focused on introducing the topic of archaeology. The main emphasis was understanding what it was all about, the main sources it uses and the time-frame with which it deals.

Structure

The workshop was set out as follows:

1. Introduction and reasons for the workshops [10mins]

2. What do you know about archaeology? [10mins]
3. Input on archaeology - what it is, compared with history [15mins]
4. Rubbish exercise - role play with questions [30mins]
5. Brief input on society and symbols [10mins]
6. The question of time and the archaeological record [15mins]
7. Questions [10mins]
8. Evaluation [20mins]
9. Closure

Process

During the workshop I decided to have a 5-10 minute break after the rubbish exercise. The kids were starting to get restless and irritable. The break seemed to be a good idea, as they came back "happier". They were initially quite difficult to get used to; being very talkative and excitable. After a while everyone seemed to calm down though. I also decided to add a summary session whereby they could tell me what they learnt during the session. This proved most successful as several of them volunteered info very readily. One boy commented that the summary was useful in that it allowed him to recap on what we had done. Otherwise he would've forgotten everything. I have subsequently decided to include the two additions into all workshops I intend holding.

Workshop 2

Aim

The second workshop set as its goal describing the basic archaeological methodology, ie. excavation, and the accompanying process.

Structure

The workshop entailed the following:

1. Introduction to the session [5mins]
2. INPUT: Where does archaeology come from? [10mins]
3. QUESTION:
How does archaeology get done? [10mins]
4. INPUT: The different stages of archaeological research
 - a) surveying/reconnaissance [5mins]
 - b) deciding to excavate [5mins]
 - c) working on site—deposit, stratigraphy, layers, excavation [10mins]
- TASK: Lay out a grid in order to make 1m x 1m squares [15mins]
- Outline the use of Pythagoras' Theorem ($3^2+4^2=5^2$) [5mins]
 - d) working in the lab—classification, dating and diet [10mins]
 - e) making sense of finds—sources to use [5mins]
 - f) writing and publishing a report [5mins]
5. BREAK [5-10mins]
6. Slide-show/Summary [15mins]
7. Evaluation [15mins]
8. Closure

Process

Immediately after the workshop, I believed that it was less successful than the first one. I had tried to compress too much information into it, and this allowed for too much input on my part and less on the part of the kids. They appeared very bored and listless, from the start.

The one exercise that proved very useful was telling them about Pythagoras and then having them lay a grid in the courtyard. That seemed an enjoyable experience for all. The problem was definitely that I had not prepared enough “task-orientated” exercises. I decided to have incorporate an ice-breaker⁶ into the next workshop, as well as have a recap-session in the beginning of this workshop to assess what the children had learnt in the previous workshop.

Workshop 3

Aim

This workshop involved making the children aware of what knowledge archaeology had contributed to South African history.

Structure

The workshop ran as follows:

1. Icebreaker [5mins]
2. Recap on last week—what were the things we covered last time [15mins]
3. Slide-show—slides on excavation [20mins]
4. South African archaeology—The Stone Age (use artefacts and time-line) [20mins]
5. Break [10mins]
6. Slide-show on rock art [15mins]
7. Summary [10mins]
8. Evaluation [20mins]
9. Closure

⁶ This refers to an exercise which would assist the workshop-participants to relax and encourages active participation in the workshop.

Process

The workshop went well in comparison to the previous one. Due to our having to use an audio-visual screen for the slides we had to shift our venue to another classroom. The misgivings I had about the previous workshop seemed totally unfounded during the recap-session. The children voiced, quite loudly, that they did not find the last workshop boring and too info-packed, in the least. The artefacts and the slides worked very well, as the children responded enthusiastically.

The Excavation

To complete the process of workshops, students were taken on a fieldtrip to an archaeological site where the excavation was already completed and the site converted into a site-museum, as well as to a site which was in the process of being excavated. This proved to be a very exciting day for the children. A few of the parents accompanied us to the site-museum in Newlands Forest, where they participated in a presentation on the site. The children were very enthusiastic and had many questions.

Afterwards, we went to Welgelegen where the rest of the day was spent excavating. It was realised that not a lot of work could actually be done in such a short time and therefore it was decided to restrict excavation to a single 3m X 3m square. The site had been partially cleared the previous day in order for the children to begin excavating immediately. The excavation-process was carefully explained before any work began. Supervision at this point became a bit problematic, as there were only a limited number of tools which could be used. The children were therefore split into smaller groups which had different tasks. One group

cleared away the rest of the overburden, while another assisted in the moving the soil to a dump-area. The children then took turns in excavating one square. This proved a very successful exercise, as it gave the other children the opportunity to explore the property and to learn more of its history.

This excavation concluded the process of testing material for the popular resource. The children, nonetheless, were keen to continue learning about archaeology. However, as pressure to complete the popular resource, as well as my Masters' forced me cut this relationship short. The experience gained through the Khanya College project was invaluable in the development and completion of this workshop-series.

The continuous evaluation of the children's perceptions proved to be very useful in terms of the amount of information that was presented in the workshops, as well as the content. At the end of the first workshop, one of the children asked about the origins of archaeology. This query allowed me to build a brief history into the next workshop as it was missing from all the workshops. The children's attitudes differed significantly from those of the Khanya students, as they were far more trusting and responsive.

The Popular Resource⁷

What followed the workshop process was a lengthy period in which the children's comments were compared with the workshops. The reworked information from these workshops were then developed in the form of the content for a popular resource. Although the contact with

⁷ See Appendix 5.

the Wesley students was for a shorter time-period than with the Khanya students, the process by which the popular resource was produced was significantly longer. The workshops were held in May 1992 and the popular resource was finally produced in August 1993. The production of this resource ran concurrently with the academic research for this thesis, was only published in the year after the CER Masters' Student Programme had been completed. The resource proved the point that educational work is time-consuming and is not necessarily something that can be done on a part-time basis.

The resource was aimed at presenting schoolchildren between the ages of 11 and 14 with an introduction to archaeology. However, it was not necessarily limited to this audience. The secondary audience was taken as the teachers who would educate these children. Having schoolchildren as the primary audience provided the challenge of presenting the material in an accessible format. It was eventually decided to develop a story which took the reader into the past and used archaeology to describe that past. The story would create a point of access and introduction to archaeology.

The resource also built on the theme of the workshops, that archaeology need not be practised in the traditional setting of the university or museum. The concepts that were described in the resource could be directly applicable in one's own home. This would also allow teachers to use accessible material, in this case; common rubbish, for teaching purposes. This differed from many of the other popular archaeology resources which had been produced in South Africa⁸. These resources tend to popularise archaeology, but offer no

⁸ See Chapters 1 and 7 for a description of some of these resources.

means by which the reader can apply their knowledge without having to contact an archaeology institution to do so. The popularisation therefore only serves a limited purpose.

What this resource also sets to demonstrate that archaeology is not something totally removed from our general understanding of the past. The resource, first of all, has a map to show that there are several archaeological sites in the Western Cape. Archaeological sites are therefore not only found in other countries such as Egypt or England, but locally as well. Secondly, by focusing on common objects to describe some of the concepts, archaeology is not removed from the daily reality of the present. Faizal, the main character in the book, is based on one of the children from Wesley Primary School. The character in the book is also learning about archaeology, just like the reader. Faizal, therefore, acts as a device with which the reader is guided into dealing with the past beyond colonial contact.

The resource has gone through the process of initial conceptualisation, writing, extensive editing, design and layout before the final product was produced. All these stages involved reworking of the content and style. When the final resource was produced, it was not distributed along the 'normal' route of publishers⁹. Instead, it was decided to distribute the book through local resource centres and community centres, which have active contact with teachers and schoolchildren. Complimentary copies of Faizal's Journey were also sent to various centres around the country.

⁹ Judy Sealy commented in Chapter 2 that the success of distribution of popular archaeological resources through publishers has been very limited. The reasons for this has not been examined, as the authors had not structured any process of evaluation into the production of the resource.

As the resource was produced a little more than 6 months ago, an evaluation of the impact of the resource has not been properly conducted. However, feedback concerning the evaluation of the resource was requested from at least five teachers. Four of the teachers made favourable comments about the book, while the fifth was critical of the resource. The fifth teacher felt that the resource may have benefited from more input from teacher-trainers, especially in relation to the tasks set in the book. On the whole, this 'small' evaluation proved that a more in-depth evaluation at a later stage would be of great assistance in the development of future resources. The formulation of such an evaluation would be based on the assistance of those resource and community centres that have participated in its distribution.

Both the workshops and the popular resource show that archaeology can have a much broader focus than it currently has. The goals of this project, derived from the Khanya-experience, were far more realistic and manageable, both in time-management and other ways. It also did not serve the narrow goals of popular archaeology, simply teaching the audience about the discipline or some part of it. What this project attempted to do, was to empower the audience, in this case; children, to use archaeology outside the confines of the discipline, in a setting familiar to themselves, their homes.

Chapter 7

Archaeology in South Africa Today

This chapter examines South African archaeology in the light of recent changes. The historical overview that was presented in Chapter 2 only focused on the early development of the discipline. This chapter goes further than that and looks at archaeology over the last decade. It also centres on the educational efforts made by South African archaeologists, both within the sphere of established archaeological circles and outside. This includes the work conducted in the preceding two chapters.

On 2 February 1990, the South African State President, F. W. De Klerk, announced the unbanning of the African National Congress and a range of other anti-apartheid organisations. This move precipitated vast political and social changes in South Africa. This has resulted in the restructuring at grassroots level of many anti-apartheid organisations on the Left, as well as the strengthening and growth of the militaristic neo-nazi Right. In essence, the struggle against apartheid and the state has been moved from the grassroots/street level to the boardroom, where negotiations have been the order of the day. The priorities of funding-agencies have changed from funding resistance to apartheid to funding the

development of the 'New South Africa'. Many grassroots organisations have been forced to either close down or to change their focus. The process of shaping the 'New South Africa' has itself been hampered by problems. Disagreement, the forging of unusual alliances, such as that between the white right-wing movement and black moderates arguing for sovereignty, and an unprecedented increase in violence¹, which has ravaged the country, has been the order of the day. This has resulted in an extremely fluid political and economic situation. Yet, amongst all this confusion, South Africa is on the verge of the first democratic elections to be held on 27 April 1994. This election is believed by some to usher in a new era of social justice and racial equality. Theoretically, this would be the setting in which a People's Archaeology would be practised.

If we are to examine how a People's Archaeology would operate, we have to look at the issue of control over resources and in this case it means looking at the ownership of the past, what this ownership constitutes, how it is currently expressed. Groube (1985:58) has stated that the

“...real owners of the past of any nation, state or province are not the people today, nor the land-owners who are the guardians of the evidence, but the manipulators of the past, the historians, prehistorians and archaeologists who transform the past into words.”

The power of academia to control the past is examined by Ritchie (1990). In her analysis, she examined the power that the authoritative voice affords academics and establishes them as experts and producers of the past. She argued that this authoritative power is endorsed by the fact that we have received the appropriate university accreditation to verify this authority

¹ The negotiating forum at the World Trade Centre has not been excluded from this violence. On 25 June 1993, the right-wing alliance smashed their way into the building and occupied the negotiation-chambers for several hours. Approximately 70 members of the Afrikaner Weerstand's Beweging were arrested after the siege.

beyond dispute. That *academics* have developed and control the system of accreditation reinforces this authority even more (Muller and Cloete, 1986). Furthermore, the 'dominance' of the authoritative view is backed by the resources to enforce that view.

The authoritarian voice also tends to be very singular, as alternative interpretations of the past are seldom heard. The practice of precolonial archaeology focuses primarily on an area where very few other scholars venture, ie. the past before European colonialisation. Archaeologists appear as the only researchers to have developed the 'tools' for study in this area, ie. excavation², and as I will show later, are the only people who are allowed to legally do so. Other disciplines begin to overlap with archaeology at its margins, ie. historians and anthropologists interact with archaeologists during the historically-documented period and, closer to the period dealing with human origins, scholars such as anatomists increase. This implies that archaeologists provide us with the only source of 'reliable' information on a major portion of human development. The only alternatives that are offered are mostly by the archaeologists themselves, and disagreements in interpretation seldom reach the public spectrum. These disagreements are restricted to academic journals and conferences, which are seldom publicised outside these circles. What is presented to the public tends to be a picture of a uniform, undivided discipline³. Hence, alternate interpretations of the 'archaeological

² This does not assume that excavation is the only means by which archaeological data is retrieved. However, excavation is the primary tool that is emphasised (Lewis-Williams; 1993).

³ Recent popular publications in the field of rock-art studies have been more aware of this and have attempted to describe alternate views in their texts (see Lewis-Williams; 1990, Yates, Parkington and Manhire; 1990). A few years ago, a local television series on human evolution, called *Origins*, and narrated by an archaeologist, also attempted to show alternative interpretations of archaeological evidence. These popular expressions of differing interpretations still however, remain exceptions to the norm.

past' do not exist and therefore a singular authoritarian voice dominates. Communities, therefore, would have no alternative means of looking at precolonial human history except through the eyes of the archaeologists. The ability to contest this power of archaeologists by anyone outside of the academic environment is therefore limited.

The voice from the academic world is based on 'truthful knowledge', which is seen as the only valid form of knowledge (Ritchie; 1990:49). The accuracy of this knowledge is invoked by the use of the tried and tested empiricist scientific method. The ordering of objects, which in archaeology finds expression in the chronological framework of the archaeological record, is argued by Carter (1987) as creating the impression that events unfold according to an internal logic, which stands outside of any interpretation. This 'natural logic', Ritchie argues, is what Belsey (1980) calls the 'tyranny of lucidity'. The impression is given that 'what is being said must be true because it is obvious, clear and familiar' (Ritchie; 1990:50). Lewis Williams (1993:49) argues that the chronocentrism of archaeology, and other Western concepts which deal with time, creates a false linearity which "...cripples any alternative way of seeing Southern Africa's past".

Professional Archaeology in South Africa

It would be useful at this point to examine the structure through which South African professional archaeologists organise themselves and the perception this structure generates of the discipline. In South Africa archaeologists have grouped themselves into a professional body, called the Southern African Association of Archaeologists (SAAA). It was felt that there was a need for a professional representation to interface with government departments and professional

initiatives (John Parkington⁴; pers.comm.). The SAAA consists of an elected Council and a general membership. There are approximately 105 to 110 members in the Association. Membership of the SAAA has been restricted to people who are committed to archaeology and this commitment has been measured by an individual possessing an Honours' degree in archaeology and their being engaged in the profession of archaeology, ie. being employed. This employment implies an attachment to a major institution where archaeology is practised. Within the last few years the employment requirement has not been stressed as much, as fewer graduates find employment within the discipline (Parkington; pers.comm.). Membership to the SAAA is gained as follows:

- a prospective member has to approach a current member, who nominates you for membership
- the nomination then has to be seconded by at least 4 other members
- Council considers the nomination and then circulates it to the rest of the membership for approval/objection
- any objections to the nomination can be overturned by a majority vote by Council (SAAA Constitution).

One of the main reasons the SAAA was formed was to make representations to government-bodies. This lobbying has been very limited, and has been concentrated mainly on developing new and tightening existing legislature. Hence, the major liaison with the government has been through the National Monuments Council (NMC), which is the statutory body established under the National Monuments Act, No. 28 of 1969 (Deacon;

⁴ John Parkington is currently the Secretary of the SAAA.

1991). The main aims of the NMC are stated as:

- “to preserve and protect the historical and cultural heritage,
- to encourage and promote the conservation and protection of that heritage, and
- to co-ordinate all the activities in connection with monuments and cultural treasures in order that they will be retained as tokens of the past and may serve as an inspiration for the future” (NMC-pamphlet; n.d.).

In this regard, the NMC acts as the legislative body responsible for the granting of permits for the exploration of archaeological sites, and the enforcing of all heritage legislation. The National Monuments Act (as amended in 1979, 1981 and 1986) protects sites in two ways. The first means is to require a permit to “...destroy, damage, remove from its original site or export from the republic...” any material from archaeological, palaeontological or historical sites (Deacon; 1992:2). Any transgression of the Act is punishable by a fine of up to R10 000 or two years’ imprisonment, or both. The second means is through the declaration of national monuments (*ibid*). The issue of the enforcing of the permit-system is important. Permits for the disturbance of archaeological⁵ sites are only granted to “...professional archaeologists with institutional support for the curation and storage of materials” (SAAA; 1991) and therefore immediately excludes anyone who does not have the proper credentials. Furthermore the NMC claims that “...excavations and the collection of material are done in a controlled, scientific way by qualified professionals” (NMC-pamphlet; n.d.). As a professional body, most members of the SAAA therefore qualify for permits from the NMC.

In 1990 the SAAA set up a sub-committee to investigate the question of minimum standards in archaeological work. The proposals that have been made by the sub-committee have subsequently gone to the NMC “...for publication as regulations in terms of Section 17 of

⁵ Reference here to archaeological sites includes palaeontological sites.

the Monuments Council Act...” (SAAA; 1993:15). These proposals are to be incorporated into the by-laws of the Act, updating the 1970 by-laws. What these minimum standards succeed in doing is to enforce accepted archaeological practice, with regard to excavations, as law.

Groube (1985:50) argues that the material culture or ‘things’ of the past are owned by the state, but within these new by-laws an interesting clause has been proposed. Following the provision for material to be curated and stored in a recognised museum or university department, Clause 1(j) goes on to propose that

“...all the material so curated shall become the *property* (my emphasis) of the said institution: Provided that the collector or excavator shall have access to the material at all reasonable times.”(SAAA; 1993:17)

The ownership of the past hence rests, in more absolute terms, with the archaeologists or institutions which practice archaeology in this country. Whereas Groube (1985:50) had identified a difference in the ownership of the ‘things’ of the past and the past itself, the South African example demonstrates that this distinction is no longer necessary. The past and all its ‘things’ belong to the archaeologists.

The extent to which archaeologists acknowledge this control over the past can be seen by SAAA Code of Ethics (SAAA; 1991:11). This code was published along with a list of archaeologists available for Cultural Resource Management-work and reflects the discipline’s heightened awareness of the possibilities offered by this form of contract-work. Legislation, passed the previous year, under the Environment Conservation Act (Act No. 73 of 1989) made provision for impact-studies to be done on both “...the natural and man-made environment” (NMC; 1992:1), opening the door for archaeologists to enter into contractual relationships with the private sector to do archaeological work. The SAAA made representa-

tions to the NMC regarding this Act as well (Parkington; pers. comm.). The strong weighting of the code of ethics, which was ratified in 1990, underscores the new-felt emphasis about contract-work. Within this code, interaction with the public is mentioned 5 times and in each case it involves "...protecting the interests of the public", volunteering "...their special knowledge, skill and training to the public" and protecting "the archaeological profession from misunderstanding and misrepresentation". Each reference therefore strengthens the idea that archaeology is only practised by archaeologists and no mention is made of the involvement of the non-archaeological community in the practice of the discipline. These references are also very vague when one compares them to the parts referring to contract-work. Here clear points are stipulated regarding the relationship with the 'client' and the 'employer'.

Overseas, some debates on ethics have moved beyond this emphasis on CRM⁶ and attempted to structure greater ties with communities. Internationally, museums and the past are perceived as widely contested spaces, and the issues of the restitution of cultural property are high on the agenda (see McIntosh, McIntosh and Togola; 1989, Lowenthal; 1990). This is directly related to the empowerment of communities to make claims on aspects of their past. The United Nations has gone as far as developing a declaration of principles for indigenous rights. In a draft of these principles, there are two clear references to archaeology:

"11. Indigenous nations and peoples continue to own and control their material culture, including archaeological, historical and sacred sites, artifacts, designs, knowledge, and works of art. They have the right to regain items of major cultural significance and, in all cases, to the return of the human remains of their ancestors for burial in accordance with their traditions...

⁶ This is not to say that CRM has been left to sort itself out. One of the publications resulting from the World Archaeological Congress of 1986 focused entirely on the issue of Management of the Cultural Heritage (see Cleere; 1989).

13. No technical, scientific or social investigations, including archaeological excavations, shall take place in relation to indigenous nations or peoples, or their lands, without their prior authorization, and their continuing ownership and control." (Harley, 1993:24)

In Australia, archaeologists have managed to include clauses concerning indigenous groups in their Code of Ethics. In a 1990 Draft Code for Anthropologists, an article read:

"Anthropologists first responsibility is to those whose lives and cultures they study. Should conflicts of interest arise, the interests of these people take precedence over other considerations." (cited in McBryde; 1992:260)

Nothing of this nature is found in the SAAA Code of Ethics, as it seems that it has not yet been an issue to consider. This bears witness to the relative isolation in which South African archaeologists operate.

An attempt by archaeologists to 'make' the discipline more relevant to its political and social context occurred in 1983 at the SAAA-conference⁷ in Gaborone. It was proposed from the floor that the membership condemn apartheid and constitutionalise this condemnation. This caused quite an uproar with a majority of the membership arguing that the SAAA was not to get involved in politics (Parkington; pers.comm.). This also led to the Zimbabwean and Mozambiquean members of the SAAA resigning from the structure (Martin Hall; pers. comm.). It was only agreed by postal vote after the 1985 Grahamstown conference that a preamble be drafted to give voice to the Gaborone-proposal (Ritchie; 1990:1). This preamble did not condemn apartheid outright, but rather retreated into a more neutral corner, focusing generally on discrimination. The ratified preamble stated that

⁷ The SAAA membership has a bi-annual General Meeting (BGM) at a venue which is decided upon at the previous BGM. This meeting is organised so that it coincides with a conference, at which members and other interested parties present research-papers.

“...the Association condemns unconditionally all forms of discrimination (especially those officially entrenched), whether racial, political, religious or sexual, ..” (SAAA Constitution).

However, what follows immediately afterwards (in the preamble) can be interpreted as an attempt to prevent the Association from taking any party-political stance or being seen to.

“Further, the Association does not recognise the right of any body to interfere with the academic freedom of scholars to discover, discuss and disseminate information regarding their discipline. In particular, it rejects the practice of distorted facts or interpretations to advance political ideologies.” (*ibid*)

Nowhere does the Association recognise any of the crippling effects that apartheid has had on the people of South Africa or of any means by which they could begin assisting in a process of restructuring the harms of this system. However, it makes it clear that ‘academic freedom’ must be maintained at all costs. It appears that the Association fails to recognise that academic freedom is in itself an academic stance which has grown out of a specific liberal tradition.

Archaeology in South Africa has developed a technically high standard of practice and theory, comparable with the rest of the world and not found elsewhere in Africa, but in terms of its commitment to play an active role in assisting social change, “...South African archaeology remains the most colonial of all African archaeologies” (Trigger; 1990:316). Although archaeological findings contradict the official state-histories which are fed to schoolchildren (Smith; 1983, Mazel and Stewart; 1987), Trigger (1990:316/7) notes that archaeologists have rather attempted to

“...buy government support and freedom to carry out research at the cost of maintaining political neutrality and apparent irrelevance to social issues”.

However, since the beginning of the 1980s, and specifically the Gaborone and Grahamstown conferences, there has been a slow, but marked increase in the amount of popular work published by archaeologists and the issues are discussed in archaeological forums. The SAAA has started making attempts to begin addressing issues which have affected black communities. These have been primarily in the areas of education and reburial.

In 1992 a sub-committee was formed to formulating a policy around the ethical treatment of human skeletal material. As the South African Museums Association has also developed a similar structure, the two committees are liaising with one another (Parkington; pers. comm.). The issue of reburial has however had very little exposure within the South African context, as few communities exist who will take issue over such aspects of their past. The Apartheid-project has resulted in a situation where many communities' links with their past have been virtually obliterated. Any links with ancestral groups such as the Khoi-Khoi have become ambiguous. The Khoi-Khoi are more derogatorily known as 'Hottentotte' or 'Hotnotte'⁸ and the words are used more in an insulting manner than a respectful one. The popular myths that have been developed have stigmatised any claim of an allegiance with the Khoi-Khoi or other ancestral groups (Ritchie; 1990). Very few communities, therefore, tend to make such claims.

The only documented case of a reburial involving a local community in South Africa occurred in April 1991 (Pastor; 1993). In an excavation on a farm, called Vergelegen, a human skeleton was exhumed during an archaeological excavation of a slave-lodge. The local community was approached by the archaeologists and asked what they wanted to do. What

⁸ These terms often refer directly to 'coloured' people.

emerged, was a scenario in which the local farm-worker community participated in the reburial of the skeleton. Pastor (*ibid*), in an examination of the event, indicates that the reburial-request by the community had as much to do with the archaeologists being sensitised following international pressures around the issue and hence, offering the community a say in the matter, as the local farm-community's Christian ethical belief that the skeleton should be reburied. When allowed the opportunity to make a contribution to the outcome of the event, the Vergelegen farm-workers made no clear-cut demand about the reburial of 'ancestral' skeletal remains, but expressed religious reasons for the reburial. Although the precedent has therefore been set for South African archaeologists, especially those working in an historical context, the issue remains unresolved. It is hoped that the SAAA sub-committee will have developed some policy guidelines by the BGM of the Association in 1994 (Parkington; pers.comm.).

On the education side, the SAAA sub-committee on education appears to have been fairly active in the last few years. Deacon (1992:10) states that the SAAA "... has taken the initiative in making policy-makers and authors of school text-books aware of the broader base of southern African history...". Hence SAAA has developed a close relationship with the History Teachers' Workshop, an organisation of history school-teachers in Cape Town. Through the course of 1993, it has been involved in assisting in the presentation of courses involving teacher-training methodology. This has occurred in collaboration with the Education Department of the University of Cape Town. In a recent SAAA newsletter, the sub-committee has made a request for more information on educational initiatives that have been undertaken in other centres (SAAA, 1993). This request covers the production of books, pamphlets or other popular literature, the development of regular courses or fieldtrips on

archaeology for the public and the ways in which institutions have attempted to make archaeology more accessible to disadvantaged communities. There is a definite realisation that the Association needs to be far more pro-active in structuring educational ventures (Parkington; pers. comm.).

Through the course of 1993 the SAAA also published a careers-pamphlet about archaeology which has been heavily criticised by Lewis-Williams (1993). The pamphlet, aimed at school-leavers and first year university students, is stated to have the "...potential to entrench an 'official' view of the discipline." (Lewis-Williams; 1993:45) Archaeology is characterised as a highly empiricist discipline, which requires training in set research steps, deals in excavation method, and require potential scholars to be able to "...write reports" (SAAA-pamphlet; 1993). Lewis-Williams argues that this pamphlet seeks to describe an archaeology practised between the 1960s and 1970s. Since then the discipline has developed to turn all these myths and assumptions on their head. Theoretical developments in the last decade have changed the practice of the discipline (see Shanks and Tilley; 1987, Tilley; 1985 as examples). Lewis-Williams' argument clearly revolves around archaeology being active in nation-building:

"We need to develop approaches to the past that contribute to the formation of concepts that will promote unity." (Lewis-Williams; 1993:46)

Archaeology is today recognised by progressive archaeologists as a discipline steeped in social practice, where scholars actively make political decisions about their areas of study/specialization and interests, and are fully accountable to the public.

"The consumers are people who, through their taxes contribute to the production of archaeological knowledge" (*ibid*).

From the pamphlet however, the image of archaeology is created as a “...conservative and exclusive...” value-free science. The fact that this pamphlet is produced at this point in time, when as Trigger (1990:316) points out, South African archaeologists have managed to stay abreast of international developments and has been of a technically high standard, “...pioneering new methods of analysis”, is very telling about how the professional body sees the role of the discipline during this time of transformation. Lewis-Williams lodged his criticisms in the SAAA newsletter (SAAA; 1993), as well as in the organ of the SAAS, The South African Archaeological Bulletin (Lewis-Williams; 1993). This was an attempt to reach both the professionals and the amateurs in the discipline. In the newsletter he suggests four courses of action:

- that the text be rewritten (a proposed text included with his objections);
- that the teaching of first-year students be restructured to incorporate the “truths” of archaeology, rather than perpetuate the myths of the discipline;
- that the Council of the SAAA expand its representation to include various interest groups in the profession, as well as students;
- that “...the Council should have its own address: documents issued in the name of the Association should not be seen to emanate from any single institution”.

Amateur archaeology

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, although the SAAS is an amateur body, it exists through the input of professionals, who use the journal of the Society for the publication of academic papers. The Digging Stick is dominated in similar fashion. As also pointed out in Chapter 2, the distinction between amateur and professional is not very clear. Amateurs contributed greatly to the establishment of the discipline and filled many of the early positions that became available.

Who exactly are these amateurs? Amateurs would be grouped in that group which Susan Pearce (1990:133) describes as "...taking an informed interest in the past...". Citing a survey by Merriman on museum visitors, Pearce argues that the dividing line between the amateurs above and the majority of the public who take no interest in the past, is based on economic and cultural capital. Education is seen as cultural capital, and Pearce links it very closely to economic capital, stating that it

"...pays dividends on the school, university, job and marriage markets, and capital is, by definition, a monopoly of the middle class..."(ibid:134)

The South African middle class tends to be the only section of the population that has access to the capital, both economic and cultural, to exercise their interests in archaeology. The access of resources in South Africa would tend to favour amateurs who are white and middle class.

The above critique implies that there exists no scope for challenge of 'the professional view'. The alternative view, when emanating from non-professionals, tends to be treated with great concern, to allow very little threat to the established view. Recently, however, there has been

a case where an amateur archaeologist has threatened to overturn the 'accepted archaeological record' in South Africa. Bernard O' Sullivan, an elderly lawyer, was interested in the writings of Raymond Dart about a possible Phoenician ship having been found on the Cape Flats in Cape Town (Dart; 1925:429). Following an interview with Dart and further research (Streak; 1993), O' Sullivan conducted a test excavation at a site on the Cape Flats from which he extracted two samples of wood (O' Sullivan;1990). These pieces of wood were sent for radiocarbon dating and returned uncalibrated dates of 490 ± 50 yrs BP and 1875 ± 50 yrs BP (*ibid*).

The first piece of wood (490 BP) was identified as possibly originating from the Mediterranean area, whilst the latter date corresponded well with O' Sullivan's theory that a Phoenician-ship may have landed here around 2000 years ago (*ibid*). Subsequently, he managed to secure funding in order to contract the Archaeology Department⁹ at the University of Cape Town to do a limited archaeological excavation of the site early in 1993. Although the excavation did not result in further support of O'Sullivan's theory (Parkington, pers.comm.), a debate had arisen around the controversial excavation. It was controversial because it opened the can of worms of settler interpretations of the past. These centred around finding foreign origins to describe local changes¹⁰. When it appeared that archaeologists had 'won' the fight over the interpretation of material culture, such as Great Zimbabwe, the Phoenician-excavation threatened to question the credibility of these interpretations.

⁹ As indicated earlier, legislation would not have allowed O' Sullivan, as an individual with no institutional support, to qualify for a permit to do an excavation.

¹⁰ See Hall, 1984 for detailed discussion. See also discussions in Chapter 2 concerning Rhodes and Great Zimbabwe.

Great public interest had developed following an initial article in a national Sunday newspaper (Streak; 1993), resulting in many people coming to see the site, as well as a BBC film-crew showing interest (Dave Halkett¹¹, pers. comm.). The local university-based Internet news service, had several messages from various academics about the excavation. These queries mostly revolved around disbelief that someone could be doing such an excavation¹². Interestingly enough, there were no responses by an archaeologist to this particular debate. An archaeological response was however forthcoming in the weekly university newsletter, the Monday Paper. This followed an article which appeared the previous week's edition (Allie; 1993). In a letter to the Paper, Martin Hall argued that the public enthusiasm around the excavation derived from a "...tired old racist history..." (Monday Paper, 1993). This history depended on looking for traces of European civilization on the African continent, rather than giving credit to the creativity of indigenous people. This letter also found its way into the biggest daily newspaper in Cape Town, *The Argus* (Yeld, 1993).

A subsequent letter from another academic, Greg Pastol, accused Hall of being "self-righteous" and of "...jumping to conclusions..." about why the public would be interested in this excavation (Monday Paper, 1993). Pastol further questioned Hall's reaction:

"I feel it was most unwarranted to lump this "tired old racist" baggage on me. One can only speculate about why professor Hall is so ready to be an authority on unseen motives."(Monday Paper, 1993)

Hall's defensive approach seemed to prevent any possibility of a challenge of the accepted archaeological interpretation.

¹¹ Dave Halkett was one of the archaeologists in charge of the excavation at the site.

¹² One of the e-mail queries wanted to know whether this was an April Fool's Joke.

Pastol's response is supported by a request I received from a children's magazine, Molo Songololo¹³, for whom I wrote regular articles on archaeology, to do a story on the excavation. Their interest in the excavation was based more on the fact that it was a topical, if not controversial, demonstration of history in action. As such, it provided an ideal opportunity to show archaeology as an active discipline in the construction of history. This clearly demonstrates that the public's interest in this excavation was of a far more complex nature than was assumed by Hall.

What further characterised this venture, was that O' Sullivan was aware of the initial need for professional archaeologists to be involved and had asked two professional archaeologists, Gabeba Abrahams and Bruno Werz to attend the initial test-excavation in 1989 (O'Sullivan; 1990). He was subsequently approached by another archaeologist, John Parkington, who assisted him in the preparation of a paper for South African Journal of Science (O' Sullivan; 1990) and has committed himself to work with O' Sullivan to explore his theory archaeologically (Parkington, pers. comm.). This 'assistance' has not been received very well by several other archaeologists, who did not believe his theories it should be entertained (*ibid*).

However, the support O' Sullivan had developed in archaeological circles was being challenged by his fairly aggressive canvassing of the public media, such as newspapers, television and radio-stations, to cover aspects of the excavation (Halkett; pers. comm.). This 'canvassing' is understandable if one considers that as an amateur, he has very limited access to funds available for archaeological work and the only means of ensuring this funding is to

¹³ The editor of the magazine had been following newspaper-reports on the excavation.

achieve good media exposure. This media exposure had however, created an uncomfortable situation for the archaeologists, who have suddenly found themselves in the public eye, and through this, in a threatened position.

Rather than using this excavation, precisely due to its controversial nature, as an exercise in public education, they had adopted a low-key approach, leaving O' Sullivan to make all the major decisions, such as finding funding and obtaining media-coverage. This whole excavation demonstrates the inability of archaeologists to cope with public exposure when it is not controlled by them. Although the realisation exists that professionals need to be more pro-active (Parkington; pers. comm.), the O' Sullivan-excavation shows that this pro-active approach is still very distant.

New approaches in Education

To argue that all archaeologists have done nothing to change this situation or remained indifferent to the political situation in the country is however an oversimplification. Archaeologists have been vigilant about media-inaccuracies, such as witnessed in *Time* magazine of 31 August 1987¹⁴ (Ritchie; 1990) This challenge of inaccuracies has not only been restricted to the media. Several archaeologists from the University of Cape Town (UCT) in fact challenged a statement of the previous State President, P.W. Botha, made in a national

¹⁴ *Time* had referred "a few brown skinned nomads" being present in the country when the Dutch settlers arrived. Another myth described in the magazine was that black "tribesman" were moving south at the same time as the settlers were moving into the interior of the country, with the two groups clashing in the east. Archaeological evidence has shown these to be myths perpetuated by the ruling colonial and Nationalist government.

Sunday-newspaper. The statement involved the 'empty-land' myth¹⁵, whereby Botha claimed that the Afrikaners lived in South Africa long before any black communities came here. Botha's response was that he had been incorrectly quoted, and although he did not dispute the archaeological information presented to him, he quoted several historians who supported the 'empty-land' myth (Ritchie; 1990:157).

What is evident is that the early and mid-1980s saw an increase in initiatives by archaeologists to grapple with the issues of practising archaeology under Apartheid (Parkington and Smith; 1986:43). The educational attempts to deal with these tensions, have not just been restricted to the established archaeological circles of SAAA and SAAS. The organisation and success of the approaches has fallen primarily on the shoulders of progressive archaeological staff and post-graduate students. These ventures have attempted to move away from the *ad hoc* approach of much of the educational efforts of many archaeologists. However, the majority of these attempts have themselves been organised on a very *ad hoc* basis and as such have had very limited success.

The early educational approaches have been mostly concentrated around one major issue. This approach dealt with an attempt to debunk myths that have arisen from the development of Apartheid. Taylor (1988:676) describes it as having

“... to steer a fine line when informing people about their past, at once overturning the pseudoscientific historical myths of official education and trying to ensure that the sites and monuments they deal with do not become

¹⁵ This myth maintains that the Europeans entered South Africa at the same time as black farmers. European expansion is also supposed to have advanced quicker than that of the black communities. The dominant theme is however, that there were no communities that lived here when the Europeans came and hence, the land was *terra nullius*, empty.

too closely identified with the modern short-term ethno-political objectives—particularly the Pretoria regime's creation of "homelands".

This resulted in the examination of the history content of the current school syllabi and the textbooks (see Smith; 1983, Mazel and Stewart; 1987). The Literature Action Group (LAG) was established at the UCT with the aim of producing 'alternative' textbooks for black schoolchildren (Táylor; 1988:676). LAG was set up by a group of archaeologists to produce material which could be used in addition to the textbooks. This initiative managed to produce two books, which were subsidised by the Centre for African Studies at the university.

From the 1985 Grahamstown-conference arose a loose group of concerned archaeologists who created the Archaeology Awareness Workshop (AAW). Ritchie (1990:2) maintains that it this was the first group effort by archaeologists to tackle the issue of education under Apartheid. Individuals within this group have had more success at implementing the AAW proposals on their own, than as part of the AAW itself. Ritchie highlights the fact that the AAW as a group has not met with much success. The AAW has however served as the springboard for archaeologists to proceed with many different attempts at educational work.

A commitment has developed from the AAW, which has flowed over to a new generation of post-graduate students who started their studies in the mid-1980s. Gabrielle Ritchie's influence is marked by the more recent organisation of the Progressive Archaeology Workshop¹⁶ in 1989. This workshop developed from a seminar presented by Ritchie in the Archaeology Department at UCT, the subsequent organisation of a departmental workshop aimed at addressing problems within the department, and the departmental restructuring of

¹⁶ The 'progressive' has subsequently been dropped and the group today exists as the Archaeology Workshop (AW).

the archaeology-curriculum. The AW draws its roots directly from the dissolution of the AAW. The group has had a very flexible membership, as the AW has recognised that its members, as post-graduates, all have heavy academic commitments. The AW differs from the AAW in that it sees itself

“...developing a popular community-orientated archaeological practice as a complement to more usual research and university-based activities.”(Archaeology Workshop; 1993)

Lessons that have been drawn from the dissolution of the AAW have been identified as a lack, not of commitment, but of organisation and momentum. This has been identified early on as a problem and one of the proposals that have been accepted by the AW is that funding needs to be found to employ a full-time co-ordinator who will hopefully ensure this organisation and momentum.

That the AW has been attempting to popularise the discipline, has however not changed the discipline itself. Ritchie (1990; 50) argues that attempts to popularise archaeology have always had the effect of legitimating its traditional practices:

“The purpose of popular archaeology has generally been to educate ‘the public’ towards an understanding of the validity of archaeology as a research method. The purpose has not been to encourage ‘the public’ to question archaeological interpretations.” (*ibid*)

Archaeologists have in recent years attempted to legitimate the practice of an archaeology removed from interaction with the public, by claiming to speak for the ‘silent majority’, the ‘voiceless’. This borders on an arrogance which does not perceive the need to empower communities to develop their own ability to speak. Ritchie emphasises Carter’s (1980) point that this is an “imitative fallacy”. The archaeologists’ perception of what the ‘voiceless’ would say are not based on any discussions with ‘voiceless’ groups, but rather their own interpretations of what they (the voiceless) would want and how they would articulate these needs. This

results in the 'experts' telling the other 'experts' what the needs of 'the people' are. The academic world therefore ends up reproducing its own power-structure. What emerges out of this, is that South African archaeologists have consistently practised their discipline without any structured or systematic involvement of community groups in any decision-making roles. The perception is therefore created that archaeologists do what they do best *without* the involvement of 'the public', 'the community'. The claim of writing 'black history' has been a justification of the discipline, in order to demonstrate the practice of a 'relevant' archaeology. This has reached a point whereby some archaeologists believe that the discipline is largely ignored by the public, precisely because they are writing controversial 'black history':

"Moreover, the fact that we, as archaeologists write mainly precolonial history (and in the historical period, the history of colonial underclasses) has resulted in our work being marginalised in education and popular culture by the institutions of Apartheid." (Archaeology Workshop; 1993)

Educational initiatives taken by the AW, although laudable, have tended to focus on white middle-class schools which have the resources to participate in AW activities. The most successful of these activities has been bus-tours of the Cape Peninsula, during which students are educated in archaeology and precolonial history. What is evident, though, is that only schools who can afford or have access to a bus for transport, do the tours. Schools are required to organise their own transport, as the AW does not offer any transport to prospective tour-participants, due to the expense involved.

Another project that the AW has embarked upon, is the making of a video about archaeology. Upon completion, the audience of this video will be very limited, as only the more well-off schools possess the facilities which will allow its screening. Very little is therefore being done to develop the knowledge of black underprivileged children who have

lesser access to the resources needed for the above. When the AW first sent out a mailing-list to schools, the list was weighted to 50% black and 50% white schools. Most of the responses have, predictably, been from the white schools. What is also evident, is that most of the teachers that express an interest in the activities of the AW, have some knowledge of archaeology, which they have picked up from tertiary education. To date, the AW has not tackled the issue of why so few black schools have responded nor has it attempted to develop some kind of multi-levelled approach for schools from different social strata and education-systems¹⁷. The involvement of black communities in the practice of archaeology is precisely what a People's Archaeology hopes to tackle.

¹⁷ The different educational systems in South Africa is a by-product of another Apartheid legacies, the tri-cameral parliament. The latter each has its own and, theoretically, separate education department. The fact that the tri-cameral parliament is divided along racial lines means that the educational departments are divided likewise.

Chapter 8

Conclusion:

**The implications of
People's Archaeology for
a changing
South African Society**

“It will not be good enough to tell the writers of school textbooks and histories of southern Africa to consult the archaeological journals.”
(Lewis-Williams; 1993:50)

* * *

Rather than simply conclude, this chapter also examines areas where archaeologists may, in future, be forced to deal with the political nature of the discipline. In this regard, this chapter wishes to broaden the debate about People's Archaeology and highlights areas where this could be done. However, before we can do so, we need to re-examine our understanding of People's Archaeology.

To begin with, it is necessary to restate what Ritchie (1990) saw as People's Archaeology. A People's Archaeology is "...qualitatively different from traditional archaeology..." (*ibid*:47), since its defining characteristic is the different *process* by which knowledge is produced, ie. the empowerment of communities to participate in this production. Through this process "...it is required that viewers be transformed into participants in an interactive effort to exchange skills, knowledge and understanding between community and researcher, between holders of historical expertise and bearers of historical tradition and experience." (*ibid*) This is dependant on the realisation by both the researcher and the community, that community knowledge is important and has relevance to historical research.

Just as the political struggle against the Apartheid-state draws strongly on the ideas of participatory democracy, so People's Archaeology, has a similar emphasis, and is therefore an archaeology which has developed in direct opposition to traditional archaeology, and is an archaeology of resistance. However, all developments around this archaeology of resistance have occurred within the academic setting of liberal White universities¹. At present, the impact of People's Archaeology has centred around the challenge of the traditional discipline, which has come from within the discipline. The involvement of the community in archaeology has therefore seen very little expression.

¹ See Chapter 1.

Ritchie (1990) has argued that Popular Archaeology does not challenge the norms of the traditional discipline. This immediately creates a distinction between People's Archaeology and Popular Archaeology.

“Many popular histories can serve an empowering function simply in that they contain perspectives alternative to the dominant histories. However, Popular History can exclude, by the nature of its academic production, the potential for developing community participation in the production of this knowledge.”(*ibid*:33)

On the other hand, Ritchie sees a People's Archaeology as a conscious and overtly political attempt to address and encourage this community participation. As I have shown in Chapter 4 and 7, South African archaeology is characterised by attempts to popularise archaeology, rather than attempts that favour community empowerment.

The challenge of the discipline has however, not only been restricted to theoretical questioning. The character of People's Archaeology requires that archaeology no longer have an esoteric function, but be practised as a socially conscious discipline, for and by those communities who are not traditionally involved in its practise. This has implications firstly, for the perception of accountability amongst archaeologists and secondly, for the methodology employed.

Accountability

The issue of accountability is not a new one in South African archaeology. The 1983 Gaborone-conference of the Southern African Archaeological Association² demonstrates a growing awareness of the need for greater accountability to the non-archaeological audience. John Parkington and Andrew Smith attempted to address this issue in 1986, by examining the role and perception of archaeology in South Africa (Parkington & Smith; 1986:43-44). More recently, David Lewis-Williams has criticized the state of South African archaeology and has called for a restructuring of the discipline (Lewis-Williams; 1993).

An issue which arises from these discussions is one of political decisions. Archaeologists exercise a political decision to practice archaeology in conjunction and consultation with community groups, just as they exercise the decision not to. Lewis-Williams (*ibid*:46) points out that some archaeologists have chosen to focus on narrow sectional studies which have legitimized the segregationist policies of the State. This political decision will therefore play a major role in considering whether communities will be empowered to participate in archaeology.

I have argued earlier³ that the professional archaeologists control the discipline. This control has resulted in a conservatism within the discipline. However, attempts have been ongoing

² See Chapter 4.

³ Chapter 4

to popularise archaeology since the 1920s⁴. In the questionnaire that I conducted, archaeologists' understanding of what "accountability to a community" meant, was split between

- 1) encouraging community involvement in archaeology,
- 2) increasing the level of scholarship and publication and
- 3) challenging the concept of community and denying any accountability to a community.

From these perceptions it was obvious that the majority of respondents (64%) felt that there existed a degree of accountability to a community, but differed on its expression. This sense of accountability is reinforced by the fact that 78% of the respondents had been involved in teaching people outside the tertiary context, and hence considered public education important.

These results raise an interesting ambiguity. The discipline comes across as conservative, yet there is evidence of a strong progressive element which favours public education and therefore exhibits a sense of accountability to the public. Lewis-Williams (1993) points to a possible answer to this ambiguity. He draws attention to the fact that tertiary education⁵ is not a priority for archaeologists, and therefore remains marginal to the discipline.

⁴ The impact of these attempts have been very limited, as the majority of South Africans still do not know what the discipline is about.

⁵ I would add education in general.

One reason could be that involvement in education is not seen as rewarding, in terms of professional academic prestige. The latter is one of the reasons for the strong boundaries drawn around the discipline. Academic survival is measured in terms of how different disciplines are from each other. The quality of their research is equally important, but of secondary concern. Although disciplines may overlap in research, an artificial separation between disciplines is therefore created. History and Anthropology are examples of such disciplines, which overlap with archaeology. These boundaries, Lewis-Williams argues are “...posited on career options and professional power structures.” (*ibid*48)

Thus the competitive nature of academia reveals itself in the unwillingness of professionals to commit themselves fully to involvement in education. The responsibility then tends to be left to amateurs, post-graduate students and a handful of committed professionals. The Archaeology Workshop and South African Archaeological Society are points of reference. The need, then, is identified, yet there seems very little commitment to tackle the educational side of the Society, such as the Digging Stick-newsletter (Judy Scaly; pers. comm.). This results in it being entrusted to the amateurs, rather than the professionals, because the professionals ‘don’t have the time’. At the end of the day, this means that no funding is forthcoming for educational projects, as they will tax an already burdened professional budget geared towards ‘maintaining the edge’.

With the impending democratization of many structures following the elections, it appears necessary that archaeologists have to address the issue of accountability to community groups on a national scale. The forum to do so already exists in the format of Southern African Ar-

archaeological Association (SAAA). Archaeologists as a group have to decide to develop new approaches to education and community involvement, in order to change the apparent middle-class conservatism of the discipline.

As stated in Chapter 7, the identification of critical junctures to the discipline has happened before. In the latter part of the 1980s, professional archaeologists identified the importance of Cultural Resource Management (CRM) to the discipline (Deacon;1988). The 1990 SAAA Code of Ethics clearly prioritises CRM. It was acknowledged as a possible growth-point for the discipline in terms of the generation of funding, as well as employment opportunities. However, this potential has not yet been realised, due to the poor economic situation of the country. What this thesis would advocate is a similar prioritising of education within South African archaeology, as seen in the international context (Karolyn Smardz; pers. comm.). Archaeologists in South Africa clearly demonstrate a willingness to get involved in education⁶.

Methodology

This change in priorities will, however, not be revolutionary. Simply making education a priority will not result in it translating into community involvement. Pastor (1993:94) identifies a major problem within past and current educational activities in archaeology, i.e. the continued targeting of “middle class school children in urban areas”. The discipline can

⁶ See Chapter 4 and 7.

trace its development within the middle class⁷ and continues its educational attempts within this class. This does not warrant any change of educational methodology, as the target-group has access to the resources to participate in these educational programmes.

Traditional archaeology is an expensive discipline to practice. Great emphasis is placed on excavation (Lewis-Williams; 1993), and the methodology surrounding this has been developed and entrenched legally⁸ to prevent or limit any unsupervised practice (Pastor; 1993:94). Archaeology has been defined by its practitioners "...to suit their own careers and political positions." (Lewis-Williams; 1993:49) Consequently, the power base of the discipline lies in its methodology. This is what separates it from other disciplines, and forces the public into a subservient role of having to be supervised on archaeological excavations. This dependency on archaeologists for guidance restricts the empowerment of communities.

Pastor (1993:94) believes that People's Archaeology "...lies not within educating participants about archaeological excavation method." I would agree with her, as it seems pointless to attempt to empower communities by relegating the empowerment-process to one of dependency. Although it is very important to 'demystify' the discipline and its methods⁹, it may be more useful to structure educational programmes which will allow the use of

⁷ Trigger (1989) demonstrates the origin of archaeology amongst the middle class.

⁸ See Chapter 7.

⁹ Demystification of archaeology was one of the strong tenets upon which Ritchie's (1990) understanding of People's Archaeology rested. In a sense, this is what Popular Archaeology sets out to do.

archaeology outside its traditional setting. This would mean rethinking, first of all, the method which is used to teach archaeology to the public, and secondly, the avenues in which the public can practice archaeology.

With regard to the first issue, the traditional approach to archaeological education has been one of the archaeologist as the 'expert' 'telling' the public about the past. Lewis-Williams in his critique of the discipline, fails to tackle this problem:

“Constructing an accessible past will entail populating it with real women and men and thereby bringing out issues that are intelligible as human concerns.”
(Lewis-Williams; 1993:50)

In his argument, the past has to be made 'accessible' for public consumption, which in this context refers to the writing of school textbooks. Hereby, Lewis-Williams underwrites the exclusive and esoteric nature of South African archaeology. Although he argues for the reconceptualization of archaeologists' work, this call appears to boil down to making the *results* of archaeological research more 'accessible':

“Lithic and ceramic sequences, for example may (or may not) be the 'nuts and bolts' of long-term (archaeological) history, but they are not suitable for classroom teaching.”(*ibid*)

The seeming inability of professionals to reach the public can thus be overcome through more efforts to popularize archaeological work.

Whilst Lewis-Williams' criticisms and suggestions are commendable, he goes no further than Binneman and Webley by identifying the potential of “public education programmes and the wider dissemination of basic archaeological data” (Binneman and Webley, 1992:1). This approach has already been demonstrated to be very limited, and that it maintains a

power-relationship between archaeologists and the public which may be inappropriate for the current South African political context (Ritchie; 1990, Pastor; 1993). The approach of the 'expert' informing an audience may work well within the university environment, where students possess the skill to challenge this 'expert knowledge'. However, within a context where empowerment is crucial to develop these critical skills, this approach is inadequate.

Within this context of empowerment, the educational method developed by Paulo Freire (1990) has proven very useful. A crucial concept within this method, is the recognition of the importance of community knowledge. The 'expert' must accept the fact that the public also possesses 'expert knowledge', which is equivalent, although different to that of the 'expert'. This knowledge is drawn from the personal experiences of the community. Within such a context of 'equivalent' knowledge, the focus of education shifts away from only one party developing their knowledge. The 'expert' in this context rather serves to facilitate the exchange of knowledge, than to 'give' knowledge.

In her focus on feminist methodologies in the social sciences, Wylie (1992) points out that although the acceptance of others' experiences, and consequently their 'realities', is important, it may also limit the process of empowerment. She identifies the difficult position between acknowledging others' interpretation of reality, while at the same time, moving beyond the level of that interpretation to understand the socio-political context of those realities (Wylie; 1992:230). The community's experience is therefore identified a "point of departure, not as immune to challenge and criticism". There is the risk, however, of using experiences "as a springboard to theory". Wylie, drawing on Stanley and Wise, argues that this

might well lead to the 'expert' retreating to the haven of 'objective' theorising, which has precisely silenced and excluded women¹⁰ in the past (Wylie; 1992:231).

If the empowering role of education is accepted by South African archaeologists, it would be logical that it would affect the dominant research methodology that is presently employed. Any genuine concerns with community empowerment, have to recognise that archaeological method is limited in its current practice. Wylie (1992), identifies a possible method which has proven useful in feminist research. This method ties in strongly with the Freirean approach identified earlier. Termed the Collectivist Model, Wylie (1992:227) describes a method reliant on involving the 'subjects'¹¹ as "coparticipants at various levels, sometimes in determining the direction of research". The emphasis is on collaborative work which has an emancipatory potential, and therefore has as its consequence the empowerment of women. This model is based on negotiated compromises being made by both the researcher and the researched.

An example of how the Collectivists Model could work, Douglas McDonald *et al* (1991:76) describes how Cheyenne Indians approached archaeologists to assist in the rewriting of their history. In the ensuing research, they combined archaeology with local oral history to shape a different interpretation of Cheyenne history in North America. Douglas McDonald *et al* criticize archaeologists involved in an archaeological project of the Custer Battlefield for

¹⁰ I would add communities in general.

¹¹ In this context the subjects are women.

ignoring the substantial Indian oral history around the battle. Oral history¹² is used by Douglas McDonald *et al*, along with archaeology, as tools of resistance to challenge the historical distortions of an important part of Cheyenne history¹³. In this example, the knowledge of a community, ie. oral history, is used parallel to that of the 'experts', ie. archaeology, to gain new insights into a history which has been told by white historians. The latter version has been popularised through the film-media of Hollywood and has shaped popular understanding of the examined event. What McDonald *et al* succeed in demonstrating is that archaeology can be used as a tool of challenge and resistance. Of greater relevance to this discussion is the recognition of folk-history as an important source in the construction of history. The 'realities' of folk understanding are accepted by the archaeologists as important.

Secondly, taken that the infrastructure does not exist for non-archaeologists to exercise their interests in archaeology, it can be argued that the teaching of archaeology only serves the narrow goals of the discipline itself. The workshops that I conducted with the schoolchildren from Wesley Primary School were not necessarily aimed at teaching archaeology as such. Rather, archaeology was used as a tool to get the children to begin thinking critically about material culture. By making the scope of the workshops broader than simply teaching

¹² Oral history is accepted here as folk-history.

¹³ The study centred around the resistance of the Cheyenne to colonial settlement during the 19th Century, specifically the escape of a group of Cheyenne Indians led by Dull Knife in 1879. The escape, as portrayed by local white historians and the military, differed significantly with that of Northern Cheyenne oral tradition (Douglas McDonald *et al* 1991). The white version of the event proclaims it as part of America's "Manifest Destiny", whilst Cheyenne oral history describes it as an act of courage and bravery.

archaeology, it allowed for greater innovation in terms of demonstrating what archaeology was and how it contributed to the making of history. This has proved very useful within the context of an education-system which emphasizes rote-learning, rather than critical thinking. This concept of using archaeology as an educational tool, rather than the end-product of education, is supported by the work done at the Archaeological Resource Centre in Canada. In Chapter 3 I spoke of the Centre, where archaeology fulfils a much more socially and historically relevant role than that practised in South Africa. Here archaeologists have recognised that archaeologists are in the best position to educate people about archaeology. This education does not merely revolve around teaching people about the discipline, but also focuses on teaching critical thinking. Through this, communities will no longer be dependant on archaeologists to actively exercise their knowledge of archaeology. Essentially, this would mean using archaeological knowledge outside of the 'mould' of traditional archaeology.

In the Toronto-example, archaeology comes across as a far more exciting discipline, exactly what South African archaeology needs to be if archaeologists want prevent its "stagnation" (Lewis-Williams; 1993:48). Lewis-Williams (*ibid*) believes that this stagnation can be prevented by re-examining the discipline and the teaching of undergraduates. Qualities that are currently emphasized in students tend towards developing more empiricists, not towards changing, shaping and challenging the discipline. Lewis-Williams is in favour of teaching first years critical thinking, rather than "facts and techniques".

In a survey conducted amongst South African archaeology students and lecturers, it was shown that few controversial topics are discussed in first year courses (Thackeray and

Thackeray, 1986:53). An examination of current courses around South Africa, shows that very little has changed since this survey. Thackeray and Thackeray state that

“...professional teaching archaeologists in South Africa could devote more time towards not only the factual, but also the intellectual education of their students...”(*ibid*:49).

The restructuring and prioritising of education would have to have an impact on research. Lewis-Williams (1993:50) argues that if we are to make any impact on people's perceptions of history before the colonial settlement, we will have to begin producing a past that can be understood by “all people”¹⁴. This has to start at the level of tertiary education, where the high turn-over of first year students in archaeology¹⁵ means that these students will take archaeological knowledge beyond the discipline. Rather than take away knowledge of sequences and techniques, which will only find very limited expression beyond the discipline, it may be more useful to educate first year students about concepts which will prove useful outside of the context of the discipline. This will entail developing their critical thinking through challenge, as Lewis-Williams notes (*ibid*:48). This challenge would have to be directed at students' knowledge of the past which they bring to the first year classroom. This includes perceptions of what archaeology is and who practices it, such as the Khanya students brought to the project¹⁶.

¹⁴ Lewis-Williams here is not arguing for community involvement in archaeology, but rather draws a separation between archaeologists and the community.

¹⁵ Thackeray and Thackeray, 1986:53

¹⁶ See Chapter 6.

Community Empowerment

From the above, it could be understood that the empowerment of the community is dependant on what archaeologists decide to do. If archaeologists deem it in their interests, the discipline may change to facilitate community empowerment. However, this assumes that the community is powerless and unable to initiate change. The archaeologists, in this scenario, control community access to the resources to the past, and hence, the past itself. However, the political empowerment of communities has often had as a consequence, the community challenging dominant interpretations of the past, which includes those of archaeologists.

The example above of the Northern Cheyenne challenging white history has its roots in the Indian political resurgence of the 1960s (Douglas McDonald *et al*, 1992:75). This resurgence has meant the claiming of the right to make their own choices, and this has included “the right to a control over telling of their own past”. A similar situation has developed in Australia. Australian Aborigines were granted recognition as Australian citizens in 1967 and less than a decade later won the right to land tenure in the Northern Territory (Ucko; 1983). This political empowerment has warranted major changes to Australian archaeologists' approach to the discipline. Aborigines have begun challenging the exclusive privileges of archaeologists to aboriginal cultural property and have forced archaeologists to enter into negotiations around these privileges.

Whether the political empowerment of South African blacks, through the ability to vote, will have similar consequences over the next decade is debatable. The ability to vote does not imply an understanding of what it entails. This power may be meaningless if the constituencies are not themselves empowered through voter-education¹⁷. In the light of communities in South Africa, outside the middle class, not knowing what archaeology is in the first place, how will political empowerment find expression in issues around the past?

Identity Politics

From the project that I conducted with the students from Khanya College¹⁸, it is evident that archaeology can play a major role in the area of identity politics. All the students identified a need, some consciously, others unconsciously, to develop a new sense of identity, which is not dependant on white colonial history. As mentioned before, in Chapter 5, continuous references to the ruins of Great Zimbabwe, show it as focal point around which an African identity can be rallied. The fact that it is located outside of South Africa, is of little consequence. The controversy which surrounded these ruins¹⁹, mark it as a symbol of resistance against the colonial and neo-colonial interpretations of Black history. Its empowering role was identified by the Black liberation movements prior to Zimbabwean independence

¹⁷ At a grassroots level, voter-education campaigns are currently one of the major political priorities.

¹⁸ See Chapter 6.

¹⁹ See Hall; 1984 for details.

(Frederickse; 1982). What this demonstrates is that South African Blacks are willing to look beyond the boundaries of the country for suitable symbols which they will hold as important.

As groups have, and begin to, assert their political individuality in South Africa, the issues of symbols therefore become crucial. Radley argues that “objects are used to establish a link with the past which helps to sustain identity” (Radley, 1990:47). Archaeologists, through their study of material culture from the past, may therefore hold the key to many community groups’ identity. The debates around national symbols have proven to be highly emotive. Calls for new symbols, such as a new national flag and anthem, have seen the white Right Wing resist this at every possible occasion.

Khan (1992) notes that black antagonism to symbols, such as national heritage structures, stem from a bigotry associated with these monuments. This same bigotry is responsible for the forced removals and discriminatory land legislation, which Khan argues destroyed community identity (Khan; 1992:5). The Group Areas Act of 1950, based as it was on racial segregation, consolidated other legislation such as that dealing with Influx Control and Pass Laws, and succeeded in creating a marginalised black urban community, which was allowed to “shape the cities but not live in them” (*ibid*:6). The calls for changing of symbols have not seen any response from archaeologists, except from Janette Deacon, who by virtue of her position within the National Monuments Council, has been forced to enter the debate²⁰. Within the next few years, the debate around symbols may move away from the national

²⁰ See The Weekly Mail; May 3 to May 9; 1991, as well as The Weekly Mail; May 10 to May 16; 1991.

level, and be played out on a more localised level, where archaeologists will be forced to become involved.

Land Reform

One of the most crucial issues around the political empowerment of black South Africans is the issue of land. The Apartheid-project has succeeded in relegating millions of people to squatter camps on the urban margins, as well as creating the Homelands-system, where systems of migrant labour have left already desolate areas more impoverished. With the promise of a new government, the issue of the restitution of land²¹ is an important issue.

Identity politics will play a very important role in future land claims. The issue of claiming land is therefore tied in with understanding one's identity. Often identity is derived from occupation and ownership of land, which gives one a sense of time and place, a history. The Richtersveld National Park represents an example where people have been threatened with dispossession of their land²², and have as a consequence developed a renewed sense of identity based on ancestral, and in this case, aboriginal identity (Sharp; n.d.). The majority of the community argued that the state did not have the right to sell their land, as their ancestors had occupied the land for centuries, and that "...they had rights of ownership that was

²¹ Not all the political parties are in favour of land restitution. The conservative elements in South African politics see no reason for hearing, whilst on the far Left, it is argued that all land must be available for restitution.

²² The State planned to excise a large tract of land for the building of a national park in the area and aimed to remove people to a new area.

independent of, and prior to, the fact of colonial intrusion" (*ibid*). This marks a shift in identity from recognising ancestral heritage, to developing a new identity based along racial lines to rediscovering their aboriginal identity.

In the subsequent court case against the State, the Richtersvelders have won the right to continue occupying the land and, in fact gained additional land in the process. Plans to declare a national park have continued, but this has now happened in consultation with the Richtersveld community. They have entered into an agreement with the National Parks Board to manage the park, and still have access to grazing pastures in the park.

Any land reform programme will have very limited effects on the urban environment, compared to the major changes that will occur in the rural areas. These areas are occupied by the agricultural sector, and consequently, the major communities who will be affected will be white farmers, farmworkers/labourers and their families. The farmworker-communities are widely recognised as the poorest section of the South African population, and have never enjoyed any meaningful political, civil or labour rights. From 1 May 1993, however, farmworkers have included in the Basic Conditions of Employment Act for the first time. Other legislation regarding farmworker rights have also been forthcoming. However, these rights may amount to nothing if the rural population does not know them or how to express them. Education campaigns, including voter-education campaigns, have therefore been identified as crucial and are one of the major issues that grassroots-organisations are involved in.

The current situation concerning Land Reform

South African archaeologists may in future have to be called in to deal with issues such as the history of land occupation, including details of identity and ancestry²³. It is envisaged that a similar situation such as in Australia²⁴ may develop, but it may be unlikely that archaeologists' interpretations may receive the same emphasis.

The current South African situation on land claims stands as follows. In 1991 the ruling National party tabled a 'white paper' on land reform in parliament, repealing the 1913 Land Act²⁵ and the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act²⁶ (Harley, 1993:36). In this white paper, they simultaneously called on people to forget the past and accept things as they were. Strong opposition to this idea forced the government to re-assess its stance and this led to the creation of the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation (ACLA), which would listen to claims concerning state-owned land.

²³ The inference here is that archaeologists will have a greater impact when it comes to claims dealing with settlement of land *before* colonial settlers occupied the land. Although, historical archaeology has made great strides over the past decade, it has been restricted primarily to research of white occupation. The history of the underclasses, or black history, has mainly seen expression in research dealing with slavery and frontier areas. This kind of research is, however, still in its infancy and it is not predicted to have a major impact on the Land Claims Court over the next five years.

²⁴ See Chapter 3.

²⁵ This act was primarily responsible for the creation of white land and black 'reserves' and prevented blacks from having any rights to white land.

²⁶ This was an attempt to legislate and regulate the black people who remained in white areas. It compelled blacks to be formally registered in order to remain in whites areas and listed areas where blacks may purchase land.

ACLA was heavily criticised, as it was an advisory body and its terms of reference was very limited. So, in 1993, ACLA was renamed the Commission on Land Allocation (COLA) and was given additional powers. These new powers have not significantly changed the efficiency of the body (*ibid*), as many of the claims have not reached any decision-making point since 1991. Meanwhile, the government and local authorities have been rapidly selling off state land and transferring administrative control to the homelands (SPP; 1993:19). This is in flagrant disregard to the Return to the Land Campaign which has been taken up by 39 communities²⁷. This campaign calls for a moratorium on the sale and transfer of state land, until a new government has been elected and a Land Claims Court has been established.

Firm support for a Land Claims Court has been received from all sides, except the Right. The African National Congress (ANC) is, however, the only political organisation to have drawn up a proposal for how such a court could operate. From the support voiced by current claimants, it seems inevitable for the Court to see light over the course of 1994. Currently, the land claims that have been put to COLA have been strongly weighted towards cases dealing with dispossession through the 1913 and 1936 Acts (Zohra Dahwood, Surplus People's Project; pers. comm.). However, it is foreseen that cases involving colonial expropriation of land will start featuring more widely in future.

²⁷ Land claims have been put forward for many different reasons. These range from dispossession through the Group Areas Act, through colonial expropriation, white expropriation, 'black spot' removals, homeland incorporation and through the betrayal of trust (Harley, 1993:54).

Given the current criticisms of the non-representative structure of COLA, and some of the plans for the future Land Claims Court, archaeologists may not enjoy such a privileged position as in the Australian Land Claims Courts²⁸. Hence, the role of archaeologists will be important, but there may be equal emphasis placed on folk-history, such as the oral tradition.

Conclusion

Through the course of this chapter I identified areas where I believe archaeologists will have to change the discipline and how a changed discipline could impact on a future South Africa. My arguments have centred around what *archaeologists* will have to do in order to facilitate community participation in the discipline. This differs from the People's Archaeology that was described by Ritchie, in that she saw community empowerment about the past leading to a restructuring of the discipline. What I have tried to do is demonstrate that community empowerment will initially be very limited and will not facilitate a People's Archaeology in this manner. It will take a while before some communities are empowered to the extent that they are knowledgeable about their rights as South African citizens. If, therefore, archaeologists are at all serious about restructuring the discipline, it will have to be done through People's Education. These educational efforts would create paths along which community empowerment can occur, such as has happened in the Australian example²⁹. This is not an automatic process, but one which will have to be consciously decided upon.

²⁸ See Chapter 3.

²⁹ In Chapter 3 I have discussed the efforts of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies to empower aboriginal communities, through employment practices and consultation.

The two concepts of People's Archaeology, one reliant on pressure from outside archaeology and the other arguing for change within the discipline, at this point both seem idealistic. Firstly, there is no clear path mapped out about the future of the country. There exists great uncertainty whether the liberatory struggle against apartheid may not yield the fruits that it promised. Secondly, there exists no real pressure on archaeologists to change the discipline. The professional practitioners of the discipline are relatively secure in their posts. Thirdly, it assumes that communities are by nature progressive and will not abuse archaeology. There is obviously no guarantee for this, as witnessed by Ken Mufuka's rhetoric³⁰.

However, as the country is about to democratically elect a government for the very first time, it is evident that this transformation in archaeology will be needed. The space already exists where this change can be initiated, ie. the bi-annual general meeting of the Southern African Archaeological Association to be held in June 1994. What remains is for archaeologists to realise that they have always seen educational issues as important, yet have never taken concrete steps to foreground these issues in the practice of the discipline. It has always been secondary, *ad hoc* and less important.

The 1990s may hold two major routes for the practice of archaeology. The one depends on the nature of the political empowerment South African black communities may undergo over the next few years. If, for example, the Land Claims Court proves successful in handling community claims efficiently and satisfactorily, it may see and increase in claims. The

³⁰ See Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion.

inter-dependency of identity on land could see the empowerment of communities around other issues of cultural property, such as the past. This may see archaeologists, in the next decade, being forced into negotiating issues about the past with the community, as has been happening internationally.

The second route lies within the context of tertiary and museum institutions. This would involve active political decisions about the nature of the discipline, its future and its practise. What this thesis would argue is that if archaeologists are to grapple with the discipline in any meaningful way, it has to be through the medium of People's Education. The experiences of this thesis have shown that if it is done through popular archaeology, which is restricted to the archaeological site and excavations, very little, if any democratization and empowerment will be achieved. However, by broadening the focus of the discipline to material culture studies, much more meaningful change will be accomplished. From the two routes described above, it is obvious that archaeology will have to change in the coming decade. However, whether it does so by its own accord, will remain to be seen.

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Appendix 1

**Map of the South African
places mentioned
in the main text**



Appendix 2

Questionnaire

1. Sex

male

female

2. How long have you been involved in archaeology?

less than 5 years

5 - 10 years

more than 10 years

3. Are you currently or have you been employed in any archaeological post?

yes

no

4.a) Have you ever been involved in teaching archaeology to non-archaeologists (excluding university students)?

yes

no

b) If no, disregard parts b, c and d of this question. If yes, to whom?

tertiary level students

secondary level students

primary level students

adults

media audience

(through printed media, radio or tv)

other (please specify)

c) Were you contacted to do a presentation or did you approach the group/s?

I approached them

I was contacted

d) Was the presentation

a solely educative venture

tied into completing

research/fieldwork

5. What is your perception of the role of archaeology in the current South African context?

6. What does "*being accountable to a community*" mean to you as an archaeologist?

7. Do you think that communities' participation in archaeological research should be limited? To what extent?

8. If communities were involved, do you think that basic archaeological methodology would have to be changed?

9. With contract archaeology becoming increasingly prominent, do you think all future research might be funded by income from such ventures?

Examples of the returned questionnaires

QUESTIONNAIRE on ARCHAEOLOGY in SOUTH AFRICA and EDUCATION:

Please tick all the appropriate boxes on this page and complete page 2, on the back. Kindly return the completed questionnaire to the distributor

1. Sex:

Male

Female

2. How long have you been involved in archaeology?

less than 5 years

5 - 10 years

more than 10 years

3. Are you currently or have you ever been employed in any archaeological post?

yes

no

4a) Have you ever been involved in teaching archaeology to

non-archaeologists (excluding university students)

yes

no

(NOT MAINSTREAM ARCHAEOLOGY)

b) If no, disregard parts b, c and d of this question. If yes, to whom?

tertiary level students

adults

secondary level students

media audience (thru printed media, radio or tv)

primary level students

other (please specify)

c) Were you contacted to do a presentation or did you approach the group/s?

I approached them

I was contacted

d) Was the presentation

a solely educative venture

tied into completing research/fieldwork

5. What is your perception of the role of archaeology in the current South African context?

Archaeology's current role is in reproducing the status quo. It is the province of an elite white minority, mostly (at UCT) white male Europeans, who have in the process colonised the past of Black people's heritage.

6. What does "being accountable to a community" mean to you as an archaeologist?

My perception of community at this stage of my consciousness is the Black community, the Group people who have been the "other" the victims of the "normal" the marginalised. Being accountable means listening to the voice of this community and contextualising the creation of this other. It's creating a revolution within the discipline so that we as black people

7. Do you think that communities' participation in archaeological research should be limited? To what extent?

No, I do not think their participation should be limited. Due to their exclusion the state has been able to use SA's historical heritage to their advantage.

8. If communities were involved, do you think that basic archaeological methodology would have to be changed?

Yes, I do.

9. With contract archaeology becoming increasingly prominent, do you think that all future research might be funded by income from such ventures?

I do not have enough information w/ an archaeologist's competent opinion. But it does seem as if archaeological research might be moving in that direction. It is, however, a very pitiful situation. It does come to that. As this will ~~not~~ inhibit the contribution of lay people and non-archaeological communities through the discipline.

* THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE! *

QUESTIONNAIRE on ARCHAEOLOGY in SOUTH AFRICA and EDUCATION:

Please tick all the appropriate boxes on this page and complete page 2, on the back. Kindly return the completed questionnaire to the distributor.

1. Sex:

Male Female

2. How long have you been involved in archaeology?

less than 5 years 5 - 10 years more than 10 years

3. Are you currently or have you ever been employed in any archaeological post?

yes no

4a) Have you ever been involved in teaching archaeology to non-archaeologists (excluding university students)?

yes no

b) If no, disregard parts b, c and d of this question. If yes, to whom?

tertiary level students adults
 secondary level students media audience (thru printed media, radio or tv)
 primary level students other (please specify)

c) Were you contacted to do a presentation or did you approach the group/s?

I approached them I was contacted

d) Was the presentation

a solely educative venture tied into completing research/fieldwork

5. What is your perception of the role of archaeology in the current South African context?

Becoming far more involved in providing archaeological findings to the broader community - i.e. non archaeologists. Providing more basic (understandable) literature for primary & tertiary levels. Teaching the broader public about what archaeology can teach them about the past.

6. What does "being accountable to a community" mean to you as an archaeologist?

Involving the local community in the area in which I am doing research, in what I am doing, why I am doing it, and what I intend doing with the results. Asking their opinions and consulting 'community' leaders before embarking on projects which may be sensitive.

7. Do you think that communities' participation in archaeological research should be limited? To what extent?

No, don't think of limiting their participation, but it is so that most people have their own concerns and are only marginally interested in archaeology. I involve communities in excavation and analysis frequently. They also provide valuable insights with respect to understanding data. Thus far I haven't involved communities in developing the research topic but this may change in future.

8. If communities were involved, do you think that basic archaeological methodology would have to be changed?

Yes, to the extent that we may have to change the way we formulate our research proposals. Otherwise, I don't see any significant change in the way we do archaeology.

9. With contract archaeology becoming increasingly prominent, do you think that all future research might be funded by income from such ventures?

I hope not! But cuts in gov spending at museums + universities mean very little money is available for research concerns.

* THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE! *

Rushdi-6/92

QUESTIONNAIRE on ARCHAEOLOGY in SOUTH AFRICA and EDUCATION:

Please tick all the appropriate boxes on this page and complete page 2, on the back. Kindly return the completed questionnaire to the distributor.

1. Sex:

Male

Female

2. How long have you been involved in archaeology?

less than
5 years

5 - 10 years

more than
10 years

3. Are you currently or have you ever been employed in any archaeological post?

yes

no

4a) Have you ever been involved in teaching archaeology to non-archaeologists (excluding university students)?

yes

no

b) If no, disregard parts b, c and d of this question. If yes, to whom?

tertiary
level
students

adults

secondary
level
students

media audience
(thru printed media,
radio or tv)

primary
level
students

other (please specify)
Observatory women's group

c) Were you contacted to do a presentation or did you approach the group/s?

I
approached
them

I
was
contacted

d) Was the presentation

a solely
educative
venture

tied into
completing research/
fieldwork

5. What is your perception of the role of archaeology in the current South African context?

Writing & reading African history with reference to the present

6. What does "being accountable to a community" mean to you as an archaeologist?

Publish; teach; construct the missing continuity between Khoisan peoples & contemporary descendants.

7. Do you think that communities' participation in archaeological research should be limited? To what extent?

Excavation should be the archaeologists' job; so should guiding principles in interpretation. Communities can participate in polyphonic or multi-voiced displays, etc.

8. If communities were involved, do you think that basic archaeological methodology would have to be changed?

Depends on what you mean by 'basic arch. methodology'

9. With contract archaeology becoming increasingly prominent, do you think that all future research might be funded by income from such ventures?

No idea!

QUESTIONNAIRE on ARCHAEOLOGY in SOUTH AFRICA and EDUCATION:

Please tick all the appropriate boxes on this page and complete page 2, on the back. Kindly return the completed questionnaire to the distributor.

1. Sex:

Male Female

2. How long have you been involved in archaeology?

less than 5 years 5 - 10 years more than 10 years

3. Are you currently or have you ever been employed in any archaeological post?

yes no

4a) Have you ever been involved in teaching archaeology to non-archaeologists (excluding university students)?

yes no

b) If no, disregard parts b, c and d of this question. If yes, to whom?

tertiary level students adults
 secondary level students media audience (thru printed media, radio or tv)
 primary level students other (please specify)

c) Were you contacted to do a presentation or did you approach the group/s?

I approached them I was contacted

d) Was the presentation

a solely educative venture tied into completing research/fieldwork

5. What is your perception of the role of archaeology in the current South African context?

- ① To set right the bias that exists in the teaching of history / Prehistory through education.
- ② To do the necessary research to achieve ①.

6. What does "being accountable to a community" mean to you as an archaeologist?

This depends on what you mean by 'community', i.e. local community, community at large, white community, Black community etc. Being accountable could be mean that you must conform to what they expect i.e. hand the facts recovered. It could also mean that you should give the facts / interpretation accurately and unbiased.

7. Do you think that communities' participation in archaeological research should be limited? To what extent?

In recent history, eg last 200 or so years, the communities can be involved as they can impart information about their ancestors who lived there, as well as make suggestions for the preservation of their history. The older the sites, the less the local communities participation should be. In the case of potential political misuse, then not at all.

8. If communities were involved, do you think that basic archaeological methodology would have to be changed?

Definitely not. The ~~to~~ communities would have to fit in with basic archaeological principles and ethics.

9. With contract archaeology becoming increasingly prominent, do you think that all future research might be funded by income from such ventures?

No! The aims of contract archaeology are different, and would not permit detailed research. However, money that we left over from CRM contracts could help to fund research.

QUESTIONNAIRE on ARCHAEOLOGY in SOUTH AFRICA and EDUCATION:

Please tick all the appropriate boxes on this page and complete page 2, on the back. Kindly return the completed questionnaire to the distributor.

1. Sex:

Male

Female

2. How long have you been involved in archaeology?

less than
5 years

5 - 10 years

more than
10 years

3. Are you currently or have you ever been employed in any archaeological post?

yes

no

4a) Have you ever been involved in teaching archaeology to non-archaeologists (excluding university students)?

yes

no

b) If no, disregard parts b, c and d of this question. If yes, to whom?

tertiary
level
students

adults

secondary
level
students

media audience
(thru printed media,
radio or tv)

primary
level
students

other (please specify)
.....

c) Were you contacted to do a presentation or did you approach the group/s?

I
approached
them

I
was
contacted

d) Was the presentation

a solely
educative
venture

tied into
completing research/
fieldwork

5. What is your perception of the role of archaeology in the current South African context?

..... IT BRINGS PRE-EUROPEAN CONTACT HISTORY ALIVE.
 IT PROVIDES WITH ELEMENTS TO AFRICANS TO FIND IDENTITY
 IN THESE TIMES WHEN DIVERSITY IS HEAVILY IGNORED
 BY ADVERTS, ~~THE~~ TV, ETC.....

6. What does "being accountable to a community" mean to you as an archaeologist?

..... NOT ONLY TO BRING THE HISTORY OF THE MAJORITY OF S. AFRICA,
 BUT ALSO A IT MEANS MORAL INTEGRITY, SINCE THE
 ACADEMIC ENVIRONMENT IS ~~THE~~ ELITIST, HIGHLY COMPETITIVE,
 SHOWINIST AND WITH RACIAL BIAS. MORAL INTEGRITY
 THAT TRIES TO AVOID THESE THINGS THAT ARE SICKENING
 ACADEMIC (INCLUDING ARCHAEOLOGY) LIFE IN S. AFRICA..

7. Do you think that communities' participation in archaeological research should be limited? To what extent?

..... OF COURSE, DIGGING OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES ~~HAVE~~ HAVE TO
 BE DONE BY SPECIALIST, SPECIALLY WHEN STRATIGRAPHY IS
 DIFFICULT. BUT PEOPLE CAN HELP IN OTHER TASKS DURING
 EXCAVATIONS, ARCHIVAL RESEARCH, ETC. IT SHOULD BE
 LIMITED WHEN DESTRUCTION IS PART OF THE WORK.....

8. If communities were involved, do you think that basic archaeological methodology would have to be changed?

..... NOT AT ALL. TO BRING AFRICAN HISTORY ALIVE, THE BEST OF
 THE EXCAVATION METHODS AND ANALYSES SHOULD BE PERFORMED.
 THERE ARE ONLY A SUBJECT OF CHANGE BY THE NEEDS OF
 IMPROVING STANDARDS, TO GAIN MORE INSIGHTS INTO THE OBJECTS,
 AND THEIR MAKERS BEHIND, BUT NOT BY THE NON-SPECIALISTS.

9. With contract archaeology becoming increasingly prominent, do you think that all future research might be funded by income from such ventures?

..... NO, I DON'T THINK SO. THE PRIVATE SECTOR WOULD ONLY
 FOUND SUCH ENTERPRISE WHEN THE LAW IS ENFORCED, AND
 FOR THEM THERE IS NO MONEY RETURN FROM SUCH EXCAVATIONS.
 IT WILL BECOME ATTRACTIVE TO THE STATE, OR PRIVATE SECTOR TO
 FINANCE CONTRACT JOBS WHEN SOME KIND OF ADVERTISEMENT
 OR "PROPAGANDA" COULD BE MADE FROM CONTRACT EXCAVATIONS,

* THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE! *

Rushdi-6/92

↓
 ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE FUTURE SHOULD NOT DEPEND ONLY ON CONTRACTS
 IT WILL BE LIKE KILLING THE INTELLECTUAL CHALLENGE THAT MEANS
 THE ACADEMIC ENTERPRISE, DESPITE SOME BAD ASPECTS OF IT

APPENDIX 3

KHANYA INTERVIEWS

Note:

I have included both the questionnaires that I had used for the interviews with the Khanya Students. These must be read in conjunction with the interviews, as they have been transcribed so as not to duplicate the questions found on the questionnaire. The questions found in the actual interviews are therefore additional to those in the questionnaires. Interviews #1 to #10 relate to the first questionnaire, while the others are relevant to the second one.

* * *

Questionnaire #1:

- 1) Where did you first hear about archaeology? (And when?)
- 2) Where did you learn *the most* about archaeology?
- 3) Could you tell me what you learnt about archaeology at that time?
- 4) Did you enjoy learning about archaeology *in this way*?

Knowing what you do about archaeology.

- 5a) Would your family's history benefit from archaeology?
- 5b) If you told your children about your family history, where would you begin?
- 6) Would you consider archaeology to be important to your local community? And why?
- 7) Do you think archaeology could play a major role in current or future political debates?
- 8) Why did you choose to get involved in this project?
- 9) What do you hope to learn from your involvement in this project?

Questionnaire #2

1a) What did you hope to learn on this project?

1b) What skills do you think you have learnt on this excavation?

2a) Do you think that the skills that you have learnt on the excavation will benefit you in the future?

2b) Do you think you have learnt enough about archaeology to work on any archaeological excavation?

3) Is it possible (now) for you to give advice to a trained archaeologist about archaeological methods?

4) Is it necessary to introduce politics into archaeology or is already there?

5a) What are your own personal views about the past? Is it important and why?

5b) Are the ideas of archaeology compatible with your own personal views about the past?

5c) How much do your own personal politics influence your views on archaeology?

6) If you were offered the chance again, would you work on an archaeological project?

7a) What were the things you disliked the most about the excavation?

7b) And how would you improve on it?

8a) What did you like most about working on the excavation?

8b) Why?

INTERVIEW #1

1. Well, it was for the first time I hear about it here at Khanya College.

Q. So, it was this here?

A. Yes

Q. You hadn't heard about it through books, tv, movies, nothing?

A. Ja, actually before I came here, early this year, in the tv, I did hear.

2. Yes, actually, here at Khanya.

3. Ja, actually, I'll give an example of Great Zimbabwe, of which, whites, I mean foreigners thought it being built by Europeans. So, in archaeology we got archaeologists and historians who are working hand in hand, who are giving evidence how by excavating the materials to prove that this thing was built by an African. For instance, they've excavated some potteries which you can see that this is an African style and some, what do you call it, exotic, exotic goods. Such as, glass beads.

Q. Could you maybe tell me what more specific about archaeology do you know, I mean, what's it all about?

A. Ja well, archaeology, well, its a study of the past people based on the imprint they've left.

4. Ja, enjoyed it a lot.

Q. What aspects did you enjoy?

A. Well, as I have mentioned, this question of Great Zimbabwe, the achievement of an African, yes.

5a) Yes

Q. Do you think that archaeology can help to tell you about your ancestors?

A. Yes. Actually, it can tell me, it can help me know where I come from.

Q. Do you think it is important in that sense?

- A. Yes, its very important. Actually, for a history of a human being, I think, he should start, I mean, from the ground.
- 5b) I will start from archaeological evidence.
- Q. Could you maybe give an example of how? Do you have an idea how this would help you? Where would you start?
- A. Ja well, for instance that thing of where , What's this theory of migration, I mean how did we come that we are here in southern Africa. Ja, I can try to relate it to that theory of migration, as such.
- Q. Could you maybe tell me about when this was? Is it a couple of thousand years ago or a million?
- A. I think a couple of thousand.
- Q. So you would start your family history a couple of thousand years ago?
- A. Ja, well I think its a basis for beginning.
6. Yes, because its a new field of study, I think they would benefit from it.
- Q. But how would they benefit?
- A. Since they don't know about archaeology, when one tells them how archaeology is, they will learn more about it. Because I don't think we have an archaeologists in our town.
- Q. I am still not sure as to how archaeology can benefit them?
- A. Ja, they should know as a community where they come from.
- 7a) Yes, I think so.
- Q. Could you perhaps embroider on that one?
- A. Like the question of land in South Africa as such. The whole new future, like this question of land... Actually, who originated in this land, as such.
- Q. Are you talking about who has rights to the land?
- A. Ja, actually, who has right to the land. So archaeologists can excavate bones and the materials used by those people, for instance African pottery. I mean, the whites use some kinds of materials later.
8. Actually, I was encouraged in class where I was taught about it, because I was new to this field of study. I was attracted to it, out of interest.
9. Eager to know how those people excavate on the land, what kind of instruments are they using, like that thing of carbon-dating, Because I've never seen such a thing. How do they know that in this particular place you can excavate something and get something. Ja, such questions.
- 10Q. Is there any other thing you'd like to raise? Maybe about he project or where you think archaeology is going?
- A. I do not know what I can say.

* * *

INTERVIEW #2

1. I really cannot say, but, maybe it was a few years back, but I didn't know what actually it means, until I came down here.

Q. When you heard about archaeology was it through movies, books, tv, museums?

A. Mostly through reading papers, it was through papers.

Q. You do not know precisely when?

A. No

2. I learnt most at Khanya.

3. Ja, first I heard some interesting... What I learnt is that it explains about the distant past, the people who never wrote anything about themselves. That's basically what I learnt.

4. Yes, especially when we went down to UCT. I don't remember who that man was, but he was a lecturer, I think so. It was much more interesting when I saw those artefacts and saw something like that.

5a) Yes, I would say that. The reason is, you know mostly like us, we're sort of a big family. What we are learning from this is something which is relevant to our way of life.

b) I would begin with the family of my father, my great grandfather.

6. Ja, because where we stay, its kind of like, we're just, according to what I've heard, the people were moved down there. the place where they lived is now living the white people. So now there were (unclear) who lived in that area in which now this white people lived. So, if you can tell them about this archaeology, they will benefit.

Q. Do you mean that they will understand better the circumstances of how they came there?

A. Yes.

7. Yes. It'll rectify what has been done wrong. I mean people perceive what is wrong, their understanding of how things are. Because we've been constantly told that this and that happened without any evidence, without any proof. So, I think archaeology can begin to address all those kinds of questions.

8. First i didn't know what archaeology is, so I wanted to get myself deeply involved in it. I wanted to learn more.

9. Firstly its going to change my way of thinking, I would say. Maybe I'll look at things in a much more broader perspective.

Q. So you hope this project will increase you vision?

A. Yes.

- 10Q. Do you feel there are some other things you'd like to talk about, which we haven't covered here?
- A. My concern is what is the future of this thing? Of archaeology and archaeologists. Because as I've seen that now we are living in a technically advanced period, its a computer-age period. Everything is being computerised you see. So, now I'm not sure about in 100 or 50 years time , is the future of archaeology.
- Q. So, what do you think needs to be done to change the situation?
- A. Seeing that, I'm not trying to be racist, but mostly the archaeologists are white people. It is my wish also for blacks to be involved. Because even though they might come with their evidence, it might be biased in how they interpret the objects and so on.
- Q. So you think there should be more blacks in archaeology, who'll come with a different perspective.
- A. Yes.
- Q. Would you like to add anything else?
- A. No.

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INTERVIEW #3

1. I first heard about archaeology when I was doing Standard 5 in ()¹.
- Q. How did you learn about it?
- A. Our teacher just told us that archaeology is the study of antiquities, of old things. That's the first time I heard about it. I have never heard of it before, except in a classroom-situation.
2. Oh, I learnt most and more about it here where I am now. Because after Standard 5 I've never heard again about the word or heard any people in the street talking about it.
 3. I didn't know there is a history that is hidden or buried in the soil. That's the first thing I didn't know, but it was made known to me as I was studying this year. So, I was puzzled and I have some questions in my mind. How is this history then? I was told that archaeologists digs material, they date them by using radiocarbon dating, of which those are the terms I don't know. And I haven't seen how those are performed and I am so anxious to see how carbon dating is performed and stuff like that.
 4. Very much. Hence I am interested in the project.
- Q. Could you maybe tell what aspects of your learning did you find most interesting?
- A. It is this thing of history, a hidden history. To me it was very much a positive and it was relevant.

¹ Empty parentheses mark the interviewee's home-town or own name.

5a) Yes, my own family can benefit from archaeology, because I don't know my great-great ancestors and then I heard they were living in a certain area, like in Lesotho or so. So, maybe those places can be go and excavated. Somehow there are material remains, cultural material remains can be found out and I can see how my great-great ancestors lived, what they used, what kind of houses did they build, differently from the houses they are living in today. To me it can be a very exciting thing.

5b) I would begin by telling them how societies developed. Because of archaeological evidence that is present today, in our archives, various departments where they are kept. We are taught that the first man in Africa is a white man. I didn't know where we were, where were the Africans by then. So, through archaeology I came to know that "No, there were people and they were farmers and pastoralists". They couldn't stay at one place forever. They were moving their flocks along. So archaeology revealed and discovered that at a certain area at a given time there were people occupying that place. So, I think that's how my family and my children would know where I come from and where I am going to.

Q. Could you maybe give me a date of where you would start telling your children where you came from? A couple of thousand years ago or a couple of million years ago?

A. Possibly I cannot say that. but some hundred years. A century, I can talk of centuries rather than thousands or million years ago. Because I remember my grandfather was born in something around 1895 or so. So I can be interested to find out where was he living when he was born, how was the site there.

Q. Do most of your family come from Lesotho?

A. Yes, most of them. But presently in the Republic.

Q. Do you sometimes wish to go back there?

A. Yes, like now in the June holidays I'll be visiting Lesotho.

Q. Do you have other family there in Lesotho?

A. Yes, A lot of them.

6. Yes, it can be important and it is important, because most people there, since I have stayed there, I have heard that they were not all born there. But that our elders, or the forefathers of that society, which is living there presently, came from the outside areas of that (), of that Khutsong township. So they always talk of places like Bank, a few kilometres from the township. Others talk of Rooimuur, and so forth. They were staying there under the reign of chiefs and chiefdoms and lineage systems, until this discoveries of gold. Because () is on the areas rich in gold. Until then they would flock to the township to sell their labour. So, the area they left behind,if something can be excavated there, maybe even the children of today can learn something of the origins of their parents. So it is very much important.

7. Exactly! It can play a major role, because there is a lot of distortion in history. And history has been used to serve the interests of a certain social group. So, archaeologists excavate and have that concrete evidence for everyone to see. The only problem with it is that people who would be shown the evidence they have excavated won't be able to interpret it, but myself as an African, by learning archaeology now, I think I can be able to help my fellow-Africans to understand.

8. As I have said, I am interested to learn how we date and how we interpret this hidden history or buried history. The process of digging it and interpreting it. Because a mere artefact cannot talk, unless you have a knowledge of something, when was that, why that thing is there, who was the creator of that; besides God created that; there are things that are human-created, like material culture is man-made things. Who made it, was it a foreign person or was it an indigenous person? So those are the things that make me so keen and interested to take the whole process. I especially want to learn how we date, how the dating method is used and how interpretation is given.

9Q. Do you wish to add anything about what your concerns are about archaeology and where it may be going?

A. I don't know what to say, but I think I was made more curious and more anxious when I was introduced in this manner at Khanya, more than before. Because as I have said, I was just told it was a study and I didn't know how people studied that and stuff like that. Now I want to know how, why. Why am I studying this, what am I expecting to find out? As I have said know the origins of my people, know how they lived, what kind of the instruments they used, to show that in Africa there was that creativity and it is going further than that nowadays. But I don't know in the future how it will be able to...Because things are so sophisticated. You are no longer making tools from wood, bones and stones, but people are using iron and machines. So I don't know who'd say who made this and who'd say who didn't make this.

10Q. Do you have anything to add?

A. No, I am just anxious for the project to start and to see how archaeology is done.

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INTERVIEW #4

1. I didn't hear about it before coming to Khanya. And you gave us a lecture on archaeology. That is the first time.

2. I also read it through other magazines, and the libraries and archives.

Q. Was that during this year?

A. Yes, when I came to Khanya.

Q. So you learnt from class and magazines as well?

A. Ja

Q. You also said something about archives?

A. Yes, when you came to our class, I did go to one of the libraries to look for information. But I didn't find much and then I asked for the archives.

3. Ja, like what I learnt is that it was a colonialist information. So, I would like to give an input if I have the chance, maybe the way I see it. Because there are only (unclear) things that are here in town, but you have many information in our

township for instance, where I come, where there was a (unclear), there was an Eastern Cape frontier. So, if you can go there, maybe excavate there and get the information, the history of the people.

Q. So, could you maybe tell me precisely what you learnt about archaeology?

A. I learnt that maybe you can help for instance where you can reconstruct our past, because the information you can get from the community, where they can tell us the real evidence, up to our past. So I learnt that.

4. Ja, I can say I enjoyed it, because at least I've got evidence. Because when I like to learn something that one can have evidence for. Because if I take a pot, then I know it is an old pot or a bone. It is something I can feel it, it is something I can see it. So that's why I like it.

5a) Yes, it can benefit. Because you know the problem especially in South Africa. So we have a history of other people, we don't have our own history. But so if we can excavate some of the places or the ruins in our township then we know it is our history because we get it from the root.

5b) It would be difficult for me to tell my children, because I don't even know my ancestors, where they come from. But I've heard that "you come from this side, uhm that you've (unclear) one another". So it would be difficult to tell the children. It won't be (unclear)through to our children, but I mean it'll encourage us to help the archaeologists. There for instance I would tell the children that "this is a symbol of our ancestors" and then I'd take the religion of our ancestors.

Q. So, from what point would you tell your children about, a couple of hundred years old, a couple of thousand years? Where would you begin that time-scale?

A. I would begin a hundred years ago.

6. I think it would be very important in (), because () is a historical town. Especially the generation of the fighters against the English-speaking people. So, we have even a fort that is called Fort England, that must be dug up for stuff, and also the township is called Matlani's Kop(?). It means there is also a place in () called Ekazinzi(?) where for instance the Xhosas were killed by the English-speakers. So, I mean it will give us evidence if the archaeologists can excavate in that place and get evidence. I mean it'll really give help to the people, the community in ().

7. It could because this is not a people's history but a history of the oppressor and archaeology is part and parcel of the history itself. So if people really need the evidence I see archaeology in the future South Africa working hand in hand with the historians in order to give the evidence and the popular history of our people.

Q. So you saying archaeology isn't a part of the People's History?

A. Ja, its a part, its a history of the people.

8. I like archaeology, the way you give us the information. I really got the evidence of what you are saying, I do understand you in class and got very interested. So, I want to do practically, give my input and my physical support to archaeology.

9. I think I can learn a lot like for what I am studying for. For our township there are few archaeologists. If one day I want to become one of the archaeologists. So I think I can get the information from this project.
- 10Q. Is there maybe anything you would like to add about this questions I have asked you about archaeology?
- A. I welcome this project and I would like every student to help the archaeologist in their work. In order to create a better South Africa, because archaeology is part and parcel of the history. I can sum up by saying that.
- Q. Do you think that you would want to become an archaeologist?
- A. I think I want to become one in order to help the people, because it is the work of (unclear)
- Q. Would you consider yourself now to be equipped to become an archaeologist?
- A. Ja, I think the information and the support we get from you can make us (unclear)
- Q. Would you consider yourself become an archaeologist without having to go to university?
- A. I don't think so, I think I would get less information.
- Q. Is there anything else you think you would like to add?
- A. Ja, we need to welcome the archaeologist because they help to reconstruct the future history of South Africa, because it plays an important part of the People's history of South Africa.

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INTERVIEW #5

1. Ja, in actual fact I have just heard about archaeology, the word archaeology, and the aspects which are done, here in Khanya. Otherwise I have been hearing about archaeology, but I was not really interested in it because I actually did not know what and how very important archaeology was.
- Q. But where did you first hear about it?
- A. I have been just reading some books. Then I have just hear about archaeology here and there.
- Q. Did you hear from other people or read newspapers, see movies?
- A. I didn't hear from people, first read in newspapers and some movies.
- Q. Did you hear about it in museums?
- A. No, I didn't.
- 2/3Q. So you learnt most about archaeology at Khanya, could you maybe tell me what you learnt?
- A. Ja, but its very much interesting to hear about archaeology. But most of the history that we are having is coming through archaeology, because of the evidence that is always found when the archaeologist tries to trace some history of a thousand years away. So through archaeology they can detect that the evidence that they find that when was this happened, through those sources they find. Then

they've got to date them according to their knowledge that maybe this may be here for some years, you know. So, that's how...

4. Ja, I really enjoy it, cause since the full information that the historian cannot just find information through interviewing some people. They must do something themselves, to find evidently this is the evidence and we believe that this has happened, because of the evidence they are having at a particular time.
- 5a) Ja, because when we trace back the very much backward information, we have to look for the ruins that have been left by those particular ancestors, that then we detect that this was happening like this and that. So that the coming generation must have a information that this was really happening.
- 5b) I will start from tracing back from where my family was and where my family stayed and what traditional things were happening at the time and if they need more evidence than just and oral evidence then I can go and show some remains of what was happening at the time, of which diggings will be very much important. So that evidence must be shown, maybe there were something that were being done by the forefathers in the certain area in which they lived, so that information is very much important. Because for instance, our forefathers are traditionally consistent, its easy to show some things and dig into and, because they believe specifically in digging and hiding some things they see as beneficial for them. So such things and such explanation will be of vital importance.
6. Ja, since I don't know of some old things there. Because I have just grown up on the modern town. Then I feel it very much problematic that I can just say for instance to my community that this is happening like this and we can trace this from here on until now. Unless maybe there can be somebody who can tell me how the () was formed, the whole history of (). So that I can try and find some of those things that that particular person which leave it along time ago. Then I can go and search for the information and bring the evidence to the people so they can clearly see what is really happening in archaeology.
- Q. Do you think it would be important for you to go to your community and tell them that you are willing to work for them about their history and so on or do you feel that the community themselves should come forward with suggestions?
- A. No, since I know that the community is not exposed to this particular things, then I am willingly going to go to them and express myself about how archaeology and archaeology concepts go, so that I can just show them if it need be...
7. Ja, it can play a major role, because there are some things that are now happening presently. We've got people who have been politically minded, that those people are now taken to concentration camps and have died there and where some of them disappear. Those things are being traced now, and such places are found that those people have long a go died there and we can't do anything about it now. So archaeologists can go and trace about weapons there that were hidden there and then those people who have hidden those weapons have just gone away and then maybe the full evidence can come out, with the diggings.

8. Ja, this project seems to me to be of very vital importance, because in this project we going to do something which is practical. On those practicalities which we will be having, we'll be learning at the same time about how to do this work of archaeology, how to interpret the findings that we do get through the digging, and what tactics and strategies of dating and some aspects we get through digging. So, that's what made me very much enthusiastic to do archaeology.
9. Ja, I'm actually in need of trying to find some tactics, as I have already said, maybe when you would want to trace for something according to your history, you've got to do such and such diggings. So that the evidence that you find can easily show to those people who need evidence of those parties.
9. I want to learn how to find information according to the datings and the evidence, so I can easily show that particular evidence to the people, "what is really happening is this in archaeology".
- Q. If you talk about the people, what do you mean "the people"?
- A. I mean maybe I can go to the scope of teaching the people about history and when I teach people about history, I have to quote the evidence. So, its where archaeology fits in. When the people needs evidence, you can try to show them archaeological evidence, which is linked to history.
- Q. What are your ideas about the future of archaeology in this country and do you have any idea about where its going?
- A. I see archaeology now—okay at the very least, according to my view, that maybe the work of archaeology can go further and further, because everything now is modern and the history, which is existing is a documentary history, which we cannot find about in trace of digging and so on. Because most of the things done today are by machines and so on.
- Q. Would you consider yourself becoming an archaeologist without going to university?
- A. No I don't think so, because most of the information is there at the tertiary level. I think there would be too much problems when someone wants to become an archaeologist without having that information. 'Cause there'll be problems of interpreting and dating objects and giving the people what the people actually need. So I think it would be too much confusing and problematic.
- Q. Do you think that archaeology could maybe be taught in school?
- A. Ja, I think so because archaeology moves hand in glove with history. So I think you cannot divorce archaeology from history. I see now that we've been just brushed away according to our history in school, because I see archaeology very much important now. And if I had the basics of history, including archaeology, I must have now been in full understanding of history. Because of archaeology on the other hand.
- Q. Is there anything else you would like to raise?
- A. Not now, maybe ideas will crop up along the process.

INTERVIEW #6

1. The first time I heard about the term it was in the College, this year.
- Q. You hadn't heard about it before, in newspapers, tv, movies?
- A. I once saw it on TV2, a Sunday program.
- Q. Do you remember when it was?
- A. The year? '
- Q. Yes.
- A. It was in 1989.
- 2Q. So you learnt the most about archaeology here at Khanya?
- A. Yes, I learnt the most here really.
3. What I learnt about archaeology at Khanya was that archaeology is a study of the past, I mean the material things, artefacts, old things, but most specially material things more than ideas, which I can call material evidence, physical evidence.
4. Ja, I enjoyed it a lot. I think if possible I can continue with it, but it will depend on how much, and on the requirements of the Department of Archaeology.
- Q. What aspect of archaeology did you like best of what you've learnt?
- A. This thing of excavating, I like it and this thing of dating things, carbon dating. And what I like is the thing of disproving the distorted information which was written by colonialist historians or the imperialists. That thing of physical, 'cause they just had ideas and writings, but there's that thing of using physical evidence to disprove what they say. Like for instance what Rhodes used to say about Zimbabwe, you see. He had a distorted view – he gave false information about Great Zimbabwe, on how Zimbabwe came to be a big city in Africa. Like for instance when he said that Africans could not build such a big kingdom, maybe it was the Europeans or the Romans and he was just justifying the position of the Europeans.
- 5a) Ja, I think they would benefit a lot, most specially these days. I think it is improving as the years go by and I think its going to continue more , because this thing of technology is improving more and more, so that there is no more problems. Like for instance I once heard that there are some problems sometimes in this carbon dating, because for specific years of time, maybe a million or zillion years of time the carbon dating can't do it properly. But now in the 90s and we are going beyond that to the year 2000 there'll be too much technology and I think it'll do a lot of good.
- 5b) The thing is my parents do not know about my ancestors, but I think what I should do, I should just go to maybe to where they were born. But I don't know where my ancestors were born, but I mean some of them were in Port Elizabeth so I might take them to PE and show them where they were and if possible if I

would be in archaeology by that time, I could try and do some excavations, if I would be allowed to do so.

Q. So you wouldn't be able to say a specific date when you would start, say a 100 years ago?

A. I would start maybe a 100 years ago, or no not a 100 years ago, but maybe 200 years ago.

6. Yes, I think it is very much important in our community, because more specially because people no longer just believe in just hearing. It is said that the proof of the pudding is in the eating. So they'll believe more specially in things that are being physical evidence, more specially our people for instance. They don't just believe in everything. For instance, one person becomes president in our place. He talks and talks and promises many things and tell us many things of the best. We don't know, you see. The kings of people they tell us, but there's no physical evidence that its so. I mean archaeology can bring that. Take for instance a certain fellow that was shot. They say that the guy was shot because he was aggressive and all that, but they don't know. But archaeology mainly is a thing that brings the real information and the physical information that it can prove. So I think that they can benefit a lot.

Q. So if an archaeologist were to tell you something of the past, would you believe them?

A. Well it depends from which community that archaeologist comes from. Because maybe for instance if maybe Rhodes for instance, if Cecil John Rhodes was an archaeologist by that time. I mean this thing from which community you are from—you are a product of community. So you, one wouldn't want to betray one's community. One would like to justify with a good face. So it depends on who's the archaeologist, by the way.

Q. So do you think it is important to have archaeologists from one's own community?

A. Oh I don't think its important, but that's way things go now, you see. But I don't think its important for one to believe that, but what I think is where this distortion, change of information takes place is in the laboratory. I mean as far as I see. Because for instance they are taking these things from the excavations, I mean they are just taking them. Should they go there in the laboratories for chemical things and for dating and all those stuff. I mean that's where this thing of distortion comes in.

7. Ja, archaeology can play a major role, more specially these days. On this thing of the land issue, who came to Africa the first, Who are the legitimate rulers of this land. I mean archaeology can do that job, for instance just excavating and finding things of 3000 or 5000 or 6000 years ago. Just to prove that during those times...Like they did at Zimbabwe, for instance, to find out that there were blacks there, and the lineage system and all those stuff. I mean even here in South Africa, they can help and their job would be a great contribution to this political dilemma that is going on in South Africa these days you see. I see as archaeology as the best solution to these problems and if they are allowed to do so, they can play a major role.

Q. Are there any places other than the land issue where archaeology could contribute?

- A. I mean for instance like finding out more than the land issue, which people lived in a particular place. Sometimes you find that digging these artefacts, like potteries and so on, like for instance in trading. Maybe people traded sometime 4000 years ago which something which doesn't appear in history. Maybe people traded with Portuguese or what. So then they help in digging artefacts and old material.
8. The reason why I chose this project is because I mean as an African, and as I've been taught in the DET schools for instance, I mean I've been given this kind of history. I mean they never even mentioned this thing of archaeology in our history in high school for instance. I just saw it on TV and more specially at Khanya. So I had this wrong history of South Africa, whereby they were trying to justifying the positions of the Paul Krugers and all of them, Cecil John Rhodes, as the big masters of the Cape and South Africa. Now I've heard a lot of sufferings about that for instance. Now I think that if I can continue or just join this thing of archaeology, this project of archaeology, I mean that would mean a lot for me, because now I will be able to secure my position and to argue facts with physical evidence not just oral evidence.
9. What I hope to learn more is I mean how to excavate, because I don't know how to excavate and to do these things, but the whole process of excavation and how to interpret certain artefacts and how to connect them into one thing and how that things get taken to laboratory and how being dated. Like for instance when I heard about dating things to a thousand years ago, I couldn't believe it, it seemed like a miracle, but now I can maybe see it physically with my eyes.
- 10Q. Is there anything else you would like to add? Do you have any ideas about where archaeology could be going in the future? You spoke earlier about increased technology and so on, but do you have any idea about where archaeology could be going? What's going to happen to it in the future?
- A. No, in the future I don't think there will be anything like archaeology left behind, but or taken as an old-fashioned thing. I feel that archaeology will continue and improve as the years go by, as I've mentioned with technology. I mean technology will be also part of archaeology. Maybe it can even go to the moon, if that's possible, and do archaeology there. Or to other planets. The thing I want to add is that to me it means a lot, I mean the first time I heard about his project it showed me that one shouldn't be narrow-minded about things. Secondly, it proved to me that one cannot rely on just one source of information. For instance I used to believe historians because they were historians. There were things that were written in a book. So I used to believe everything that was written down, but now I can see that one cannot rely on the written thing only, one should go back to its roots where it came from. So when I got involved in this thing of archaeology, that's what I learnt. That you can't just believe in oral thing, because one can justify the oral history, just to serve his own needs. So now by learning archaeology, I learnt that there are other ways of getting information more than oral information.
- Q. Do you want to add anything more?
- A. No, that's as far as I know.

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INTERVIEW #7

1. The first time I heard about the word archaeology was at Khanya College.
 Q. You didn't hear about it through newspapers, movies, t.v. or museums?
 A. I can't say because I didn't have an idea of what archaeology is. Before I came across something like that, but I didn't know it was archaeology.
 Q. So, you only heard the word archaeology when you came to Khanya.
 A. Yes.
- 2Q. So, did you learn the most about archaeology at Khanya?
 A. Yes, I did. I learnt a lot about archaeology at Khanya.
3. Specifically about archaeology? What I learnt about archaeology is very useful for—to back up the information that is not given. I mean, its servicing evidence to history.
 Q. So, you don't think that archaeology is a discipline that must be separated from history?
 A. Up to a level, I don't think it is possible for archaeology to be divorced from history.
4. Exciting. Its interesting, really.
 Q. Could you elaborate?
 A. Yes, because it is getting to close the gaps, you know. With history I've realised if you get stuck, how do they find out how actual people lived, what kind of lifestyle they lived, I mean, archaeologists have tried as best to close those gaps.
- 5a) Implicitly they'd benefit because archaeology is—the way its connected, I mean, is that the archaeologists who do the conductors of excavations, they go dig down with the help of this carbon...what this carbon, I don't know what they use, to prove that a certain article—they can prove it existed for such a long time. I mean it verifies the information that we always given. It serves as a proof.
 Q. So, it makes it valid?
 A. Yes.
- 5b) I think I would begin as early as hundred eighties, I think so. I would even say the Stone Age.
 Q. So, you'd start in the Stone Age to tell them about your family.
 A. Not my family necessarily, but about the community, I mean, the society that existed then.
6. Ok. I'll say they'll benefit from archaeology information because, we lived there because of Group Areas firstly, in those years they didn't know about life before. Before they just romanticised that everything was right and all these people never went—or never was something like slavery, I mean, never something like I mean

- conflicts or stuff, but archaeology can try and solve those things. Through archaeology we can try to convince them that these things existed long ago.
- Q. Do people know much of what happened at the frontier there in the Eastern Cape? With the frontier zone almost there, do people in () know much about it?
- A. Certainly not. I don't think so.
7. Sure, it can play a great role really, influence, yes. Because what happens is that we all take for granted that, I mean, we just romanticise the past. That's very sad, that we just romanticise the past. We see nothing like this equalities happening. The old ones talking about equality yes. But we see that through archaeology inequalities existed long before the colonial subjugation.
- Q. Do you think that archaeology could contribute to specific debates in the country?
- A. I can say specific debates pertaining to the context, this question of enquiry. This is a major one, this means it will check the facts of South Africa so far.
8. Yes. Why I got involved was because I wanted to, me for myself, prove that's not get just to get from scientists about something that's happened. I want to know, I want to see, to witness this difficulty of this excavations and how it couples with the process of finding the age of the whole thing. Was the article made long ago, something like that, the object's history. It'll give me the direction, I mean to eradicate all those doubts I had about archaeology. I just want to prove that, to see that happening.
- Q. You say, you want to learn about how people tell the ages of objects. Are there maybe other things you'd also hope to learn from your involvement in this project?
- A. So far what I'm concerned about is the ancient societies. A lot that is so exciting. I want to learn about them, their lifestyle, everything and their culture and the impact of other foreign cultures, you know. And their interaction which may have broad social changes within those cultures.
- Q. Is there anything else that you would like to add? You have been talking about archaeology. Maybe, where you think archaeology might be going?
- A. Ja, archaeology is really—ok, its useful but I had some, it has some setbacks at some levels, because we can't really determine what kind of languages those people were speaking, what languages. We wouldn't know what kind of people, I mean you can just get from those rock paintings what they used to do with hunting, such things like hunting, I mean their lifestyle, mode of production, what they planted. I mean its one of the setbacks 'cause we can get it one cannot see it because the evidence just decomposed with things of the period. And if things are found 5-10 years after that, that means after 10 years that proves to be useless.
- Q. Do you think that's all what you can learn from things like rock paintings?
- A. No, I mean I've said culture you can get from rock paintings... What you can get is their culture, interaction between different societies. What I mean it was obvious that the people from Zambia didn't live the same lifestyle as the people down here in South Africa and similarly in Ciskei, I mean before this question of communist subjugation obviously brought people together in those central business areas. So the thing what you can get... I mean you can really get what really caused people to come to these, I can say, to these inequalities within those societies. What brought the inequalities between them. There's things like trade.

How did they change? Why did they change from their hunter-gatherer life to this from of societies?

Q. So, do you think archaeology is limited in that sense? You were talking about what you can learn from rock art and so on. Do you think it is limited?

A. So far, I've not much information to, I mean, I didn't get much information about the limitedness of this, but I think there definitely is setbacks, that's all.

Q. Do you want to add anything else or is that all?

A. No. What I add is that this archaeology, to me, has proved that it is very useful to get the information to know more about the different societies, because me, for myself, I didn't know that there was, I mean, African states have been infiltrated by the legacy of the, I mean, there is European stories that African states didn't have the ability to do something for themselves in a sense and this of Great Zimbabwe. I mean, Great Zimbabwe, if someone can come say this is , it is impossible to say that primitive societies can ever have any ability to build these great walls, because the modern technology brought by Europeans. I mean, I believe whatever we know now everything that was taught by them of this, archaeology has proved them wrong.

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INTERVIEW #8

1. The first time I heard of archaeology, it was the time I remember my sister was telling me of some people who have found some very old pots in the ocean. Yes, so it turned out that the people were coming were sailing from China and they sort of found nearby the Antarctic Ocean, Antarctica. That island before something like a what... a vase, a broken pot, so to say. But they thought of it being something of the old times. So I just didn't like the idea of people taking things of the old, not knowing what they do with it. But anyway, she explained these things to me and I started to like, you know, how she said that's another way to trace our lineage.

Q. When was this that she told you?

A. It was long ago. It was 1980, I think. That was before I came to this college. Just couldn't remember. Yes, I think it was 1980, 81 or 82. I was still young at that time.

2. No. Much I've learnt about archaeology was now through the people I knew, even my sister, she... Its not mostly at Khanya, really. And all I've learnt about this is, which interested me, was the Lesotho kind of history, which I think I know. She told me that there's a need for, you know, archaeologists to retrace the Basotho tribe whereby she told me about Matsalatstwatse. I started to read books about that. I had to learn things about how people were conditioned that they came from the north only to realise its a distortion of the truth. But, most of that about archaeology is in Lesotho itself, yeah.

Q. What kind of work does your sister do?

A. She's a receptionist at ().

- Q. Do you maybe know where she found out about archaeology?
 A. Oh, she was studying in Lesotho and I think she read already. Perhaps she studied archaeology too. I think so.
- Q. Did she study at Roma or where did she study?
 A. Yes, she studied at Roma for a year and she dropped out. But I think, when she told me about when we began speaking about this archaeology thing she was too young to... She might have been about Std. 8 or Std. 9.
- Q. So you don't know where she found out about archaeology?
 A. I don't really know. All I know that she had a interest in writing history. You know our family problems made it tough for her.
- 3Q. Did you enjoy learning about archaeology from her?
 A. Most, yeah. Very much.
- Q. What did you learn about archaeology?
 A. The life of the, mostly the life of the Egyptians. Which is where I've been studying mostly and also the African, the Lesotho development of their history. I've learnt how the people went from the Stone Age, even though there was there's been difficulty to retrace all things, but I think I know much about the Stone Age, Basotho and Egyptians and also the up to this Industrial Age. I really don't know much about the ages between that.
- 4Q. Could you maybe tell me... You say you enjoyed learning about Lesotho. What specifically about Lesotho history did you enjoy learning?
 A. It was the wars of the Sotho, how they were used by the nationalists and how they, the goods that were found in the hills by the British. Like the tombs, there still things that were found in their tombs and also the hills that are still living even today. For instance, places like Moghotlong, Schonghong, places like Ha Magroana, where Moshoeshoe's grandfather died and people decided to build a monument there. Places like Tapeng, where people lived long before the missionaries came people were praying there, but they were not praying the way they are doing today. They decided to build a--not a monument, but whenever they went there to pray, they would take a stone and put it there and then that would be their from of respect for that place. Even though they had hard time.
- Q. Do they do the same at Thaba... What's the place that Moshoeshoe stayed?
 A. Thaba Bsui
- Q. Do they do that there as well?
 A. Never done it anymore since the missionaries came.
- Q. Because I was in Lesotho last year and at the Thaba Bsui and when we went up we had to place a rock or a stone onto this pile. I don't know, he said it was symbolic of laying down your weapons in respect for...
 A. For the man who stopped the war. So they say he told the missionaries to stop war. That is their belief, I don't see that truth.
- 5a) Yes, really. I would like to trace my lineage since our lineage, this kinship, originates from the kingship . You see, my daddy and mummy were born in Lesotho. Their grandparents came here from Lesotho. So, there are still places that I am told that belonged to them as people who were the ruling class, although my daddy's grandfather started to slaughter beasts so that this chiefdom collapses and

there is no more a thing like that, because he was experiencing trouble. So, I'd like to trace how, you know, this happened. Although history tells me some, although is not all. In history you get from what is surviving and so on. I'd like to retrace it from my own place, where I come from.

5b) I would begin from my granddaddy, Mohaila, who used to be Moshoeshoe's warrior.

Q. So you would start from your grandfather?

A. I don't know how many grandparents, but he is the head of our lineage.

6. In my community, yes I'd say. In terms of whereby you can just choose where you want to stay. But I think in teaching the people where they really come from, it is to revive that spirit of who they really are. Not forgot to themselves then go with this confusing European ways. Still, also, if I would say, being a politically associated somebody, I think that it would help me much although I don't have a real interest in becoming a political leader, but I'm interested in showing the people what I think would open their eyes and ears to recognize themselves. That is what I see in archaeology.

7. Probably yes.

Q. Do you have any ideas or examples where archaeology can maybe make some input?

A. Oh yeah. If I were deemed to be biased to one political party... If we were to look to the BCM then we can really say these people can retrace their being to this African continent and archaeology can prove this. It has been proved they are part and parcel of this continent. But, because Europeans came and changed their history, there's a great need for them to redistort this in a way to be understood. I think archaeology has done much of the political awareness of the people, but there's still much to be done.

Q. Do you think a lot of people are aware of archaeology?

A. I don't think so.

8. I think it dates back to the years where I see the papers and her books that she was reading about archaeology and I just wanted to know why the people are interested in learning about the past. By involving myself in archaeology project it will to, you know, develop my skills since I realise there's a need for me to learn and use archaeology in my society, not only to learn it.

Q. So you'd like to use it in your society?

A. Really, yeah.

9. Yeah, how you retrace, how you, the methods of how you evaluate or get the results of the past through archaeology, since archaeology is quite is different. It is divided into many ways. I hope to learn how to get good developed results in what has been achieved.

Q. Could you maybe tell about where archaeology might be going in the future?

A. Since the people's history doesn't always start from 1000 years or a million ago. If we can, I mean the archaeologists, can work fully into what they are doing they are not only going the results of million years ago, but are going to be able to get

- even the results of, let's say if I would be theological, the past of Adam himself. Yes, I don't foresee the end of archaeology.
- Q. So you think archaeologists may be able to trace Adam's past?
- A. Yes, I believe so. I believe so, but it has to start from where we are. Retrace us and go back step by step.
- Q. Ok, so we need to actually start by ourselves and trace back before we can start with something like that?
- A. That's what I mean, yeah.
- Q. Would you like to become an archaeologist one day?
- A. Hopefully yes. I've already taken a decision to be one.
- Q. Have you worked on any archaeological excavations?
- A. Not yet. Yet I've read many books about archaeology.
- Q. How much do you know about Sehonghong?
- A. Well, its been a place where the Tepu people, they used to call them the Batepu and the Batloko. They were found there as people who scared of meeting the other Basotho tribes since they way of dressing or ruling was declared by the Basotho as outdated . Although one could say that the Basotho were outdated in their way. But now I was speaking in connection with the years 1825 to 1890 up to the present. So when comes Sehonghong I don't know much. What I know about mostly is Maseru and about Mafeteng Yes, I know too much of their history. Also about Quting, yes I know some...

INTERVIEW ENDS THROUGH AN IRRELEVANT DISCUSSION

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INTERVIEW #9

1. I first heard about archaeology in my history class here at Khanya College.
- Q. You never heard about it before through TV, newspapers, movies, museums?
- A. No, in fact I had never heard about it.
- 2Q. So, you learnt the most about archaeology here at Khanya?
- A. Yes.
3. I've learnt that sometimes we know about how the people in the past lived, because we excavate the remains that were discarded by those people in those years. Then those remains were messages in themselves.
4. It was fantastic, man. I enjoyed it
- Q. Could you maybe tell me which aspects of it you liked? Did you enjoy learning about another kind of history?
- A. Oh, yes. I learnt about the history of Great Zimbabwe. Those impressive great walls and those material remains like iron tools, and about the graves of those, the ruling classes. Yes they were full of ornaments, gold ornaments, copper ornaments. Then the other thing is that you had the people, the ordinary people, they were

not having that access, those kind of luxuries. I've learnt that there were some stratifications of the site and the graves themselves talk about stratification of the site. So, there were those who were ruled and those who ruled.

Q. So, was Great Zimbabwe the most interesting?

A. Ja, it was the most interesting.

5a) Yes, I think that we can benefit a lot from archaeology because you can learn if we have deviated from those people's culture or those habits and everything that is called culture. And it seems that is if it was more a change as far as culture is concerned, because wherever you did excavations, the ceramics were all alike. So only if there was somebody from outside with their own ceramics or pottery, then there would be some changes. But internal changes as far as archaeology was concerned was never carried out, so the cultures they remained.

5b) Ok. The thing is I will tell them about where my grandpa stayed and I can even take them there sometimes to see those remains of houses and everything. And I'll tell them about our movement from there and to that kind of area at present.

6. Community? Ok, ja, I think that is very much important for my community, because sometimes you find that all the members of the community they have forgotten they ever stayed in such a kind of area. Archaeology can reveal where we once stayed and we can go there and excavate those things. If there are maybe many features in the area we've excavated that are alike to our own, then we can trace our movements. We can show it is our culture, so we were there once.

7. Yes, it can play a major role because there are some people now in our country who, on this question of land in fact, who tend to be the aborigines of an area, so I think archaeological remains can tell the honest truth of whether they are the owners of this land because now there is a national problem of people must return to their respective land or area.

Q. So if an archaeologist told you that your community stayed here would you believe that person?

A. Ja, if there is evidence, archaeological evidence then I would believe that.

8. The thing is I was very much interested in archaeology because it was the first time that someone could trace to where you want to stay through digging down. But prior to this I knew nothing about this kind of business where someone could trace and excavate somewhere in the bushes to find that people were once living in this area.

9. Well the thing is I want to enrich my mind, because I want to proceed further with archaeology, next year, and I want to get the background.

Q. So would you want to become an archaeologist one day?

A. Really.

10Q. What would you think would be the future of archaeology in this country?

A. I think archaeology can stand to play a more important role, because there are some events that we ignore and we don't write about them, so they are not brought to book. So, archaeology in the near future may reveal some material

remains that says a lot about the life of the people who were ignored by the media itself.

Q. But so how would you tell people about this ?

A. The thing is whenever there is an object as a material remain, the first thing is to try and interpret and thereafter theorise the whole society and try to create something out of that object, so I will try to read the messages, I mean every object has got a message, read the whole message, try to explain. But even, sometimes we may be wrong or whatever, but we always try as archaeologists.

Q. But now how will other people find out about the knowledge that you have gained?

A. It will depend on individual people because sometimes people think that just taking something from the ground and saying about it this shows that people here once lived and this is kind of a tool. It depends on individuals, whether those people are interested in what you are saying or not.

Q. Do you have anything else that you would have to add that we haven't spoken

A. No, I don't believe that there is anything left to say.

Q. Are there any specific things that you would like to learn about on this project?

A. Oh, I think that in going out to excavate we can also find out how those people relate themselves to others. We can find that those places have strata, they show how different people were in the upper class or in the higher class, like the lord, the slave owner and the slave.

Q. Anything else?

A. No, the main important thing is stratification, archaeology tells us a lot about the stratification issue, how societies are stratified, and even culture. And it is only through culture that we can trace some Bantu languages. Through culture we can trace languages.

Q. You mean by trace languages we can actually trace people and so on?

A. Ja, I think so. As far as we know we can relate such kind of society with remains scattered somewhere, then we can even language, these people are from here, then those general remains can tell us more about the culture because culture is something that is very much static it doesn't change as such it moves with the people, it doesn't remain behind.

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INTERVIEW #10

1. Actually I started to hear about archaeology in high school from history, the subject. There was something mentioned there about archaeology.

2. It was here that I've gathered details about archaeology.

3. Ja, I did enjoy it. I learnt that archaeologists can tell us about past people through excavation, how the ancient people lived.

- 5a) Ja, I think is very important, because now I can try to examine the past history of my family through archaeology, because I know certain details about it.
- 5b) This question is very difficult. It will depend, I'll try first to examine what sort of physical things you find there in the place that you examine about the past history of your family because sometimes you cannot say who is the first founder ancestor of your family. It will depend on what we find and then we can start dating which year they lived.
- Q. So would you do the research yourself.
A. Ja, I can do the research myself.
6. Ja, I think they will benefit a lot because they know of some of their historical events that happen, some of the things are never investigated.
7. Ja, to some extent it can play a prominent role. For instance we can compare the present situation to the past, through archaeology. Looking at how the members of past societies were engaged in politics.
Q. Could you explain a bit more what you mean?
A. For instance, we know that through archaeology there are certain things that we now discovered about prehistoric societies, how they lived. How they behaved in the societies through the kings, things like tributes.
Q. So you're saying that maybe we could learn from past politics.
A. Ja, through archaeology, through a comparison with the current situation.
8. For instance I've got another reason. As myself, I am not someone who would like to talk, for instance I am not interested in oral history, because I don't like to interview many people. So I think that archaeology is very adventurous, that's why its also very interesting to want to find out about our past.
9. I want to know how do we go about in the process of digging. What steps should you take.
Q. What do you think will be the future of archaeology in this country?
A. From my understanding, there are not many archaeologists in this country. I think archaeology will play a prominent role in the future of South Africa, because people do not understand what archaeology is. Archaeologists must sort of preach what are the important things of archaeology, so as to play a prominent role in the future, because we are living in a changing society. Each generation is going to die, so the next generation must investigate the past generation. I think future people must understand archaeology so they may take this further.
Q. Do you have any suggestion of how to popularise archaeology?
A. Through some media and workshops you can somehow popularise archaeology.
Q. If you say workshops, whom are you going to direct the workshops at?
A. I think we'll go to schools, locations, ...
Q. But now how would you get the media to pick up interest in archaeology because so often the media are only interested in sensationalist kinds of things?
A. I think it'll depend on those people, because sometimes some people in the media are very interested in archaeology, so you will try to convince them by showing

them the practicality of archaeology, sometimes you will find that some things are discovered by archaeologists that are of historical importance.

Q. Do you have anything else to add that may be of interest?

A. No.

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INTERVIEW #11

1a) I hoped to learn how archaeology leads its students to analyse some archaeological information like the artefacts which we are processing now.

1b) The skills which are very important are those of artefact analysis and finding out where they originated and what caused them to be on a particular area.

Q. But what skills do you think you've learnt?

A. I think there were skills like, how to lay out a grid so that you cannot mix the artefacts that you find on a particular area and how to number the area where you find the artefacts and analyse those artifacts.

2a) Ja, I think so because when you are excavating you don't just excavate you do so under archaeological laws, you don't just dig. So you become careful when you are digging.

Q. But do you think it will help you in the future?

A. Ja, I think so because I can be able to teach and give information to the lay-people who know nothing about archaeology.

2b) Ja, I think specifically on this excavation we've been doing, so I'm not sure about other excavations. They may be of something else that I don't know about, will need some other procedure other than this procedure of artefact finding.

Q. So do you think that this excavation was specifically about artefact finding?

A. Yes.

3. Yes, I can according to the skills that I've got now.

Q. So, if you were to work on an excavation one day, would it be possible for you to give advice about it?

A. Ja, precisely, according to initial stages of artefact finding, and I think I'll not have problems in those initial stages of artefact finding up to the analysis of artefacts.

4. I think it must be introduced to archaeology. Such like why, especially, were we digging only in a white area. There are people who know and are writing books on archaeology, that are males. There is no one from the other sex who is an archaeologist. I can also say the most equipment which is subsidised by the govern-

ment. Specifically an institution which is having most of the laws coming from the white government's side.

5a) Its because the archaeology goes hand-in-glove with history. That's where we search for the past, when we get practical evidence from archaeology we can give evidence to people who know nothing about archaeology, and give them such information.

Q. But why is it important?

A. People nowadays, you must come up with evidence, because if there is no evidence then is difficult for them to believe what you are saying. Its hard for them to internalise what you are telling them without evidence.

Q. So you say its important that people need to know about their past?

A. Ja.

5b) Ja, they totally differ, because the history I learnt in the past didn't consist of archaeological evidence. We were just told that such things happened on such years, and were told to believe that without evidence.

Q. So do you think that archaeology has helped you in your understanding of the past?

A. Ja, it did a lot. Because now I know if the remaining ruins of a particular area are found, if there were some kind of people living there. So according to archaeology we find some kind of practical evidence that these are the remains of the people who lived there.

5c) Ja, as I have said, I'm looking on an archaeological situation and relating it with our present situation, of how are the things run here in SA.

Q. So you are saying that your understanding of archaeology depends on your own political views?

A. Ja, and the fact that archaeology is becoming well known by some of the students, who are going to inform other students, on the position of archaeology, which they have experienced. So, it also influences the politics of SA now.

Q. So do you think archaeology has a meaningful political role to play?

A. Yes. If archaeology can be non-sexist and non-racial, it can be good.

6. Ja I think so. I think I could take that chance.

Q. Say next year, would you do it again, if you were not doing archaeology?

A. Ja I can, because I've got information about archaeology now, I'll not just be going into something new.

7a) To be frank, the excavation consumes a lot of time. Moreover when you are a student you are loaded. So it consumes a lot of time, it consumes a lot of energy and such problems.

7b) I cannot see an option to solve such a problem, because an individual is supposed to work like that because if we can take spades we can just demolish artefacts. So I cannot see other options to come up with real artefacts that are not broken, that are not damaged. The way you excavate forces you to take time.

8a) Its when you're through with excavations, then analysing the artefacts, knowing where something come from, differentiating between porcelain and metals and glass. That's what I liked.

Q. So you like finding out about the past through the artefacts?

A. Yes.

Q. Why?

A. Because those artefacts some hundred years ago, we do not know what was happening in Germany, or in Russia, so according to the analysis of artefacts they tell us which industry was started to make porcelain first, and which country, and they follow it to the present day. So that the porcelains we use now are different from Britain, because they have some modern machines, other than taking them to fire, just like the past times So, the present times are modernised.

Q. Do you have anything else to add?

A. I don't think there is anything else.

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INTERVIEW #12

1a) In this project I hoped to learn about history, especially, our history. A lot of history is written by whites. So archaeology is a way of helping to correct this.

Q. So you wanted to learn how archaeology can help you.?

A. Yeah

1b) Okay, skills about excavating; how one is supposed to use a grid; and this aspect of when you lay your grid you must make sure that your square isn't concave.

2a) Ja, it can help me, for instance if they introduce in the New South Africa an archaeologist portfolio, maybe the skill I get in this project I will use it to excavate a problem for an archaeologist. Yes, the skills I get in this project, I'll use it.

2b) I can say to some extent, like in terms of the excavation I've learnt that in terms of sorting artefacts, I still have a problem in that area.

3. Ja, I can say yes, because why when we are going out to the land, for instance in this project, we are working as a team. So maybe I can also advise maybe, that the experienced archaeologist the way how people are working in teams so that because our work was easy because of that. So I think it can be for him as well.

4. Ja, I would say that archaeology itself its a politics because its dealing with the people. Everything here in South Africa is politics. Because the whites, they've been using archaeology to benefit their own education. So, in my point of view, I can say archaeology are part and parcel of the politics, in terms of its use by the oppressor fro their own gain.

- 5a) Ja, I value the past as important because what was ... you must use the past to build the present and the future. For instance, if you want to know about other people's history, you must use the way the people during the past were living; then you can ask how and why the people lived there. That is a major part. And then in the future and the present one can get information.
- 5b) Ja.
- 5c) In terms of the way archaeology is used today by the ruling class. I have a problem with the way they are using it for their own benefit. But if, for instance, my view is that archaeology is accountable to the whole sector of the people, where for instance if we as black, we have our own history our own culture, so archaeology is supposed to be used to look at the history of the blacks not only for the other side. So this is my perspective.
6. Ja.
- Q. What would be the attraction?
- A. Because one would say I've gained a lot from this project; because one needs to work as a team. And also, the skills that I had, because me, I'm not working on my own as an individual. What I can say is that archaeology needs to be spread over the entire community, and the skills that I've got, other people must get it. That is moving with the idea that "each one teach one".
- 7a) I wouldn't say, that I disliked the project. I didn't have a problem at all.
- 8a) We are not in a hurry to do things and we are not using a spade we are using a trowel. When you dig deep, I didn't know that the soil is changing. The thing is that I didn't understand that such a deep hole is so tricky. I just used to dig in the garden, didn't used to think that the soil is brown, the soil is black. I dunno how, but that thing kept an interest in me.
- Q. Why did you like that idea about the differences in the soil?
- A. Now I have that education that I can tell other persons that the soil, there are different kinds of soil. There's no way that they are the same. So now I have a skill, for telling other people about the soil.
- Q. Do you have anything else that you want to say
- A. The central point would be that I like - our project was a democratic one. There was no one from above. Because of working as a team and then there's no one saying we must do this thing and then that thing. I mean you are interested in this project.

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INTERVIEW #13

1a) It was introduced in the class that archaeologists sort out materials, and predict who was living there and the kind of life they were living. I thought I would also be able to learn. I was just going to see these artefacts in front of me and then being asked, "what can you say about this and that", that's what I thought, maybe just to go and analyze artefacts. I never thought that I would have to go and dig them myself.

1b) A lot of skills. Point number one, how to lay out the grid for excavations, necessary measurements, everything is done scientifically. Nothing is done just to dig a hole, like when you are putting your hole, you have to be accurate. How you dig, method used to excavate... I thought we were going to use picks and shovels. To my amazement we used trowels to dig such a big hole, a metre or so. So I learnt how to lay a grid, how to go about excavating and how to tend to the artefacts and how to label the different layers. All those things I never know. What I know is artefacts here are they and an archaeologists analyses them. So, I'm saying, that is what I've learnt.

2a) Oh, yes, because as an African person who is interested in the past, I might end up following archaeology in life—that I've not decided. But the way things are happening and are going I foresee that I might end up doing archaeology, becoming one of the archaeologists, lecturing at one of the biggest African universities maybe. The skills I've acquired I'll make sure I keep with me always. If an opportunity or a chance calls for me to show them out, I think I will use them to help my people and my country, knowing about our past and developments up to the present moment.

Q. So you'd like to educate others about archaeology?

A. Definitely!

2b) I don't think I've learnt enough. I think I still need a training, and more thorough explanation, like sorting the artefacts out, dating them, saying something about them since we are told that they cannot say anything to us, except we say something about them.

3. To give a trained archaeologist advice? I ... Really I can't say yes or no, but ... no, it doesn't fall within my sphere to do that, in fact he should give me guidance, not me giving him. Maybe its because I think he knows more than I know.

Q. Do you think there were always cases on the excavation where I knew more than you did?

A. No, there will be cases where I may know something that you may not know.

Q. So would it depend on the nature of your working with the person, whether you can say something or not?

A. Ja, it will depend on the nature of the person I'm working with, whether I can say this or that.

4. There is politics in archaeology, because when you find an artefact, depending on who you are, what I mean by who you are is as African, European Indian or

whatever, you will say something about this artefact. It comes from my land. These people never knew how to make these things. How did it get here? It comes from my land. See, there can be that bias. So there is politics, there's no necessity of introducing it.

5a) That question is so broad, I can tell you of my past, the past of my country, so just give me one way to deal with it.

Q. When I talk about the past I mean how important do you regard the past in general, for anyone?

A. In terms of history. In this case let's put it the past in terms of history. The past are important, and in Africa I feel much of the history in our schools has been distorted; of which the truth lies in the hands of the archaeologist, again depending on which archaeologist one has, who is he, which land is he from, because even if he's an archaeologist outside Africa he can bias the truth about Africa to emphasise that the European brought a tradition to Africa, or industry, or whatever, forgetting that in Africa there was that kind of African industry, that they did manufacture those kinds of clay pots, although their technology was poor or let me say lower than as compared with the outside world. So what is found in the soil today, which came through trade, it might be biased to the truth and as to what might be happening in Africa. Nothing might be said about it. So its in archaeology that our hope lies, and who the archaeologist is, where was he trained, his political views. The knowledge of the past determines the future. By learning the past we ensure that the mistakes committed by our forefathers, we do not commit them, we do not repeat their failures. And the past is important to us as Africans because in the past, before colonialism, the country was ruled by Africans for Africa. But it is ruled by a white man. In our history books, we are taught that the first man to arrive in Africa was Jan van Riebeeck, whereas it is not like that. So archaeologist discover such sort of things and in some instances ...[tape stopped] Like in Zimbabwe, the archaeologists were suppressed by others because they knew the truth.

5b) Well, its not so much against my beliefs, because I do acknowledge that ceramics and glasses and all these things that were found in the soil and how we've been learning about them. Africa did not manufacture glass, nowhere in history did we learn that we manufactured glass, so to some extent it is true that glass and other things do come from outside, but I still insist that there was something that was done in Africa which is not given a first preference in analysing these things because of its poor technology. So, in a sense what I've learnt doesn't go against my beliefs much.

5c) This one I cannot answer precisely, but I can say that because of the preconceived idea of everything about us has been suppressed, now even in archaeology I had that thing that, "Yes, artefacts are analysed, but still, history is hidden. Maybe if I can become part of these people I can reveal what they're hiding.

6. Definitely I would.

- 7a) Well, not necessarily that I disliked, but that manual labour we did, it was too much. Not that I disliked it, but it consumed much of my time. The time I wanted to do something, I was forced because I agreed to be part of that.
- 7b) You know when you talk about that I know what you mean. You mean how can we ease that... Ja, the only way, if I want to excavate I have to have made that time. What influenced me to say, "I cannot", is that it was not me that was personally involved; I was part of that, as a helper, you know. If it was me, like you, the man of the project, I'd enjoy it, because I'd know what I want. Maybe at first I didn't see the vitality or importance of this. I thought that "No, this Proctor, because we are blacks, he wants us to offer our free labour there". I had that kind of idea to be honest, but I saw the importance, that's why I say "Yes, I'll work again if I can". You know how people are, "I've got this, I got that to do". So, because of all the work you tend to prioritise, so the project always comes last, at the base level. So, nothing can be improved, its fine. Its just the interest that's needed.

Q. Do you think we should allow people to work on excavations less work to do?

A. No, not necessarily that, but people should be well informed beforehand. For my part I can say I never thought "Look (), you'll be working with manual labour". So, I said I had these expectations. I thought I would just go there and say "No, this person was rich, he lived in luxury" according to what I will be seeing. So, I never knew that I would have to take this thing out of the soil myself. So, if I could have been well-informed. It was this first information that helped us to interact well with what we are doing. The information that I got is the one that made me to be negative toward that.

- 8a) How we draw that square, how we kept the wall straight, everything scientific, and our conversation. We talked and talked and never saw this is heavy. I only felt it was boring when I was at my residence. When I was there I never experienced boredom. So, the scientific part of it I really liked and everyday, how you talked to us about it, that encouraged me and I think I liked it. It kept my zeal, or zest up. I didn't look at it as an excavation. I looked beyond that in future I could do something with the method I gained here, of making a square and digging a straight hole from that. I looked far away beyond that. So, these skills that I acquired, measurement especially, I can do, like building. I'm going to be a father, I have to extend my house. I don't have to hire people to do these things. I'll just measure this thing and dig straight trenches for the foundation and all.

Q. Do you have anything else to add?

A. I don't have anything to say except that I enjoyed the project, although during the course of it here and there my mood was fluctuating. At times I was happy with it, at times i was angry, as I explained that it was because of the information. If I was told right from the start "Look you're going to dig", I'll go there everyday with a happy heart, knowing that I'm going to work. But what I find there was not what I expected. There was this inconsistency and it caused me discomfort. So, maybe if this project can be done with other people they should be told right from the start, because these big terms we heard at the College, there at school you don't have these big terms. "Archaeology, ooh!" Because I was trying to run away from this thing of writing a 25-page essay, I thought in archaeology

I'll analyze that and I'll go back and my coordinator will tell my subject-coordinator "Oh, he is doing well" and that's finished. So the next group that you're going to engage in this, I would highly recommend that you inform them thoroughly, so that when they commit themselves they abide by what is expected of them.

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INTERVIEW #14'

- 1a) Well, this thing of study was new to me. I've just heard about it on the videos and tv, so I didn't have a full information. I haven't read the book before we came to the project.
- Q. Why did you decide to get involved in this project rather than the Oral History one?
- A. I just had an interest to know more about something about archaeology rather than the oral project.
- 1b) Up to so far I've learnt some skills as how to excavate, how to measure, you know, to fit a what you call it, a grid. How to see if the space is suitable for excavation. How look for artefacts...
- Q. Have you learnt any drawing skills?
- A. Drawing skills' yes. Like I've learnt to draw a site, and the layers.
- 2a) Yes, I think they will help me somehow. I think with that little bit I can teach some people about excavating.
- 2b) I can't say I've learnt enough, but I can work in another site alone.
3. Yes, I hope I can.
4. Ja, I think there's is already politics in archaeology.
- Q. Could you identify places where you think...
- A. Ja, like this thing, I mean. Before 1960 in archaeology, in the seventeenth to eighteenth century we find the remains of the hottentots and bushmen were separated, they were not put together, which symbolise a kind of discrimination, their artefacts were in fact separated and their remains. And another thing of this sexism, because all along in archaeology we cannot find the women, only men. Its only post-sixties that you find women.
- 5a) Actually, it has been used, I can say, to further the interests of certain classes or to legitimise their superiority.
- Q. So, you think history has been abused?
- A. Sure, it has been abused.
- Q. Do you think history will always be abused, or have the potential to be abused?

- A. Ja, I think it will have the potential to be abused. Because once a certain group comes to power, it will always further its interests.
- Q. Do you think there are ways one can get around this problem?
- A. Ja well, let me say there are ways, like if archaeology can move to a People's Archaeology. Like what I mean is, people's consciousness should be demystified, like in a correct way.
- Q. Do you think there is a correct way of studying archaeology?
- A. I can say... yes, by exposing everything as it is, the reality. Not hiding everything, no hidden agenda.
- Q. Don't you think that you'll always have people focusing on specific things in the past and therefore they won't be able to expose everything?
- A. Yes, even if they can be bread and butter... I mean if people have retained consciousness, even if they are told a lie they will not believe it.
- Q. So you need to make people aware?
- A. Yes, aware.
- 5a) I can say yes.
- Q. You've spoken of how the past can be abused. Is archaeology also open to that abuse?
- A. I mean, at present moment. Yeah, I can say its a bit open. I think it can be.
- 5c) Ja, I think my politics affect what I think of archaeology.
6. Yes, sure.
- 7a) The labour, the hard labour.
- 7b) I'm not too sure about this question. I dunno... I mean labour, you can't run away from working.
- Q. When you started, did you think you were going to work hard?
- A. Ja, actually we did know, but we did not know how we were going to do it.
- 8a) Like this thing of the artefacts, like how to find them in the soil. Like I know today of the potteries and many other things.
- 8b) Actually these things, they tell you the something you see. Like by excavating there we can assume or we can know that people who lived there had the same materials which we are calling of artefacts. We can know of trade, maybe they traded with some people. Or we can know that these artefacts are coming from other places overseas, India and so on.
- 9Q. Is there anything you would like to add?
- A. Another issue is this one of Zimbabwe. Like this thing of Zimbabwe, like the way it appeared in the nineteenth century. Cecil John Rhodes put it wrongly or abused archaeology by paying those traders, so that people can know that Great Zimbabwe was built by the Phoenicians or people from the Middle East, only to find it was the work of Africans. The archaeologists after that found some pottery and could

show that the people living there were African. Rhodes himself couldn't give evidence about the Phoenicians. He could only talk about buildings.

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INTERVIEW #15

1a) Basically...just what...trying to form a building from what historians made us believe and what we're digging and trying to come up with evidence to refute.

1b) Firstly, it was a tough time. I was not aware of what we'd be dealing with, in the excavation. I did not learn much, but it's an experience that'll help me if I'm still interested in learning archaeology.

Q. Do you think the bit you have learnt will help you in future?

A. Yeah

Q. How?

A. Uhm...like at home. I was thinking there are some areas that need to be explored. People are removed from the area and dumped to an area somewhere else, but before, people lived in that area.

Q. So you think it will be good to find out about that?

A. Yeah.

2a) Yes

2b) Only to say if I engage in archaeology for quite some time, I may be able to make some suggestions.

Q. But do you not think you will be able to do a bit more?

A. I'm not quite sure.

Q. But you think you may acquire more training for you to be able to give advice?

A. Yeah

4. No, I think it is bias. But, I would recommend that they both go hand in hand because of the fact that if I go to museums and these places, I see that they show black people as artefacts. Why is it always black people?

Q. So you would say there is already a kind of politics operating?

A. Ja, but once again it's reflecting us, the people living in the olden days as inferior.

5a) Yeah, to know the future one has to look at the past and to know where we come from, the direction that one should pursue. It is important that one should know what has happened.

5b) I don't know because I have not gone through the whole process.

5c) I can only say that my political standpoint, as I have mentioned earlier, I'd recommend that politics and archaeology go hand in hand. My beliefs, I'm

strongly attached to an Africanist philosophy, which I think archaeology can help to rectify what even the Africanist have done, because I do think there are many factors which they overlooked.

6. Yes, I would, because its quite interesting. Although when one looks at it, its a task. Well of course it is, but once one starts getting things going, then you'll start to enjoy it.
- 8a) The problems I would say were the site conditions, the rain. I was thinking that instead of those trowels we should use spades (laughs). Things wouldn't go quicker, but the soil is hard. The question of equipment for this thing, I don't think that I have an answer. There are even disadvantages to using spades. You might destroy the artefacts.
- 8b) If we all take part, all of us, no one can escape that its quite interesting.
- Q. Do you think that its the group-work that makes it more comfortable?
- A. Yeah
- Q. Why?
- A. It makes things go quicker, like say as you are digging, as one starts changing, you realise that time flies.
- 9Q. Is there anything you would like to add?
- A. We are going to enter a so-called New South Africa, but we must look at ways it will be used to make archaeology popular, known.
- Q. Are you saying we should look at ways in which archaeology should become popular?
- A. Yeah
- Q. Why do you want to popularise archaeology now, rather than a couple of years ago? Of what benefit would it be?
- A. For so long archaeology has been done by whites. One would say its a subject that evolved from the colonial experience, but its time that black people should take part. Because in one way or another I believe that a white man is still biased.

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INTERVIEW #16

- 1a) My expectations was to learn how archaeology can be used to settle some of the disputes arousing around the political questions, social questions, concerning our past.
- Q. Have any of you expectations been met?
- A. I'll say so far, some of them have been met about the socio-economic conditions which were prevailing in the context of our societies you see. I'll be specific, like say there was this trade between Europeans and the inhabitants of this sub-continent.

- 1b) So far, I'll not say that I've got specific skills, but generally I'll talk about excavation skills are connected, some of the skills I'd say I've got. How to find sites... the procedure of conducting excavation.
- 2a) Yes, they will. For example, if there is a dispute or a misunderstanding about the past of any specific area, I think through the skills I have just acquired, I can get some information by conducting excavation and help just to clear some of these questions.
- Q. So you think you can help in finding concrete evidence to settle a dispute?
A. Ja, that's exactly what I mean.
- 2b) I'll say at least so far I have a little bit of information, but what I need is to be well-equipped about the process of analysis of artefacts, because that's what can be a problem when it comes to collecting that information.
3. Ja, I think so. Maybe, if during the excavation they come across an artefact, instead of using too much energy trying to break it, simply excavate around it so that it may come out, so that's the advice I'll give, besides to try to analyse it to get concrete evidence about it.
4. Yes, I think politics is involved in archaeology.
- Q. Could you give an example?
A. As an example one might say in the South African context now you can use archaeology to settle disputes around the land question. The artefacts which we hope to excavate may show the socio-economic practices of the people. Secondly, the analysis of these artefacts may find the period the settlement of those who claim they were there before others.
- 5a) I'll say, since there is too much distortion of the past, many versions are given to different people of the past. For me, I wouldn't boast and say there's an adequacy I can sight and say there were these people and who did what, and when. How can one justify that something like this may be in a certain area. But its a speculation that we can just say at a certain time in the past the history says so. There's not that concrete evidence.
- Q. So would you say that history has been abused?
A. Yes, I think there has been no one version of history so I can say that history has been abused.
- 5b) I could say partly, but not entirely. But this has helped me to clear some of the questions I've had about the past.
- 5c) I'd say firstly, because the excavation didn't give a clear understanding of people were in a certain area, or a racial group. Archaeology has given a clearer picture of what was happening, who were there. It just gives a picture of the activities that happen. The artefacts, ceramics and iron, they just highlight the question of activities, but not the question of who was there and all such questions. It hasn't quenched my thirst for the past.

- Q. So would that be one of the main things you want to find out about the past, who was there, what people?
- A. Ja, I'll say that's what I'm interested in. What I'd say is that in archaeology there's talk of migration, but there isn't concrete evidence about the migration itself. So some questions are unresolved and remain assumptions.
- Q. So you would like to have more specific information?
- A. Yeah.
6. Yes, because I want to fill these gaps. What I have now is not adequate to fill these gaps, to answer these questions that are left unanswered. I think through intensive study of archaeology and practice I think I can come to answer my questions.
- 7a) Firstly, it was much hard labour. So due to climatic conditions, it was unpleasant working on this excavation.
- 7b) I think the methods we used are quite genuine because if we give what I've just said about manual labour, there'd be a great loss of artefacts if we try somehow to make the job quicker. So, if we speed, we'll lose these artefacts. So the method is quite general.
- Q. Were you prepared before you started working for this kind of manual labour?
- A. Frankly, for me, I never knew we'd get to manual labour. What I expected was maybe to use these short ways. But using this longer method we get more artefacts, using shorter methods would be a grievous mistake.
- 8a) What I liked most was when we discovered some of those artefacts like ceramics and metal, which might have indicated that at least, well that would raise the hope that at least we'd come to more and more artefacts.
- 9Q. Is there anything else you'd like to say?
- A. I think, for more students in archaeology, what is needed is more time for them to be involved in excavating. Despite more time they should be given more time to go through prior reading concerning the artefacts, mostly the ceramics, which might bring them a clearer understanding of what the artefacts meant that were found, not just to go and excavate.

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INTERVIEW #17

- 1a) When I first heard about the project I was very fixated by what is happening. I mean the aim of the project you see. This is the first time I go the chance to get involved in such a programme as I was deprived this chance in high school. So I thought this is gonna add to my knowledge. I mean, add to all these kinds of subjects that I'm learning. What their aims and what they are, what entails their having a society. So when I heard about... when you came to the College. I mean

you gave us some practical examples of how this project goes and what archaeology is all about, how it can trace things from the past. So that's the point that fascinated me a lot. I thought this was impossible. Theoretically it was a kind of theory that cannot be practised. I thought it was a kind of myth. When I first heard it. But now, getting involved, I thought it was fascinating and that it could help society in many ways.

- 1b) Oh, I learnt a lot. I learnt that for instance, I never knew that barren ground over which one passes every day has so many precious things that can help one learn about the past. I mean I used to pass that field all through this year, but what we discovered there was very interesting and I never thought such things could stay buried for such a long time and who would have the mind to take them out. I learnt skills like how to look for artefacts, how to dig holes and I mean how to use a spirit-level. I'd never seen a spirit-level before. And also the whole process of digging, which I never knew. I learnt how to dig and how to take artefacts out and take care of them.
- 2a) Very much. If I can continue with archaeology, when I now go into the field, I have a bit of knowledge about how archaeology works. It will allow me to help other people who are in need of archaeology. If there is a temporary job, for instance, to assist archaeologists in a certain place, I would be able to provide them with my skills and what I have learnt from this year when I was excavating at Welgelegen.
- Q. So do you think those skills would be applicable just to archaeology?
- A. Not just no. Also to other fields. As far as I learnt, archaeology gives me a broader view of the whole society, such as what was happening in the 18th century. It can help me in subjects like African History, for instance on the Stone Age the Iron Age and such. Archaeology can help to support my arguments on, for instance the Stone Age in class. The point is one cannot be a historian without knowing archaeology. Because it records a long time from the early ages. So archaeology helps in that is a practical thing in which people can see, not just theorise and actually have nothing to show,, nothing practical that you can see. Before archaeology history was just based on the written material and people could lie. Now you cannot...Now you can prove that this thing happened and when.
3. Ja, I mean I can even give advise to someone who was trained. No matter how little information I have, I'll be able to give advise based on what I have learnt here. So I mean, I have the skills to advise on measurement, and digging and cleaning artefacts., even though I haven't been to the fine analysis in the laboratory. I man I know very little as I am not as advanced the professional archaeologist.
4. I think that politics can go hand in hand with archaeology. For example, in the South African context, whites are claiming that they came to South Africa before the blacks. I mean there's the thing of the real aborigines of Africa. They are claiming that they have stayed here for a million years you see. And it is like there was no one here before, like there was no Khoikhoi or San. And they are fighting for political, social and economic equality. So, with archaeology we can see who

lived here maybe 500 000 years ago, for example. If we can find maybe some ornaments, some artefacts that maybe they were used by Africans long ago, or if they were from Europe they can analyse if Europeans lived here long ago. So that's how we can intervene at a political level. Like in land issues or whatever.

- 5a) As I have said, to know your past is to define your future. So I mean, knowing my past, I can't just fumble my life. I should know my roots, where I came from, how I grew up, how my people lived. So, for people to keep their culture they must know their history. By having a past you also know the mistakes that our ancestors made, so we can rectify them, because if you don't know their mistakes we can also make the same mistakes you see. So archaeology can tell us these things and we can see our future.
- 5b) Ja, like for instance what I learnt of people in the past were that they would hunt, make artillery. These things are outdated in the current times. So, knowing my past now may enable me to improve what the ancestors did before, to be more advanced than them and to develop the African nation, the African cultures and society. So many things like colonialism and so on in the past oppressed people like slaves and that has an impact on you. It makes one feel inferior, like we were slaves. Now you'll be able to develop your nation so that it may also be of the best nations in the world.
- 5c) Yes, I confide that this is true. There is a bias in everything you see. I mean like the influence is not what I'm supposed to do when I'm an amateur, just like an ordinary person. Because if I'm a biased archaeologist, I'll be misleading people with information. I am kind of dogmatic in some things. When we first went to Welgelegen, there was this thing of Rhodes being involved and so I have my own political ideology and I'm anti-them, you see. I felt like I need to excavate some thing of African origin, not European you see. So my political views influence what I would find. Like I found out that what happened at this place Driekoppen. What they found was that Driekoppen was named after 3 slaves who were be-headed. So it was called Driekoppen. So now I mean, when they do that kind of excavation and find out about was buried below, then it hurts me inside. What I mean is the past can influence my political views, as in how whites treated people. They were also barbaric and dangerous, and also you become angry and anti-white based on what you learn from the past, if you see how they treated people. So, that is all I can say, I mean there is bias in everything, you see.
6. Ja, I would work on it again, because I believe archaeology also becomes a question of how it will function in the future., about the existing age, I mean. I believe it can work and help a lot. For instance, there is so much distorted information being given. So, it encourages a greater investigation of the practical, rather than just paper and pen. If I get as chance in future to work on an excavation, I will be very willing to work. I have a duty to teach people, because its kind of a give and take. Because I took some skills from who taught me, I must give them to other people and not just keep them for myself.
- Q. When you say "passing on the skills", would you work on any archaeological excavation or does it depend on what you think is worthwhile?

- A. I think it depends. I mean I told you there are some biases in some things that I do because of what we think now. I don't think that I would like to work if there's some archaeologists who are AWB-orientated or Afrikaner-oriented, I mean racist archaeologists. I wouldn't help those kind of people, because they'd treat me as if I'm their slave because I'm black. I think I would work on much more progressive... If I can define the word "progressive", its much more a disregard of race, colour or creed, but I mean those kind of projects that may benefit me, my people and the world at large. I would not work on any excavation, like for instance an AWB-orientated one, where they were trying to justify certain things belonging to Afrikaners, such as land, you see. For instance they might claim that the Cape was their land long before we arrived here. I wouldn't work on projects of which the consequences of the project did not benefit my people. So there's certain kind of archaeology projects that I might get involved in, but others which are anti-black or not to my own favour I will not assist in.
- 7a) Well, its a difficult question. I mean I liked it, but there are some things like to dig that takes a lot of time. I thought its a kind of quick-quick thing you see. Now I've found out that you first go to look at the field, see the topography and stuff. So I became bored. You've got to measure things, look at the soil, take photographs of the field before you excavate. Then you've got to take off the top layer before you go down step by step. I don't think that's wrong, but for my first experience it made me bored with these kind of things. So, I couldn't do what I was supposed to do. I thought we'd just take a spade and dig down wherever we wanted to. Also, some days it rained, and then you have to start from the beginning again. The rain might have destroyed some of the things that you have done the day before. When we used the trowels and brushes things went very slowly and I became bored. It is good however, because you won't miss the important data then, but for my first experience it made me very bored. I disliked them then, but I can see they were good for the excavation. One could skip some of the steps, but I believe that'll have a great impact on archaeology.
- 7b) Hmm, I don't think that could be done. When I was deeply involved in the excavation I was kind of interested, but I can't say anything that should have been increased or decreased. Perhaps if one could say what one was going to be doing the next day, like when it rains and when it doesn't. Because when it rains the whole thing that you've done is messed up you see. Maybe something can be provided in the field like a shelter to protect the site. At the end of the day you don't have to leave it wide open. Maybe one could close it, something like a piece of sink or something. Also the people who are working on the site might be provided with some piece of clothing like boots, because it is very muddy there and your shoes became dirty. Even after you've finished, you're supposed to fill the hole again... That is a long process. At Welgelegen I think it there was no option, because the excavation was in a awkward place. No bulldozer could have come there to fill the hole again. So, we had to do it with our own hands. But I think that in the field something can be done. I mean there is so much technological development that there should be a means to fill those excavated holes easily without the use of spades. Because sometimes it is a big hole.

8a) What I liked most was excavating and then finding something. Not just digging for a metre, or a few centimetres and finding nothing. If I found something, no matter what it was, as long as it was something significant to archaeology. I mean getting involved in something important in life, which can help people in the future, maybe in the year 2000 or so. I mean I've never gone to the archives in my life, I never thought I'd get the chance to go there. But through archaeology I've managed to go there and use maps to identify place. And to use a tape. So one day when I am building a house I can have the skills of using a tape. And the coffee after the excavations... (laughs).

9Q. Is there anything that you'd like to add?

A. Ja, even though there were some difficulties in the excavations I'd like to thank the people that were involved. I can then tell my children that I was once involved in a thesis and also that someone like this helped me. I think archaeology should continue and not disappear, even high schools should be taught archaeology, especially blacks schools which are deprived of those chances. They should be told how archaeology works and be given the chance to participate in history. The Zimbabweans were deprived by Rhodes and the other whites from doing so. I mean, they said that Great Zimbabwe was built by some foreigners. But through knowing archaeology we know it was wrong. Archaeology and African history go hand in glove. So in the case of Great Zimbabwe I've learnt that archaeologists had the means to trace back its origins. And that gives me joy you see. I'm going to be biased— it was built by the original African people you see. So when I write essays and assignments in African history I'll write of archaeology and history as they go hand in hand. It also gives me the chance of passing with a higher mark, because of what I learnt about archaeology. It also helps me in debates about the ancestors and how people lived before. Some people have their own distorted arguments, but mine will be backed up and I will have a stand you see. Which is a more practical than a theoretical stand. Archaeology can have important in the political fights for land, and therefore the future of the children. So, all in all I think it is a good thing, especially from the aspect of helping black schools.

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INTERVIEW #18

1a) I hope to learn techniques involving the whole process and another thing, I hope to learn about the history, the behaviour, I mean the culture, in general, of our ancestors.

1b) I learnt a lot of skills like of—I didn't know that we were going to learn such professional skills. The whole excavation was delicate you see. I mean not trying to break any kind of artefact, whatever you came across. That was the one skill that I've learnt—I thought we were going to take a bulldozer to excavate. And skills like operational skills, like laying the grid, etc.

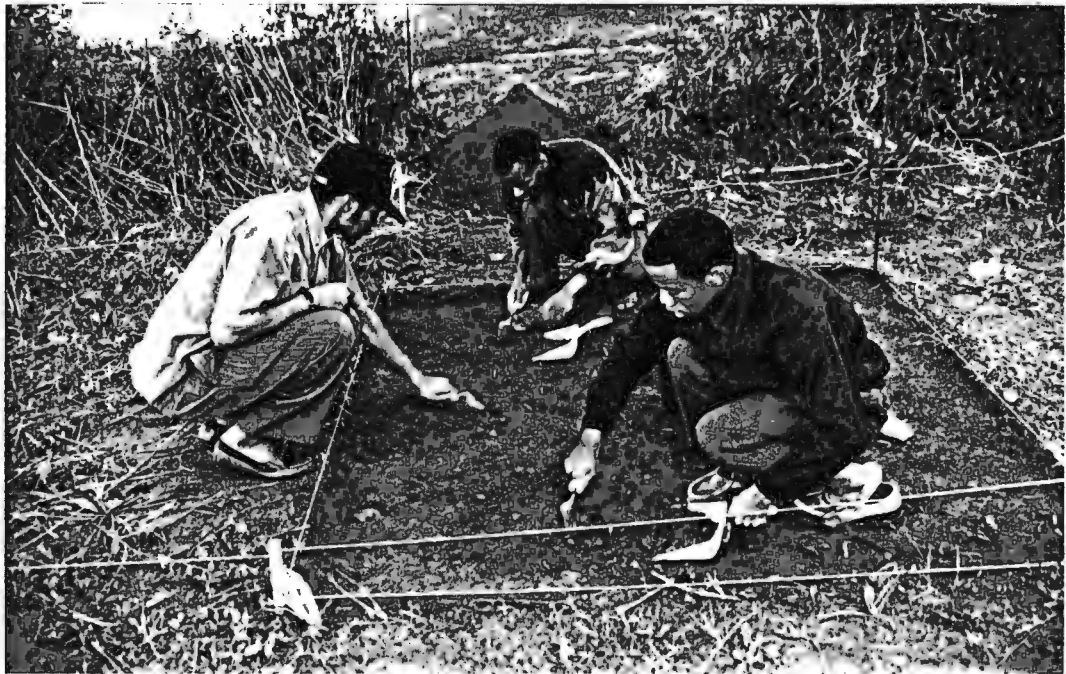
- 2a) Ja, I pray. I think so. Especially if I may proceed with archaeological studies. And this will serve as a basis.
3. No, I don't think that I'm having such skills you see. These are just the initial skills in archaeology. So a professional archaeologist, I have no way to match them or maybe advise them. In fact it is them who must give me more advice.
- Q. So they must guide you?
- A. Yes.
4. Yes, I'd say archaeology is involved right in politics. If I can go back some years—in 1820 when these settlers came here. When they came they found impressive buildings like in Matabeleland called the madzimbabwes. So they took advantage of that. They employed some archaeologists to try and find out who created these features. Then they distorted the whole thing. They said these buildings were built by the Phoenicians, that they were not of African origin. Through this they were denying African people their history. They were saying that after the Phoenicians came the bastard race who occupied the land. And this bastard race is more or less identical to the local people today. And as such the colonialists reasserted their domination by denying African people their history, by saying you have no history, you have no past.
- 5a) I regard the past as very important, because the present is something that is created by the past. You have to look back before you can understand the present society. Ja, we have to look back.
- 5b) Ja, I would say that because things like the artefacts that we found is, they are more or less still maintained in that place. They were kind of utensils you see. They are still even used.
- Q. So you're saying that artefacts today were made in the past so you could understand them in the past before you can understand them now?
- A. Yes.
- 5c) Politically I was influenced a little bit by archaeology. Ja, because you know one thing is that in archaeology I have learnt that archaeology deals more or less with the people right on the site. The "people", I'd say in quotations, on the ground. So it doesn't deal with the history of those heroes like Shaka and it deals with things you cannot even find in today's writings. Like there will never be a newspaper or any kind of media that will tell you about pieces of blades have been found somewhere. It is only through archaeology that one can learn that. I mean that is the history that is very desirable, very important.
6. Ja, I would because I'm having a little bit of that initial knowledge or consciousness.
- 7a) In excavations? Ja, in fact, like with the professional techniques used today. Sometimes I was bored. It felt like we were wasting a lot of time using that small trowel. It would take the whole day, and I didn't like that.

- 7b) No, I think archaeology is interesting. Even the methods used, according to me, are very good methods you see. But what I'm saying is that I became bored. But there's no alternative that you can use. If there is another kind of method, you are going to break artefacts. So you have to handle everything very delicately.
- Q. So you don't think there's any method whereby you can take care of artefacts and dig delicately?
- A. No, I don't think so . But I don't deny that can be another method used in future.
- 8a) One thing I liked is laying the grid and the other thing I liked very much is naming the layers as we go deeper. I liked it because I never believed that people named layers when they dig down.
- 9Q. Is there anything that you haven't spoken about that you would like to add?
- A. Ok, I will just talk about the importance of archaeology. Sometimes there are historical interviews in the archives. Archaeologists may be interested in a certain town that was situated somewhere in Egypt and now that town is no more you see. Then archaeologists can go there and bring some evidence. And as such there will be that kind of mutual relationship between history as a discipline and archaeology as disciple and they can work together and do one important thing. And the other thing about archaeology is—I think we, the African people, must try and learn the methods of excavating and be archaeologists ourselves, so as not to give the Europeans a chance to manipulate and discredit the blacks as such. Like they denied us our history—they said we were a bastard race. So we have to empower ourselves, so that we can undo the wrongs, you see.
- Q. Do you think that Europeans are still manipulating history?
- A. Ja, I would say so. They are still doing so.
- Q. How? Do you have any idea of how they do it?
- A. Ja, they've been doing it and are still doing it. Like this thing of the racist ideology . It is now an inherent thing. Even as me a black. Man, I don't see myself sometimes talking to a white lady...And I'm just there you know. Its going to be used I mean in 100 years to distort facts about Africa
- Q. Ok, So you are saying that kind of racist ideology you'll find in archaeologists even if they are not aware of it?
- A. Ja, but if you want to create an meaning you just create it without—I mean you just take an certain artefact and just create an ideology or meaning without having been aware of or analysing the whole thing. You just want a very beautiful thing and say "Ok, this cannot be of African origin. It was created by ..." you know. You are not analysing the whole thing and trying to find out more. So there are such kinds of archaeologists. And one of them was a Hall, but not Martin Hall. It was another Hall. Who was working for this guy they call Neil Hall.
- Q. Was this at Great Zimbabwe?
- A. They distorted facts, man. I hate them.

Appendix 4

**Photographs of the Students from Khanya College
and Wesley Primary School**

The Khanya College Students at Welgelegen



The Wesley Primary School Students
at Newlands Forest and Welgelegen



Newlands Forest



Welgelegen

Appendix 5

Faizal's Journey:

Popular Resource

produced from

Wesley Project

Faizal's Journey



DISCOVERING THE PAST
THROUGH OBJECTS

COMMUNITY EDUCATION
RESOURCES

- In this book you will find -

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PART 2: ARCHAEOLOGY IN ACTION

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Compiled and designed by Rushdi Nackerdien
Illustrations by Trish de Villiers
and Rushdi Nackerdien

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- Where does this book come from? -

The Community Education Resources project (CER) attempts to make university research accessible to the broader community. This book is one such an attempt, focussing specifically on archaeology. As part of CER, I approached Molo Songololo, a children's magazine, for help. They placed me in contact with Wesley Primary School in Salt River, where I completed a series of workshops with 15 pupils from Standard 4 and 5. These workshops form the basis for this popular resource.

◆ Who is this book for?

Faizal's Journey is an introduction to archaeology for both children and teachers in the Western Cape. It is directed mainly at senior-primary schoolpupils. Faizal's Journey builds on the complimentary relationship between archaeology and history. Currently, archaeology is only taught at universities and museums. However, there is a belief and hope shared amongst many archaeologists that it can also be taught at schools.

◆ How does this book work?

The book is divided into two parts. Part 1 is a story, introducing Faizal and his first experience with the archaeological past. Part 2 focusses on what archaeology means and how it is used in the study of the past. Certain terms are written like this, eg. **artefacts**, and are explained by Faizal. There is also an exercise on page 13 for you to do. This exercise will help you understand the process of archaeology better.

Hallo, my name is Faizal.
Come with me on a journey
into the past!



This hand will guide you to all the sections in Part 2 that relate to the exercise.

I hope this book proves useful and enjoyable.

Ruudhi

◆ A special note to the educator/teacher

This book not only provides information about archaeology in Southern Africa, but also attempts to build children's cognitive skills through working with physical objects. The exercise mentioned above is replicable in class. The scope of the exercise has been limited in this book, but its full potential can be explored further by the educator.

In Part 2, I have attempted to create a "logical" flow to the information, but it is up to your discretion to make it work effectively in your teaching context. A brief outline of my workshops is included at the end of the book to assist you in this process.

Any comments and questions will be highly appreciated and can be sent to Community Education Resources. The address appears at the bottom of the facing page.

PART 1: FAIZAL'S JOURNEY

◆ 1 On the beach ◆

It was a glorious sunny day on the beach as Zaida chased Faizal playfully across the sand. Just as she was about to catch him, he fell. Laughing, he struggled to his feet and stubbed his toe on a stone half-buried in the sand. "Ouch!", he shouted, rubbing his foot and staring at the stone. "Hey", he said, "look at these funny stones".



Zaida stooped down. "Why, these look almost like stone tools," she said. "Like what?", came Faizal's question filled with surprise. "Like stone tools. And here's some pottery!", continued Zaida excitedly, picking up a fragment of stone that looked just like a piece of broken cup.

Faizal was amazed that his sister could become excited over stones. "Zaida is going totally crazy. Maybe she's been in the sun too long", he thought. She was saying, "These stones were shaped like this by people who lived here maybe thousands of years ago! Just look at these marks on the stone and at these bits of pottery!". Faizal peered a bit closer. "Is Zaida trying to poke fun at me. She's always teasing me. That does look like pottery, but the other stuff just looks like pretty stones to me", he thought.

"Here, are these stone tools too?", Faizal asked, showing Zaida more stones. "Yes", Zaida answered, and she tried to explain how the stone tools came to be there. "I don't understand what you're saying", Faizal said. Zaida decided to start again.

"At university I am doing a subject called Archaeology. It is just like history, but does not only use books to learn about the past. Archaeologists look at the things people left behind and threw away, like rubbish. Everyday we use and throw away things which archaeologists could study to learn about us! As we throw away rubbish today, people in the past threw away what they considered to be rubbish. When we learn what that rubbish was, we can study it and learn about what they ate, what their houses looked like, how they lived".

"Zaida's starting to make sense now. I always know what Mommy is making for supper by looking in the kitchen-bin in the afternoon. The peels and the packets show whether we're having stew or fried foods that night", Faizal thought.

"But the only tools I know of are made of iron and wood", said Faizal. Zaida said, "Yes, today we know how to make such tools. Long ago people did not have these things. They had to use stones, plants and the bones and skins of animals". "So these stone tools and pottery were left behind by people long ago?" asked Faizal. "Exactly", replied Zaida, pleased that her younger brother understood what she was trying to explain.

"People in the past could make and shape ordinary pieces of stone into very delicate tools, just like this. Look at how carefully this piece of stone has been chipped to this shape". She showed him a fragment of stone that looked like a half-moon. "Hmm," Faizal thought, "those tiny marks all along the edge do look very regular, but I still don't believe that people made them".



"How can you be sure that these are stone tools?", he asked. Zaida answered uncertainly, "Well, I'm not totally sure. They look like some tools I have seen before". Faizal looked at his sister. She often teased him about things he didn't know enough about. Zaida could see that Faizal did not believe her. "Okay, okay, why don't we take some home and then we can look through my books to see if they really are stone tools".

They collected a few stone tools* to show their mother and then had a race to the car.

* Read Part 2 about picking up stone tools.

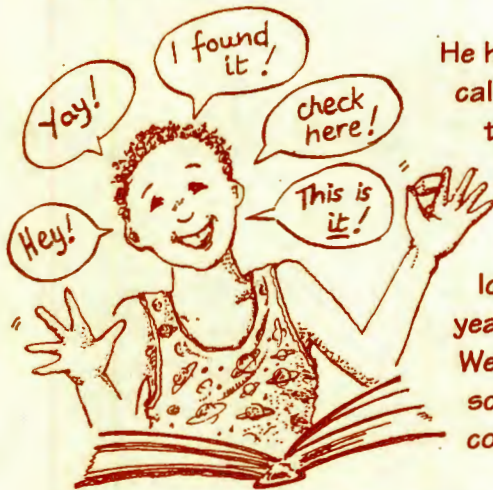


◆ 2 At home ◆

"Why don't you take this book and I'll take that one", Zaida said as she handed Faizal one of her archaeology books. There were hundreds of little pictures of stone tools in the book Faizal had.



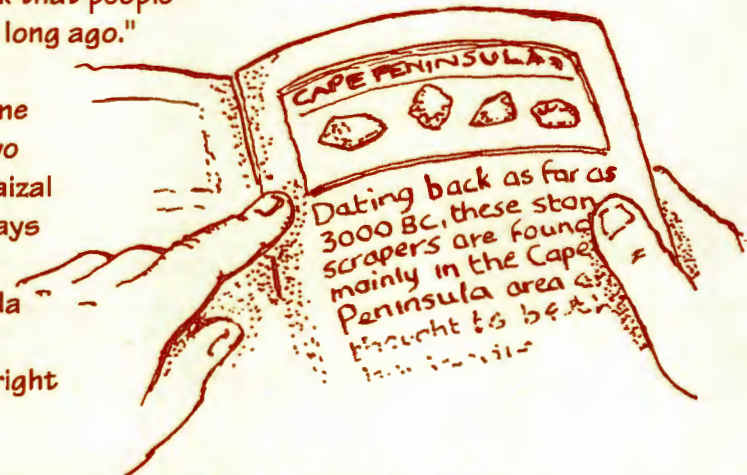
"None of these pictures look like these stones we found on the beach", he thought. After a while, Faizal turned the page to a section that read "Cape Peninsula". Suddenly he shouted, "Look, I've found it".



He handed the book to Zaida, showing her a drawing of what was called a "Late Stone Age Scraper". The drawing looked identical to the piece of stone he held in his hand. Faizal was really excited that he had found the drawing they were looking for.

Zaida read the writing below the drawing. "You're right. And look, it says here that this stone tool can be more than 5000 years old". Faizal was stunned. "More than 5000 years old? We've never learnt about time so long ago in school. I did not think that people could have lived that long ago."

Then Zaida hesitated. "It says here that these stone tools are very rare. They have only been found at two places in the entire South Africa". She looked at Faizal and he could see that she was scared. "We are always warned in class to be very careful about picking up material from archaeological sites", she said. "Zaida sounds scared", Faizal thought, "but we found something really important! I'm going to tell Mom right now."



"Tomorrow we must phone the archaeologists at the university and tell them what we've found", Zaida said. Faizal replied, "I'm sure they will be happy about what we've found". Zaida felt more relaxed then. "Come, I'll show you more of what I know about archaeology". Faizal

sat very quietly as Zaida showed him photographs of archaeological sites and rock paintings. She explained how archaeologists learnt about people in the past.

By the time night came, they were both exhausted. Faizal had asked so many questions that Zaida could not answer all of them. That night Faizal had trouble falling asleep. He was still excited about what they had found that day. He had finally drifted into a deep sleep, when he started to dream...



◆ 3 Faizal's dream ◆

He was walking in a narrow valley in the Cedarberg. There were luscious green plants and bushes as far as the eye could see. He could hear a river and walked tentatively towards the bubbling sound. The river snaked through a clearing in the bushes. He drank the clear fresh water and looked around curiously. There was a rocky overhang several metres above the river. He decided to climb to it, so that he could see further.



Nestling in the stony shelter, he sat down to rest. The valley seemed to stretch endlessly towards the sun, but widened in the opposite direction. Slowly Faizal became aware that there was something different about this shelter. He turned around expectantly. The back wall was covered with rock paintings!

The drawings looked like they had been painted very recently. That was strange... Could it be that he was in the past?

Suddenly, he heard soft footsteps approaching. He tried to hide, but the footsteps were too close. He turned to face the stranger. It was a boy. The boy looked the same age as Faizal. They stared at each other wordlessly. Faizal hesitantly said: "Hallo..."

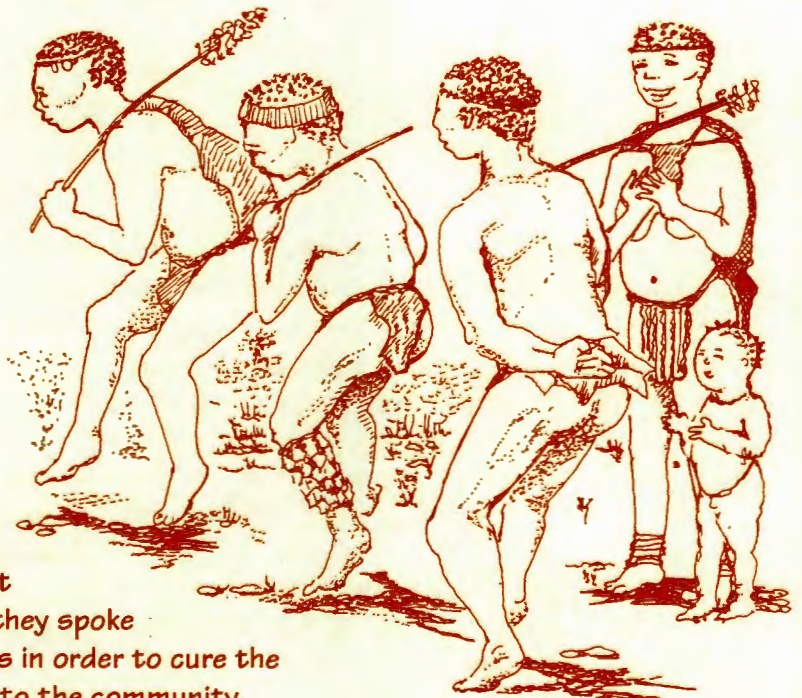


"Who are you?", the boy asked. Although he spoke a different language, Faizal understood what the boy was saying. "My name is Faizal", he answered. "Where do you come from?", enquired the boy again. "I am from a different time, the future". The boy did not act surprised at all. "I'm Ukwane. I live here", he gestured broadly to the valley. "I dreamt last night that you would come here". Faizal was shocked! He did not even know this boy, and the boy was dreaming of him...And in his own dream...How was this possible?

◆ 4 Ukwane's life ◆

"When my father danced here last night, I danced with him and in my dream-dance I saw you come. I did not tell what I saw. When Old Mother Tu was healed and Father had painted, everyone left this place. I stayed and thought about what I saw in my dream".

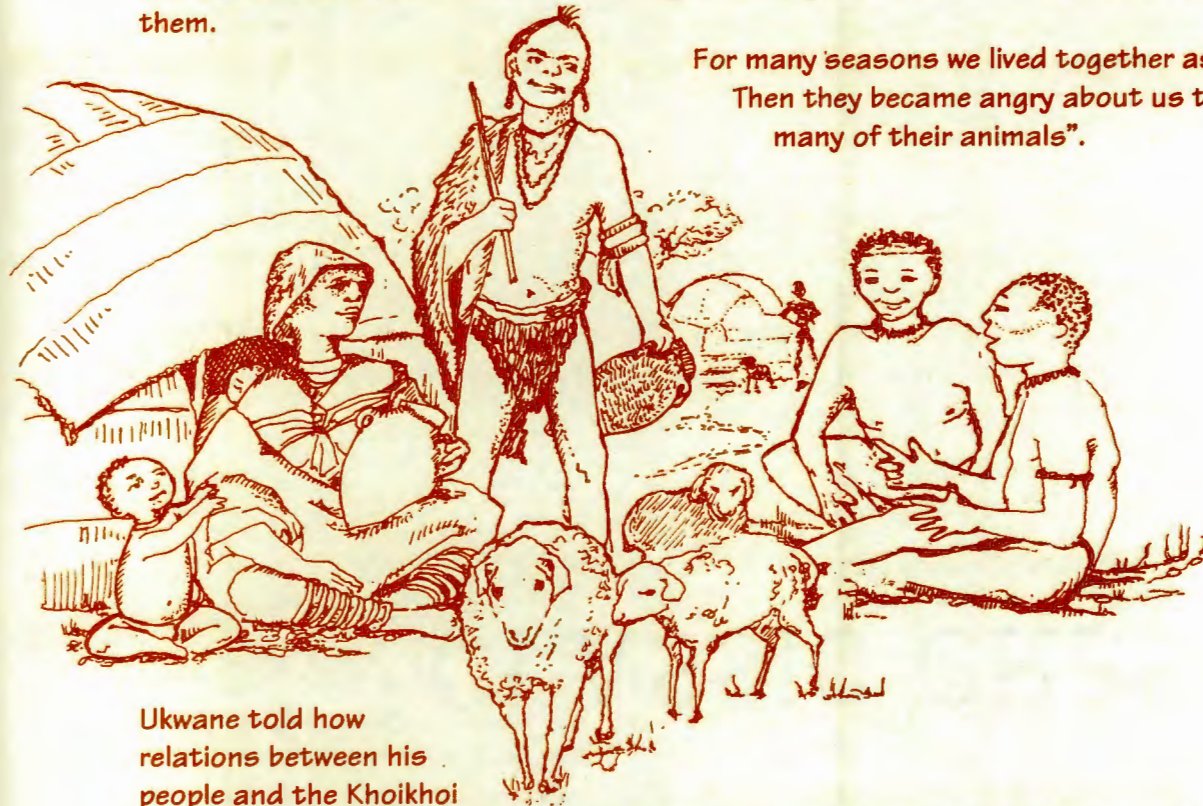
Ukwane was saying that he was learning to be a healer in his community. He was learning from his Father and when they danced, they went into a dream-like state. In this dream, they spoke to good spirits and fought the bad ones in order to cure the sick or to bring goodwill and happiness to the community. Sometimes they succeeded in their attempts, sometimes they did not. Often they would show their families what they saw in their dream-state by painting it on the walls of caves or shelters like this one.



"What did you see in your dream?", Faizal asked. "I saw you walking there. You came from a different world and wore different skins from us. You wanted to know of my world. My heart said that this was good. I tried to lead you into my world. I knew I had succeeded, but it took great effort. That's how I knew you would come here". Faizal accepted Ukwane's explanation. It all made sense in his dream. "Does your family live close by?" Faizal wanted to know more about Ukwane and how he lived. "Yes, at the top of the valley. We have lived here for many moons now, ever since the people with the sheep and pottery came".

Ukwane was talking about the Khoikhoi. "When they first arrived from the north, we welcomed them. Many of my people came together to speak to the strangers, who lived in mat-houses and wore skins on their feet. We exchanged many gifts and found it difficult to speak with them.

For many seasons we lived together as friends. Then they became angry about us taking too many of their animals".



Ukwane told how relations between his people and the Khoikhoi

changed. Some of his friends decided to stay with the Khoikhoi, but others left to live in the mountains. Ukwane's family decided to move to the mountains and came here, to the Cedarberg. They still had contact with the Khoikhoi, who lived mainly on the coast, and often traded with them for pottery.

Life in the mountains was much harder than before. There were less animals to hunt and the ground was hard and stony to dig for plant-foods. There were many dangerous animals, like leopards, in the mountains.

When they went to the coast, they had to be careful about going too close to where the Khoikhoi lived. They were often accused of stealing sheep and then had to leave as fights threatened to break out. Ukwane still had several friends amongst the Khoikhoi though, and spoke to them often. His friends herded sheep and acted as guards for the Khoikhoi. Ukwane sounded very sad when he spoke about his friends and his harsh life in the mountains.



“Since we have moved to the mountains, we have dream-danced more than I can remember. I have learnt much in this time”. Ukwane sounded happier now that he was talking about the healing-dances. It seemed that Ukwane was glad to have such an important role to fulfil in his community. “I have learnt to paint my dreams well and we now dance many times before the new moon arrives”, he said. “Previously, we only danced when people were ill or when we needed rain”. Ukwane paused slightly. “I have heard stories of healers going to the coast to live with the people with the sheep. In return for staying there, they do healing and rain-calling for the strangers”.

◆ 5 Ukwane, the healer ◆

“Are all these paintings dreams?”, Faizal asked, gesturing to the shelter wall behind them. Ukwane’s mood immediately lifted as he answered excitedly. “Oh yes! My family and our ancestors painted here long before Old Mother Tu was born. She does not know when my ancestors first came here”. Pointing to a faint outline of an animal covered by many paintings, he said: “Old Mother Tu says that this eland was the first painting by our ancestors.



Each time we dance, we touch it and enter into the spirit world, where our ancestors live. When we paint our dreams, we always try and paint close to it, so that our paintings can also become powerful. Each generation, one of my family is chosen to repaint the eland, renewing its power”.

Ukwane paused again and Faizal sensed that he was going to say something extremely important. "Several seasons ago, I was chosen".

Ukwane was speaking with pride and Faizal was struck with awe. This boy in his dream was more important than he had imagined. Ukwane's family was struggling to survive, more so than at any time before, and Ukwane had been chosen to repeat a family ritual that had its origin further in the past than his eldest relative could remember. This ritual was vital for his family to continue healing the sick in his community.



◆ 6 Faizal wakes up ◆

Faizal woke up with a start. The cat had knocked one of his books off the table. He lay awake for a long time thinking about his dream and Ukwane and the important stone tools they had found... While he was getting dressed, Faizal decided to spend his holiday finding out more about archaeology.

-- THE END --

Join Faizal in discovering more about the past.

Turn the page to learn more!



PART 2: ARCHAEOLOGY IN ACTION

◆ 1 What is archaeology? ◆

Archaeology is very similar to history. Both have to do with studying the past. So, how are they different? Well, the most important difference lies in the **sources** they use to investigate the past. Historical sources tend to be printed or written records, while archaeological sources are objects. As most historical sources are also objects, they are also archaeological sources.

Remember that you always use or interpret sources to gain as much evidence as possible, and to see how they are similar or different. The more sources you use, the more reliable your evidence will be.

Historical Sources



photos



story-telling or oral history



books, newspapers and documents

Archaeological Sources



rock paintings



buildings



stone tools

Where does archaeology come from?

Archaeology was developed in the 18th and 19th century. Early archaeologists were more like treasure-hunters. They destroyed temples and tombs, in search of treasure and works of art. The more valuable, the better! Today, archaeologists are more interested in the people who made and used the objects, than the objects themselves. They have learnt to be much more careful when they examine archaeological sites.

The other major difference between history and archaeology is the way archaeologists gain their evidence. Most archaeological evidence is buried beneath the soil and therefore has to be dug up or excavated. **Excavation** destroys evidence about the past, so archaeologists keep records and notes of everything happening on the site. The buried clues archaeologists study are all objects. We can also call them **artefacts** or **material culture**. Zaida compares these clues to rubbish. They can be anything, from books to bones to cans to clothes to ruins of old houses.

For a variety of reasons these artefacts survive for us to study them. Some artefacts survive because they are believed to be important or valuable, like jewelry.

Sources are the clues you use to learn more about something.

Excavation is the digging that archaeologists do.

Artefacts or material culture are the things we make and use in their everyday lives.



Can you think of more reasons? Look around you. All the objects you can see may one day become archaeological evidence! Think about which ones are more likely to survive than others and why. Try and make a list of all the reasons you can think of.

TRY THIS EXERCISE



At home, look at the rubbish in your garbage can. Then imagine:

You are an archaeologist in the year 2401. You have discovered some ancient artefacts in a garbage can. Try and make groups of all the similar objects you find. None of these groups will be perfect. Some of the artefacts will always fit into more than one of your groups. But try to make the groups work as best possible. Once you've done this, see what you can learn about the people who made the artefacts?

Here are some questions that you can ask:

- ◆ Who does the rubbish belong to? How can you tell?
- ◆ How did the artefacts get there? Were they placed there on purpose or were they thrown away? Did they all end up there on one occasion or over a few days or weeks?
- ◆ How old are the artefacts? Is there a date on any of them? Was this the date the artefact was thrown away or when it was made?
- ◆ What were the artefacts used for? How were they made? Were they made by hand or by machine? What do they tell you about that society?
- ◆ What kind of food did people eat in the past? Was it fresh food or packaged food? What was their favourite meal?

Now create a story about the people whose artefacts you found. Try to combine all the information from the different groups into one story.



How did you know certain things about the rubbish? Like what one could eat? We know a lot about objects without realising it. All objects have a meaning. We learn the meanings of objects and if we see them daily, we don't think long about the meaning any more. We know the meaning of the object instantly!

Artefacts from the past also have different meanings. These artefacts won't tell us their meaning, and we can only get limited information from them. So, we must often look elsewhere to learn what meaning people gave them. We can see how other societies live or try to copy the artefacts to find out how they were made. Do you know of other ways in which we can learn the meaning of objects?



◆ 2 Finding out how old it is ◆

All studies of the past depend on an ability to establish the age of an event or object. This allows you to gather other information about that time-period. When we talk about time we think of seconds, minutes, hours, days, weeks, years, decades and centuries. Most time is normally expressed in terms of the birth of Jesus Christ. We speak of BC for the years before his birth and AD for the years after.

In this drawing below we can see that human history is long, and yet still so short. The time-period that archaeologists study is called the archaeological record. This deals only with the human past. The study of past life in general, like dinosaurs, is called **palaeontology**.

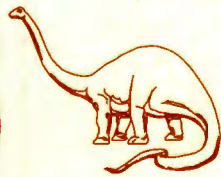


Some of the pieces of rubbish we examined earlier, like newspapers, have dates printed or written on them. This makes the task of finding out the date of an event easier.

Today we know:



the Earth is 4000 million years old



dinosaurs became extinct 65 million years



our oldest human ancestors are 3 to 4 million years old



less than 2000 years have past since the birth of Christ

But what happens when you don't have anything with a date printed on it?

In archaeology there are often no documents to help date objects. We then have to date the objects themselves. Scientific methods can be used to date parts of an object or the soil in which the object is found.

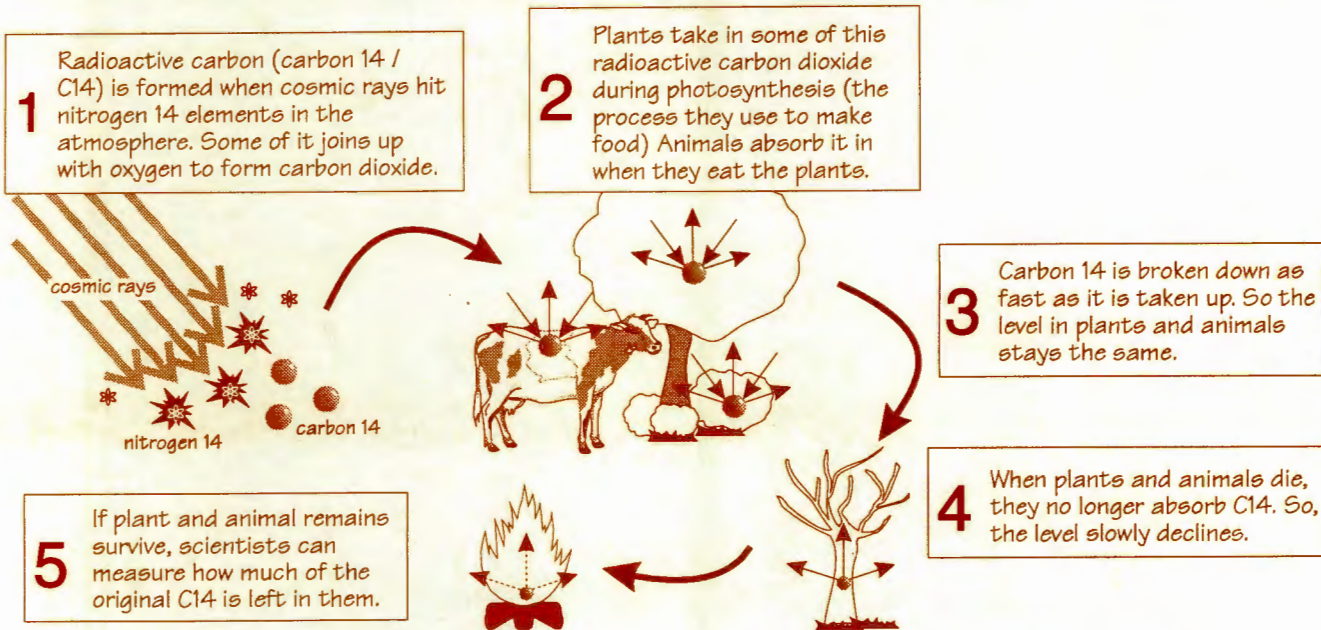
All objects are made of **chemical elements**. The oxygen we breathe in is an example of such a chemical element. The air we breathe out is called carbon dioxide. Oxygen and carbon dioxide are found in the air around us. These elements are so small that they are invisible to the naked eye. Some elements are unstable and change into new elements over a long period of time. Such unstable elements are called **radioactive elements**. Scientists have discovered how long it takes for some of these elements to change into new forms. So, they can measure how much of such an element is left in an object and from this, learn how old the object is. The most common means of using radioactive elements to date objects is called **radiocarbon dating**.

Chemical elements are the basic form of all objects. Everything consists of one or more elements.

Say pay-leo-on-tollow-gee



Carbon comes in different forms, from charcoal to diamonds. Charcoal from fires is one of the most common forms of carbon. Radiocarbon dating work as follows:



Just as you try to use many sources, you compare different dating methods with one another. This will allow you to judge the more correct age of an event or object.

◆ 3 Excavating an archaeological site ◆



How would you excavate the pile of rubbish you found? Would you simply dig it out quickly, with a spade?

Most archaeological excavations don't happen "quickly". The work takes a long time and has to be well-planned. There are however some occasions when excavations are done quickly. This happens when places of archaeological value are going to be destroyed, through either erosion or the building of houses or roads. These sites have to be "rescued" in a very short period of time. Archaeologists never dig just for the sake of digging. They are always guided by specific questions they want to answer. These questions are developed over time, after other sources are looked at.

So, how do archaeologists know where to start excavating?

Here are some ways sites are found:



Before any excavation happens, the archaeological sites need to be found. Just like you "found" an archaeological site in your garbage can!

- ◆ Sites can be discovered by chance. Many discoveries have been made by people building houses or digging in their backyards or in their gardens.
- ◆ Sites are most commonly found by searching an area on foot. When sites are identified, their location is drawn on a map so that they can be found easily again.
- ◆ Written records, like old maps and documents, often help us find archaeological sites.
- ◆ Some sites are so big that they can only be seen properly from the air. Many large sites can be found by looking at photographs taken by an aeroplane.

How are sites formed?

Archaeological sites are formed over long periods of time. Often, over thousands of years, soil-layers are built up to create a deposit. To understand how these layers relate to one another, they have to slowly be "peeled" apart. This cannot be done with spades and pickaxes. In most cases, archaeologists use trowels and brushes to uncover artefacts and to find these different layers. In order to recover very small artefacts, a sieve is used.

Sieved material is then carefully sorted before it is discarded.

Keeping careful records

All archaeological sites are "destroyed" or modified if you remove something from them. So, information about the past is lost. As a site can never be replaced as it existed, every possible attempt is made to record and note every detail of the site during an excavation.

This includes taking photographs, making drawings, updating plans, marking layers and artefacts, and keeping a diary of the daily events on a site. The different layers of a site form one of the most crucial drawings that are made. These are the most obvious clues we may have about the formation of the site.



to excavating



Surveying the site

Every site has to be surveyed before and during excavations. By walking over the site, you can get an idea of where to begin the excavation. An accurate plan must then be drawn of the site. Surveying equipment like a theodolite is used for this purpose. This plan can be updated as the excavation is in progress. The site is then divided into a large grid of numbered squares. These squares help us locate artefacts accurately on our map. This plan can then be used to tell us how the site was formed.

Planning and permission

All excavations need to be planned well. This planning involves the amount of money, time, labour and equipment necessary for the excavation and the analysis that will follow. Excavations cannot be done by one person, but require several people to help. Because sites are protected by law, all excavations require a permit from the National Monuments Council. You also need to consult the landowner before any digging can begin.

◆ 4 After the excavation ◆

Although archaeologists gain much of their information from excavations, more time is spent analysing artefacts in laboratories than in the field. After the excavation some artefacts are sent away to special laboratories where they can be dated. While this is being done, the other artefacts can be cleaned. They are then sorted into similar groups, just like we did with the rubbish earlier. Descriptions of all the artefacts are recorded into a book or onto a computer. Artefacts from different layers can then be compared with one another. We can then understand how different artefacts and layers relate to each other.

We can then start investigating the other sources we might have. Some of the artefacts can be analysed for information. From the bones of animals, we can learn what our ancestors ate. The kinds of plant and animal remains we find can give us clues to how people used plants and animals to survive.

The most common plant and animal remains are bones, teeth, plant seeds, leaves and pollen grains.

Plant remains don't only tell us what people ate. We can learn whether people farmed with crops or gathered underground plant foods. They also indicate the kind of climate that existed in the past.



The remains of underground plants.

The Giant Cape Buffalo became extinct when the climate became warmer 12 000 years ago. It was as big as an elephant.



The bones on archaeological sites were left there by humans or predators, like lions. We have to sort out which bones are the result of human activity.

Cutmarks on the bones can help us see whether people cut the meat of the bones with tools. Predator toothmarks would leave different scars on bone.



Our bones live and grow along with us. The food we eat helps this growth. When we die, traces of our diet can be found in our bones. We can now learn about people's diet by examining human bones.

If you lived at the coast and ate a lot of seafood, the traces in your bones would be different from those of someone who ate a lot of plant crops in the mountains.



All these bits and pieces of information can be slowly pieced together to create a picture of what we think life was like in the past. No presentation of the past can be complete though. The picture we build is only made by the evidence we can find and by as many of the sources as we can use at the time.

Faizal's dream is based on archaeological information we have at the moment. It is an example of how information about the past has been accumulated over several years to create a picture of life at the Cape 2000 years ago. This information can change, as new discoveries are always being made. The development of new technology may also allow us to gain more information from archaeological sites in the future than we ever had before. Even the information we have now can be interpreted differently by different people. You must always find out as much as possible before you decide which version is more acceptable.

Faizal has learnt about archaeology, now it's your turn!



◆ 5 Finding out more about archaeology ◆

Think of ways in which you can find out about your own past and where you come from. You can ask your family or teacher to help you. Start by looking for documents about your past, like photographs, certificates. Don't forget to ask your granny or your grandfather or any other relatives, like your uncles and aunts, to tell you about where they come from and your family's history. Then, look around your house at objects that have been in your family's possession for a long time. See how much you can learn from these objects. You can ask some of the questions we asked in the rubbish exercise. Find out as much as you possibly can about your past. Then, using all the information you have gathered, write a story about who you are, where you've come from and how you have come to live where you are today.

You can find out more about archaeology from the following books:

- ◆ *Searching for the past* by A.J.B. Humphries
A good and inexpensive introduction to archaeology.
- ◆ *The early history of southern Africa to AD 1500* (chart/handbook)
A description of the archaeological past in southern Africa
- ◆ *Pictures from the Past* by R.Yates, J. Parkington & T. Manhire.
A look at rock art in southern Africa.
- ◆ *Origins of the African People of the Johannesburg Area* by R. Mason
This book examines black farming and herding in Transvaal .

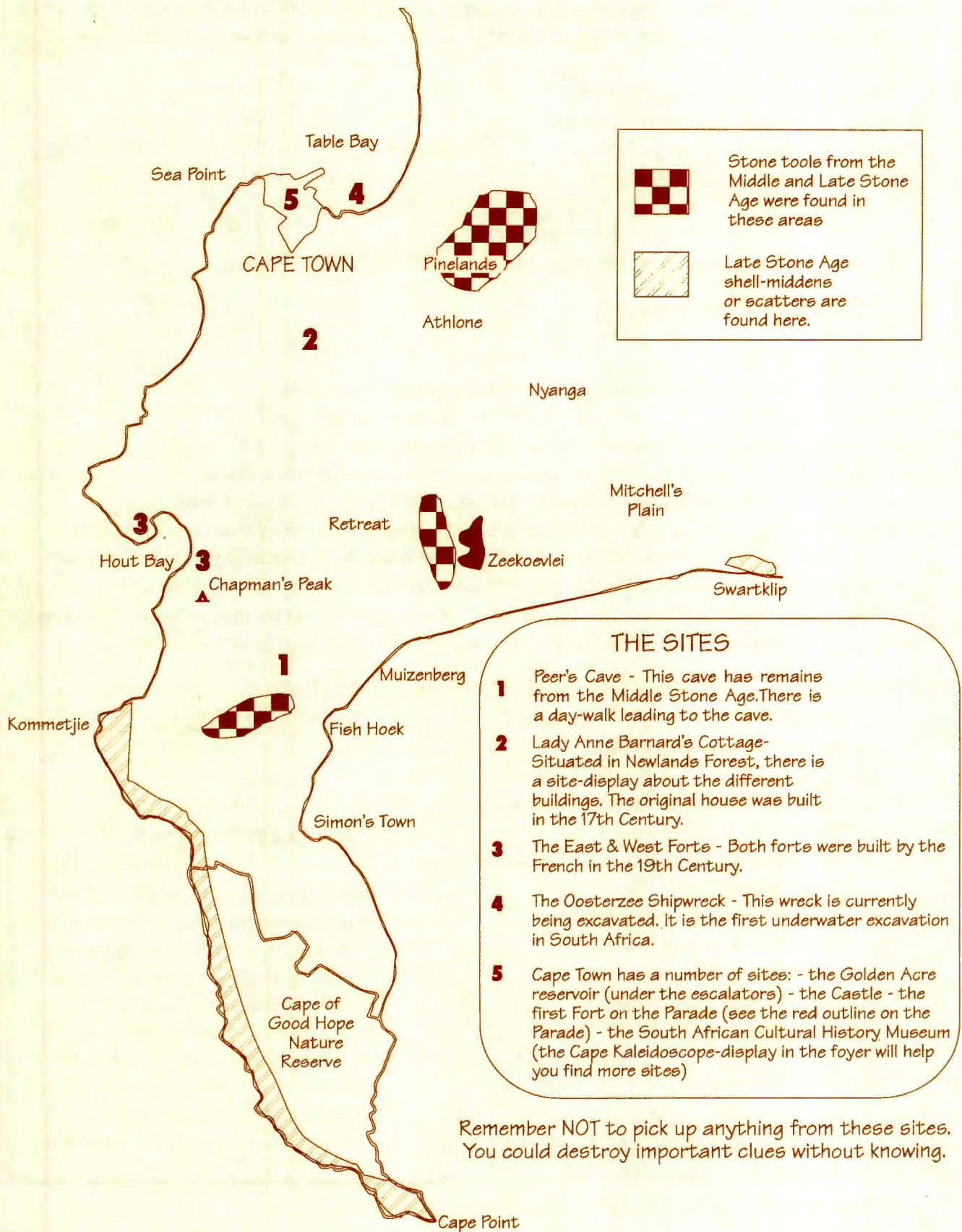
All these books are available from major libraries or bookshops. The chart/handbook can be bought from the South African Museum curio-shop in Cape Town.



IMPORTANT

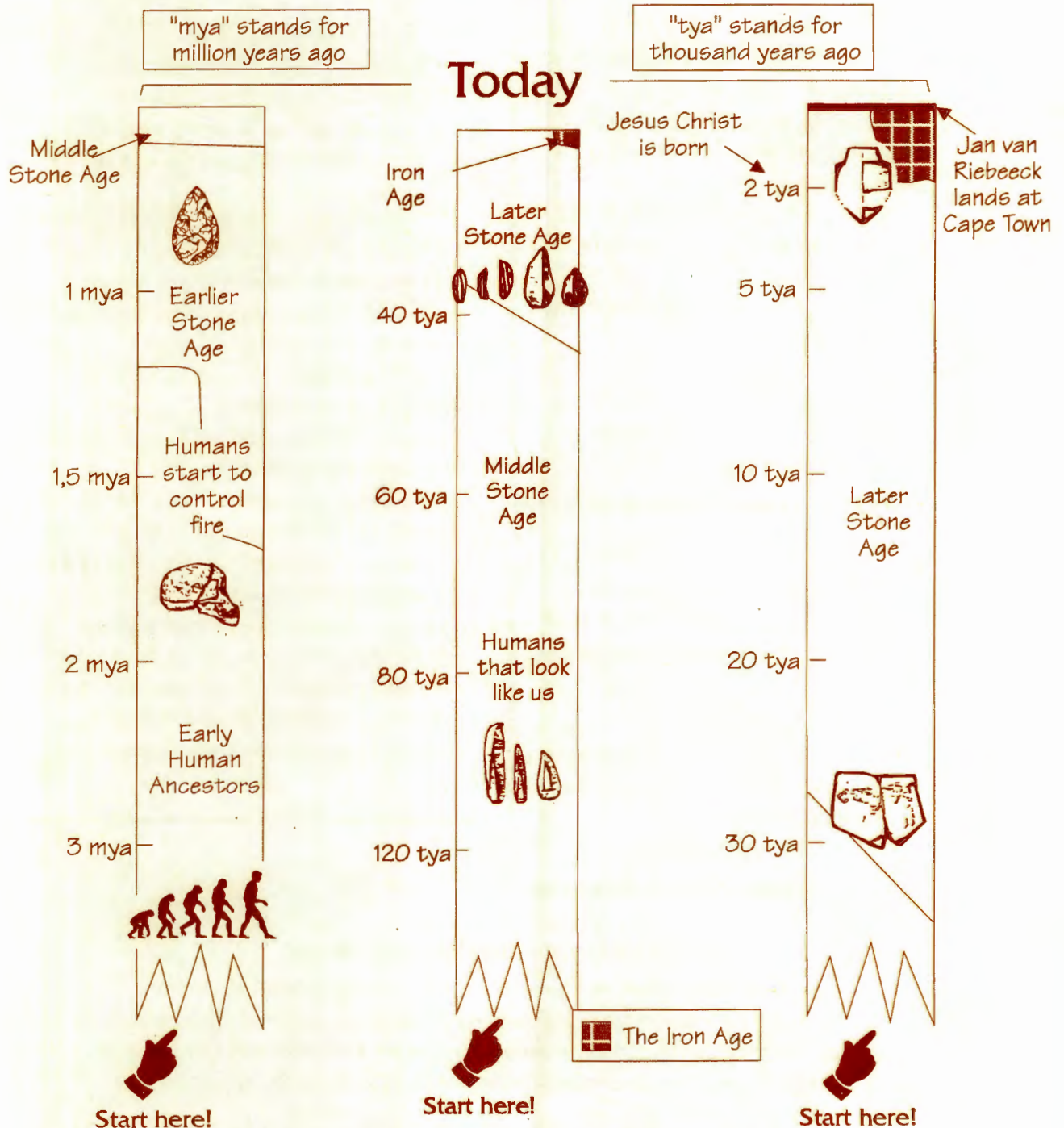
Archaeological sites form part of our heritage and are protected by law. It is illegal to disturb an archaeological site by picking up or digging up artefacts without permission. If you do find something that you think is an archaeological site or an artefact, please contact the Archaeology Department at the university or museum closest to you for advice.

◆ 6 Important Archaeological Sites in the Cape Peninsula ◆



◆ 7 The Archaeological Record in Southern Africa ◆

This record of time represents human evolution in Southern Africa. It also shows technological changes in the last 3 million years. Each drawing shows such a change or advance. Start at the bottom of the left column and work your way up to the present. This column is a summary of the other two, which show the Middle and Later Stone Ages in more detail.



In Southern Africa, the archaeological record consists of the Stone Ages and the Iron Age. The Stone Age is split into 3 smaller phases. Each of these phases saw the making of smaller stone tools. In the last 2000 years, humans were advancing faster than ever before. New people had come into Southern Africa and brought new technology or advances, like iron-smelting, pottery or sheep and cattle. Try and find out what each of the drawings indicate. The timeline will act as a guide.

Grateful acknowledgement goes to the South African Archaeological Society for allowing the use and adaptation of the timeline from the chart "The early history of southern Africa to AD 1500".

◆ 8 My workshop structure ◆

I hope that this outline of my workshops will help teachers use this booklet in a classroom situation or a similar context. The three workshops were held at Wesley Primary School and each one was about 2 hours long. Here is a brief description of the 3 workshops:

#1 This workshop is an introduction to archaeology. It focusses on archaeology as part of our daily lives, instead of as a subject, done at university.

1. Introduction: What do you think archaeology is about?
2. Input on archaeology - What is archaeology, compared with history
3. Rubbish exercise - role play
4. Brief input on society and symbols
5. Time and the archaeological record
6. Questions/Summary/Closure

#3 This workshop attempts to show the abundance of information that archaeology has provided about the southern African past.

1. South African archaeology--The Stone Age (use artefacts, time-line and slides)
2. Slide-show on rock art
3. Questions/Summary/Closure

#2 The focus is on the practice of archaeology. This includes excavation and some scientific methods used to find out about the past.

1. Where does archaeology come from?
2. How does archaeology get done?
3. The different stages of archaeological research
 - a) finding sites
 - b) deciding to excavate
 - c) working on site--deposit, layers, stratigraphy, excavation

TASK: Use Pythagoras' Theorem to lay out a grid. Two 90 degree-triangles will provide you with a rectangle which can be subdivided into squares.

 - d) working in the lab--classification, dating objects and learning about diet
 - e) making sense of finds--sources to use
 - f) writing and publishing a report
5. Slide-show/Summary/Closure

Some thoughts on the workshops...

- ◆ A break after each major task worked well in maintaining pupils' attention.
- ◆ Allowing the pupils to summarize the major points of each workshop similarly proved useful, especially for them. This can also serve as an evaluation of the session.
- ◆ Making the major informational sections more task-orientated would be an improvement.
- ◆ Workshop #3 was a very information-intensive workshop. The provision of actual artefacts and slides helped to keep it interesting. Ideally, it may have been better to introduce this information over a longer time-period.
- ◆ To complete the series of workshops, I took students on a trip to an archaeological site and involved them in an excavation. This is something you could consider... Contact your nearest Archaeology Department to find out about this possibility.

◆ 9 What a group of children thought ◆

Here are some of the comments of the children from Wesley Primary School...

I learnt never to take apart artifacts. That people have different views of things.
You learn about people of the past and about how their lifestyles.

If you are an archeologist sometimes you have to memorize things and that's what I hate. I learnt about the extinct animals and dinosaurs.
It's illegal to

The sorting of rubbish told me more about the person who had lived in the past. excavate without a permit.
it was fun and interesting. rock paintings and heritage.

That you should not write on rock arts because you are actually destroying your own heritage. I never thought archeologists also do Under water exploring.


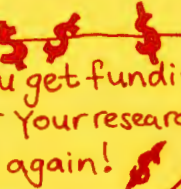

I would like to know more about archeology by reading the book.



◆ 10 Acknowledgements ◆



Many people contributed to this resource in all its different stages. I would like to thank specifically Mr. Shaw, Mr. Ebrahim, Mr Johnson, Mr Louw, Mr Forbes (from Wesley Primary), Patric (from Molo), Fadiel (from MTF), Elaine, Antonia, John Parkington, John Lanham, Trish, Rustum, Juanita, Marion, Rose and the CER Masters' Group (Bruce, Jeanne, Valmont and Julie). A special thanks goes to Erica, Zaid and Alicia for support.


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THE EXCAVATION GAME...


1 START → **2** **3** Apply for a permit to do an excavation. Move 3 places  **4** **5** You fail to apply for an excavation-permit. Start again  **6** **7** You get funding for your research. Play again!  **8** People volunteer to help you with your project. Move 2 places 

16 **15** **4** You leave to go on your excavation. Move 1 place  **13** **12** You buy equipment. Play again  **11** **10** You lose all your project plans and notes. Miss 3 turns **9**

17 You forgot some tools at home. Reverse 4 places. **18** **19** **20** **21** Rain delays your work. Miss 2 turns  **22** You start digging. Move 2 places  **23** **24** **25**

34 **33** **32** The dig ends early. Move 5 places **31** **30** **29** **28** **27** Everyone gets sick on site. Miss 1 turn  **26**

35 **34** The landowner objects to your digging on her land. Miss 2 turns  **35** **37** **38** You did not label your artefacts. Go back to 28  **39** **40** You begin to analyse the artefacts. Move 1 place  **41** **42** Samples are sent away for dating. Play again

51 You make a mistake in your research. Miss 1 turn **50** **49** **48** The radio-carbon dates confirm your ideas. Move 6 places  **47** **46** **45** **44** You use other sources to improve your ideas about the artefacts. Play again **43**

52 **53** **54** **55** Your colleagues all disagree with your ideas. Go back 3 places **56** You publish your results. Move to finish!  **57** **58** You have failed to write a report. Go back 10 places **59**

FINISH 