Memorialising minority groups in post-independence Zimbabwe and South Africa: A critical analysis of oral history programmes

By

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SUMMARY

The study was prompted by a substantial gap when it comes to the oral history of the minority groups in the mainstream archival centres. This was compounded by a perceived hesitation and reluctance of minority groups' participation in oral history programmes organised by mainstream heritage institutions. The study was anchored on the research methodology of constructivism ontology, critical emancipatory epistemology, qualitative approach and using a comparative case study from both Zimbabwe and South Africa. The substantive theory of the study which was used as a lens in understanding power relations between minority groups and the elites was the power elite theory.

The findings of the study revealed that the national mainstream archival institutions in Zimbabwe and South Africa are struggling to document the oral histories of the minority groups. This is mainly caused by their organisational culture which is obsessed with the documentation of the stories of those in power, a situation worsened by the concentration on liberation struggle history. For example, in Zimbabwe the focus on oral history was on Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Party while in South Africa it was on the African National Congress. This was so because the two liberation movements are in power. It was found that the role of ruling governments both in Zimbabwe and South Africa was unfavourable to the documentation of the minority groups as they mainly pushed the agenda of their political parties including memorialisation of their party heroes to the exclusion of the 'other'. Excessive centralisation of archival services at NAZ in Harare meant that the institution was invisible to the minority groups who, in most cases, are located on the margins and peripheries of society. In South Africa it was found that the NARS has limited success in documenting the minority groups because of the minorities' hesitance in cooperating with the institution.

When it came to community archives it was found that they tended to coalesce around the politics of identity such as ethnicity, race and sexuality among others and some of these identities were usually ignored by mainstream archives. Private mainstream archives such as Sinomlando and South African History Archive were found to be

having a broad definition of minority groups to the extent that they were even documenting the oral history of those affected by HIV/AIDS and also the township history of blacks.

The study recommended the decentralisation of archival services not only to the provinces but to the lowest unit of governance such as municipalities and rural districts. Furthermore, it was recommended that there should be de-politicisation of mainstream national archives by creating independent ones which report directly to parliament rather than to central government and its ministers.

Key terms: Oral history, oral traditions, oral testimony, community archives, mainstream archives, ethnicity, minority groups, Power Elite Theory, critical emancipatory

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DEDICATION

First and foremost, this thesis is dedicated to my late parents Henry Sibize Bhebhe and Ottilia Dube who sacrificed a lot in providing me with the gift of education. A gift which has always been very elusive to the daughters and sons of the toiling working class in the global South, the hewers of wood and drawers of water.

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Lastly, my gratitude goes to the Almighty, uMvelingqangi, for the gift of life.

DECLARATION

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Degree: Doctor of Philosophy in Information Science

I declare that this study, **"Memorialising minority groups in post-independence Zimbabwe and South Africa: A critical analysis of oral history programmes"** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

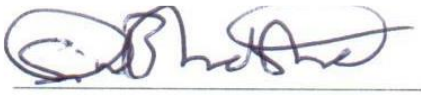
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIC	African Independent Churches
ANC	African National Congress
BARC	Bulawayo Archives and Records Centre
BDA	Bafokeng Digital Archive
BSAC	British Southern Africa Company
DBE	Department of Basic Education
CCDI	Centre for Cultural Development Initiative
CCJP	Catholic and Commission for Justice and Peace
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
CRDC	Chiredzi Rural District Council
CUT	Chinhoyi University of Technology
DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
DACST	Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology
DCA	Digital Community Archives
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sports
ESARBICA	Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Branch of the International Council on Archives
GALA	Gay and Lesbian Memory Action
GALZ	Gays and Lesbians Association of Zimbabwe
GEDI	Greater Edendale Development Initiative
GOHP	Gay Oral History Project
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ICH	Intangible Cultural Heritage
ICTs	Information and Communications Technologies
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IK	Indigenous Knowledge
IRMT	International Records Management Trust
JDAP	Jewish Digital Archive Project
KCPS	Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society

KLCDA	Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association
LAM	Libraries, Archives and Museums
LGBTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex
LGBTQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer
LOC	Local Organising Committee
LOMA	Law and Order Maintenance Act
MK	Umkhonto weSizwe
MS	Zimbabwe Danish Association for International Co-operation
MZAST	Memories of Zimbabwe Armed Struggle Trust
NAAIRS	National Automated Archival Information Retrieval System
NARS	National Archives and Records Services of South Africa
NAROS	National Register for Oral Sources
NAZ	National Archives of Zimbabwe
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NHC	National Heritage Commission
NMMZ	National Museum and Monuments of Zimbabwe
NOHP	National Oral History Programme
NOP	Non Profit Organisations
NRF	National Research Foundation
NUST	National University of Science and Technology
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
OHASA	Oral History Association of South Africa
OHJSA	Oral History Journal of South Africa
OSISA	Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa
OTASA	Oral Traditions in Southern Africa
OTAZI	Oral Traditions Association of Zimbabwe
PAC	Pan African Congress
PHMC	Pennsylvania Historical Museum Commission
PSC	Public Service Commission
SAA	Society of American Archivists

SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SADET	South African Democratic Trust
SADF	South African Defence Force
SAHA	South African History Archive
SAHO	South African History Online
SAJM	South African Jewish Museum
SASA	South African Society of Archivists
SLCPZ	Strengthening Local Cultural Policy in Zimbabwe
SANPAD	South Africa Netherlands Research Programme on Alternatives in Development
TGSCCC	Tarcisius George Silundika Cultural Community Centre
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TSDT	Tso-ro-tso San Development Trust
UKZN	University of KwaZulu Natal
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
UNISA	University of South Africa
VETOKA	Venda, Tonga and Kalanga Association
WCOHP	Western Cape Oral History Programme
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU (PF)	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African Peoples Union
ZBC	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZINATHA	Zimbabwe National Traditional Association of Herbalists
ZIMTE	Zulu Mpophomeni Tourism Experience
ZMYSAR	Zimbabwe Ministry of Youth, Sports, Arts and Recreation
ZPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army
ZOU	Zimbabwe Open University

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Colonial archival systems in the newly independent countries in Africa have been negatively attacked by several commentators. For example, Tough (2011:1) observed that “the colonial archives have excluded the voices of natives in their holdings’. As a result of this criticism, oral history programmes are being advocated to fill the gaps created by colonial archives (Manungo 2012:65). This situation rings true both in Zimbabwe and South Africa. In order to address this perceived gap, oral history programmes were expanded to cater for the post-independence black communities both in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Even though this study addressed the gaps found in the colonial archival system, it also interrogated how some of these gaps have been deployed in the post-independent archival structure.

In Zimbabwe, Bhebhe (2015) observed that there has been resistance from some minority groups when it came to National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ) recording their oral history and traditions. One of the notable example is that of the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU) who are sometimes very hesitant and suspicious of programmes from national government due may be to the rivalry between Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and them which dates back to the days of liberation war. This has caused NAZ to struggle when documenting their oral histories and thereby leaving a gnawing gap when it comes to the ZAPU history. This unwillingness to cooperate with mainstream national archives is also prevalent in Zimbabwe’s linguistically minority groups, especially if they are being interviewed by outsiders who cannot speak their language. By linguistically minority groups in Zimbabwe we mean the Venda, Sotho, Chewa, Chibarwe, Ndau, Tswana, Nambya, Xhosa, Shangaan, Khoi-San, Tonga and Kalanga. These groups of people’s social narratives are occluded in the repositories of NAZ compared to those of Shona and Ndebele which are dominant languages in Mashonaland and Matabeleland respectively. Hence the drive to also incorporate these into the national historical narrative of Zimbabwe and

this is mainly done through oral history and traditions in which various challenges including hesitance in sharing their stories have been met (Bhebhe & Chirume 2014).

In South Africa, soon after the end of apartheid the democratically elected government produced a 'White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage' with one of its objectives being to transform heritage policies in a manner designed to correct the imbalances of apartheid history preservation (Denis 2008:13). This saw a number of oral history projects being initiated to correct historical omissions of black people and some minority groups in centres of memory such as national archives. However, this study took note of the fact that the approach of recording these oral testimonies of minority groups should be well thought of because it may appear that the mainstream archival institutions are 'failing' to score successes in recording the stories of the subaltern (Bhebhe 2015). For example, Harris (2015) and Setumu (2015) contended that oral history projects in South Africa are conducted on an ad-hoc basis and do not serve the purpose they are created for, which is transformation of the archival space to incorporate the once marginalised voices.

This study, therefore, used the power elite theory (see Chapter Two for a comprehensive discussion and application of the theory) to critically evaluate the national archival systems' approach to oral history programmes on minority groups in Zimbabwe and South Africa with a view to ensuring inclusive archives. To ensure this inclusivity has been a challenge in the Eastern and Southern African Regional Branch of the International Council on Archives (ESARBICA) region as noted by Ngulube, Ngoepe, Saurombe and Chaterera (2017:75). They cited that even though the National Archives and Records Service of South Africa Act 43 of 1996 and the legislation governing the nine provincial archival institutions underscore the need for public archives repositories to reach out to the less privileged sectors of society, this is not the case. The same scenario also applied to other ESARBICA countries including Zimbabwe. Ngulube *et al* (2017:75) suggested that this may be caused by lack of resources and skills but this study offered the thesis that there is more to that especially considering the issue of power relations within the nation.

1.2 Background to the oral history programmes

Zimbabwe and South Africa have extensively used oral history through the national archives as a tool to address colonial historiographies. This has seen a lot of oral history programmes emerging with the aim of documenting the stories of the once oppressed communities. These communities also involved the minority groups. This thesis took the view that minority groups are those who are linguistically or ethnically, sexually, politically and economically oppressed groups of people. The background of these oral history programmes and the politics surrounding them are described in the following country-specific way.

1.2.1 Zimbabwe

The oral history programme at the NAZ can be traced back to 1968. During that time, it tended to be elitist in that it targeted the prominent Europeans in the public service and those who were involved in the Pioneer Column. Only a handful of black Africans were interviewed and these were mainly traditional chiefs and prominent individuals such as Jairos Jiri, the notable and acclaimed philanthropist who worked for the betterment of disabled people's lives. Murambiwa, Ngulube, Masuku and Sigauke (2012:8) described this phase of oral history's main objective as being that of recollecting "the British colonial occupation and remembrance for those who served the then Rhodesia in various ways. In essence, the African story was largely neglected unless it had incidental or circumstantial relevance to the colonial occupation of the country".

It can, therefore, be noted that the oral history programme at NAZ then was exclusive as it did not cater for Africans from all ethnic groups who were largely viewed as 'poor and uneducated'. Bhebhe (2015:44) lamented this scenario by arguing that such an approach to oral history "meant that the NAZ was a voice for the prominent, the conquerors, the vanquishers, the elites, the educated; whereas the voices of the grass-roots' people, the defeated, the minorities, and the women were side-lined and forgotten". This resonates very well with a statement by Winston Churchill that 'history

will be kind to me as I intend to write it' and Adolf Hitler, his great nemesis responded by saying the victors will never be asked if they are telling the truth.

Soon after independence in 1980 the oral history programme at NAZ became somehow 'inclusive' as it incorporated the blacks. Oral testimonies of liberation history and African oral traditions were the main themes. However, even after independence exclusionary tendencies, whether intended or not, were visible. This can be seen in the oral history which has more emphasis on the so called majority ethnic groups such as the Shona and the Ndebele. The minority groups were not visible at the NAZ despite the existence of some programmes designed for such (Bhebhe 2015:49). For example, the NAZ has a programme dubbed 'One Nation One Zimbabwe'. Such programmes as 'One Nation One Zimbabwe' that are being conducted by mainstream archival institutions to cater for those linguistic minority groups have faced some challenges. Some of the challenges are captured by Thompson (1998:27) who argued that:

> There have been telling criticisms of a relationship with informers in which a middle-class professional determines who is to be interviewed and what is to be discussed and then disappears with a tape of somebody's life which they never hear about again-and if they did, might be indignant at the unintended meanings imposed on their words.

This is one of the criticisms that have been labelled against the conventional oral history methodologies, especially those conducted by national archival institutions such as the NAZ. Sometimes these archival institutions are viewed as elitist because they are perceived as being far, both physically and in the composition of their archival material, from the grassroots population. Conventional archives tended to be symbols of victory for those in power so the story that was being archived and narrated was that of those in power. This widened the gap between conventional archives and the 'marginalised' 'minority groups. And the NAZ continued to perpetuate elitism by focusing only on prominent members of society when conducting oral history projects.

This researcher, working at the mainstream archival institution has observed and experienced resentment from some of the minority groups when carrying out oral history programmes. In some cases, the issue of language was the cause of friction.

African countries are ethnically diverse, with many different languages used by different ethnic groups. However, some languages are viewed as ‘minor’ because they are spoken by the minority groups. In most cases minority languages end up being side-lined by the majority languages. So it became a challenge for an archivist to document the oral history of another ethnic group by using a different language from the people concerned. Such challenges were also experienced in South Africa in the study by Ngoepe and Ngulube (2014:37) where they struggled to solicit information from the subjects because of the secretive nature of African Independent Churches (AICs) and due to the fact that they were considered as outsiders.

So it can be concluded that it is not always easy to document the ‘other’ if you are an outsider. Instead, Ngoepe and Setumu (2016) suggested that ordinary people should be given the opportunity to document their own stories. In this way, as Setumu (2015) observed, the stories of Africans would be given validity and prominence by Africans themselves as the ‘lions’ and ‘lionesses’ would be determining and writing their own stories as opposed to the story coming from the hunter’s perspective. However, this should be done with caution as the lions and lionesses do not necessarily speak on behalf of the duikers and the ant-eaters (Setumu & Ngoepe 2014). Therefore, there must be a way of ascertaining from the community whether their story has been told as they told it themselves, as the hunter’s perspective remains when it is the researcher’s interpretation of people’s perceptions that largely carries the day. In this regard, as Ngoepe (2019) would attest, archival theories could be used to authenticate oral history.

Parallel archives to mainstream archival institutions have sprung into existence in Zimbabwe in order to fill the gap that exist at NAZ when it comes to minority groups in all their formats whether linguistically, in terms of sexual orientation or ‘marginalised’ war of liberation narrative. This has seen ethnic groups such as the Kalanga, the San, the Nambya and others including family clans coming up with their own ‘archives’. Some other minority groups such as the Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe (GALZ) have also created their own archives. The same can be said of war liberation groups such as ZAPU/ZPRA who felt their contribution in the liberation of Zimbabwe was being sidelined.

Another interesting community project which is proving 'successful' where the mainstream archives are 'failing' is that of the Tso-ro-tso San Development Trust. The Tso-ro-tso San Development Trust (TSDT) was formed in 2010 and was registered as a Trust in the month of May 2014. It was formed by the people of Tsholotsho together with the San to champion the resuscitation of Tjwao language and culture. Its objectives are to revitalise Tjwao and restore the cultural pride of the San people. The role of TSDT in the San community is multifaceted. Whilst the NAZ may come in by documenting their history and other cultural artefacts, the TSDT goes beyond that. It covers almost all social, economic and political aspects of the community. In fact, the TSDT is owned by the community. Not only does it document the history of the San community, it is also involved in the social development of the community itself. Not only is it concerned with the oral history of the community, it is also an organisation which is there, day in and day out, in the locality. The same modus operandi applies to the Gaza Trust which deals with the Tsonga/Shangaan people in Zimbabwe.

The situation of minority ethnic groups such as the San people and others is worsened by the fact that there are located in rural areas making them even ignorant of the existence of mainstream archival institutions let alone participating in them. Setumu (2015:34) explained that communities in rural, peripheral areas in the countryside rarely get involved in the mainstream archiving and record-keeping systems throughout the world because there are probably poor and less educated or underdeveloped.

However, it should be noted that this exclusion of minority groups also extended to the gays and lesbians. This has seen these groups of people coming up with their archival initiatives as witnessed in Zimbabwe and South Africa. The Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe (GALZ) Association, which was founded in 1990, started the Gay Oral History Project (GOHP) in 1997 under the stewardship of the academic Marc Epprecht (Epprecht 1999:25-28). This project was described as a success story and one of the successes was its ability "to bridge the chasm that commonly existed between professional scholars and local activists and to provide a model for shaping a research project in a democratic manner". This 'success' is interesting in the sense that where mainstream archival institutions such as the NAZ have done nothing with regards to documenting these marginalised groups, one sees them taking their own archival

community initiatives and 'managing' to document their stories. The Gay Oral History Project (GOHP) in Zimbabwe can also be compared and contrasted with the Gay and Lesbian Memory Action (GALA) of South Africa which emphasised grassroots participation in the construction of collective memory (Klopfer 2001:104).

Nationally induced traumatic events such as genocides, internal strife and political disturbances are some of the challenges that make mainstream archives find it difficult to use oral history to collect testimonies of the affected communities. This is mainly due to the fact that being government institutions, they are viewed with suspicion by the grassroots community population as they are thought of as colluders in the suppression of minority groups. This is the case with the Zimbabwean situation where, soon after independence in 1980, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) fought leading to what came to be known as the Gukurahundi 'atrocities'. This has traumatised ethnic groups who view the responsible government with suspicion and even hatred and therefore are unwilling to cooperate with government workers such as the archivists. Oral history in those traumatised ethnic groups has not yielded much because people there prefer to remain quiet. One of the oral history programmes dubbed "Capturing the Fading Memory" conducted in Tsholotsho and Gwanda clearly exemplified this unwillingness to talk. In this case, the interviewees refused to talk about the 'official' liberation struggle and those who talked were narrating the Gukurahundi massacres in which ZAPU supporters, mainly of Ndebele origin, were killed by the ZANU Government (Breaking the silence, 1999). This is properly captured by Murambiwa (2009:31) when he argued that:

> The Tsholotsho interviews provide another interesting dimension. From the perspective of the establishment the villagers were deliberately forgetting Second Chimurenga [Shona term for liberation struggle] events in order to drive home the Gukurahundi memories. But could it be that the establishment had been caught off-guard trying to help the villagers forget Gukurahundi events? In their accounts, the Tsholotsho villagers, predominantly Ndebele people and victims in the Gukurahundi disturbances, essentially refused to remember Second Chimurenga at the expense of Gukurahundi when interviewed by agents of the same predominantly Shona establishment that had perpetrated the Gukurahundi atrocities.

Zimbabwe and South Africa are nations born from liberation struggles of independence. This situation has created communities of war veterans. These war veterans come from different political parties that were involved in the struggle. The general trend has been that the legacy that is being perpetuated is of those cadres whose parties won elections of the first majority vote which culminated in independence. In Zimbabwe, this has seen the historical national narrative commemorated being that of ZANU/ZANLA at the expense of ZAPU/ZPRA war legacy. In independent South Africa, the historical legacy of ANC is more preserved than that of small parties such as PAC. The public is more aware of ANC liberation stalwarts such as Nelson Mandela than such names as Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe whose memory Mngqolo (2014) described as fading because the ANC Government is not doing enough to preserve his legacy. The same can be said of Clarence Makwetu who was also the founder of PAC.

Therefore, these groups of war veterans who are excluded from the national narrative end up forming their own community archives. In addressing this problem of exclusion from social institutions of memory, former ZAPU cadres in 1989 decided to form the Mafela Trust (SAHA 2012:7). Werbner (1994:180) said Mafela Trust was initially meant to commemorate the deaths of former Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZPRA) cadres after taking note of civilians who died during the liberation struggle. The name Mafela is the nomme de guerre of ZPRA's last war-time commander Lookout Masuku. Now the Mafela Trust as Garaba (2010:63) noted is researching and documenting the political and military activities of ZPRA. According to Brickhill (1995:163), the conflict between ZANU and ZAPU in the 1980s left its own bitter legacy. It was this conflict and the attempted suppression of ZAPU which prevented that organization from commemorating its own dead immediately after independence. Nkomo, one of the directors of Mafela Trust as quoted by Garaba (2010:63), argued that after independence some ZPRA archives went missing and they are still being looked for and this is why Mafela Trust should be strengthened to play that role. Nkomo, still cited by Garaba (2010:63) further went on to argue that when some of the textbooks were written, the authors had access to information on ZANLA and they did not have access to ZPRA archives hence the biased and distorted national history of liberation struggle.

The Mafela Trust is thus an organization set up to research and document the political and military activities of ZPRA during the liberation war and its archives are in Zimbabwe in the town of Bulawayo and it has managed to document much of its history (SAHA 2012) whilst NAZ has struggled to get their war testimonies.

1.2.2 South Africa

Magubane (2007:251) questioned the South African historiography in which African voices are silenced. He goes on to ask a rhetorical question; "where is the black story of suffering"? In the same vein, Seedat (2015:23) argued that:

> The colonial apartheid system produced dichotomies to invent primitiveness and manufacture social amnesia and the marginalisation of all those classified other-than-white, and so effected a dichotomous reality. In the dichotomy, western thought and history meant civilisation and modernity whereas African and other-than-European knowledge and cultural formations denoted savagery, superstition, and darkness, a negation of humanity. Black histories, cultures, and narrative systems were scorned, marginalised, silenced and, suppressed; western thought, ideas and cultures were celebrated and entrenched through the machinations of disciplinary and repressive power.

Seedat (2007:23) observed that "in the apartheid structure and its attendant supremacist expansionism, the oppressed were forbidden their own biographies and histories and were instead bondaged to the histories and biographies of the dominant community". The quotations from Magubane and Seedat serve to show the gaps that exist in the South African historiography hence the oral history programmes that have come into play to address these gaps. Field (2008:177) echoed the same sentiments by stating that the "South African oral historians were from the onset determined to break what was termed 'the silences' created by the political oppression of the apartheid system and the 'racialised' form of the capitalist system".

According to Denis (2008:5), the use of Oral History as a gathering tool for understanding South African society was started by popular writers, colonial agents, missionaries and anthropologists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. One of the most remarkable oral history projects, Denis continues, was conducted by

James Stuart, a civil servant in the Natal colonial government. Stuart conducted and transcribed, mostly in isiZulu, hundreds of interviews with individuals – mostly elderly males – considered very knowledgeable about Zulu history and culture. His main motivation was to establish a new system of Zulu customary law to facilitate British indirect rule. Notwithstanding the taint of colonialism, these interviews constitute one of the richest oral history collections of a very important section of South African society in colonial times. Also on the same vein is the oral history collection by Van Warmelo who was the government ethnologist during the apartheid era. His oral history collection on the Transvaal Ndebele people is now housed at the National Archives in Pretoria (Lekgoathi 2009:61-80).

Denis (2008:6) argued that in the 1970s oral history was "closely associated with the rise of a historiographical movement variously described as radical history, revisionist history, popular history or history from below". For this period, he specifically mentioned the Witwatersrand History Workshop which focused on the life and work experiences of black peasants and sharecroppers in the Transvaal and the one by the University of Natal which aimed collecting information regarding domestic lives and the social, political and cultural activities of isiZulu-speaking people in Durban. Other oral history projects mentioned during this period are the Western Cape Oral History project, created in 1985 at the University of Cape Town and now renamed the Centre for Popular Memory in 2001.

In South Africa, the birth of democracy in the 1990s allowed the mushrooming of non-public institutions committed to filling gaps in the social memory created by the apartheid system. The examples are the African National Congress Archives at the University of Fort Hare, the Alan Paton Centre at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, the District Six Museum, the Gay and Lesbian Archives, the Mayibuye Centre at the University of the Western Cape, a reconstituted South African History Archive and the Robben Island Museum (Harris 2002:76) and, lately, the Royal Bafokeng Digital Archive (Molobye 2014). Other oral history programmes are the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation; Sinomlando Centre; the Human Rights Media Centre, Apartheid Museum; Kwa Mashu Museum; oral history programmes as part of curriculum in high schools and Eldorado Park Oral History Project. Field (2008:181) also observed that since the 1990s another trend of significance is the myriad of 'struggle biographies' or

autobiographies that, to varying degrees, use oral history or life story interviews". However, his worry is that these struggle biographies have mainly concentrated on the political elites and ignored the oral testimonies of the not-famous people from the grassroots. It should be noted that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) extensively used oral history as a source of information while the South African Democratic Trust (SADET) has compiled volumes on anti-apartheid political struggles, decade by decade, commencing with the 1960s (Field 2008:181). In 2001 the Government of South Africa and the relevant departments introduced the National Oral History Programme (NOHP) which is meant to fill the gaps in archival institutions which were caused by colonisation and apartheid (Buthelezi 2012).

South Africa, like Zimbabwe, has not been spared from rivalries between groups that fought the war of liberation. Marschall (2010:42) argued that:

> To this day, the question of who really liberated the country is a contentious matter. Some resent the fact that the contribution of the United Democratic Front (UDF), formed in 1983 as a multiracial federation of anti-apartheid organisations, to the anti-apartheid movement is habitually eclipsed by the prominent (state-endorsed) celebration of the ANC's role. Others maintain that the effort of non-violent yet persistent pressure exerted by the churches, the unions, and a variety of non-political organisations was far more decisive in the eventual collapse of the apartheid order than the forceful interventions of MK. The most vocal contender to the role of liberator, however, is the PAC, today scarcely represented in the ANC-dominated parliament, but in the past an attractive option for many black activists because it was far more 'radical' than the ANC.

In independent South Africa the historical legacy of PAC was side-lined. Marschall (2010:45) argued that:

> The under representation of the PAC story, both in the writing of history and especially in its public representation through the heritage sector, is partly a reflection of unequal power relations, but more importantly perhaps driven by a desire to protect the inspiring narrative and heroic glory of the liberation struggle as a whole from being tainted or compromised by a greater exposure of the PAC's militant stance and especially the terrorist activities of Poqo.

This rivalry between ANC and PAC in terms of heritage politics was seen when Sharpeville day which is celebrated on the 21st of March was changed to Human Rights day as opposed to Sharpeville Day, as it was known and commemorated by the PAC and many others in the past decades. The PAC, being the organisers of the Sharpeville resistance, felt this change of name as another incident in a series of attempts by the ANC to appropriate key icons of the liberation struggle (Marschall 2010:52). Mtetwa (2013:12) added to this debate by arguing that:

> A few days later, on 21 March 2010, the actual day of the Human Rights Day celebrations, the story of the Sharpeville massacre, as survivors who bear the scars in their minds, hearts and bodies remember it, was to be distorted for political reasons when Julius Malema declared that the march in 1960 was organised by the ANC and not the PAC, as history has told us for so many years.

Marschall (2010:56) also mentioned another interesting example of the rivalry between PAC and ANC which is playing out at the Robben Island Museum in which only scant attention is given to Sobukwe compared to Mandela's cell. Pheko (2002) cited in Marschall (2010:56) argued that the "island became known as POQO Prison and as 'Sobukwe University' from 1963, but these terms (along with Makhanda University) are marginalised or largely omitted in the official narrative of the liberation struggle dominated by the experiences and roles of those affiliated to the ANC". Marschall (2010:58) concluded his argument by stating that:

> The ANC-dominated government consciously or inadvertently shaped the interpretation of historical events to coincide with the party's own preferred reading of specific narratives and the significance of their protagonists. Crudely put, the ANC carries on building monuments in honour of their own leaders and their contributions, which they declare to be heritage of the post-apartheid nation while PAC now a minute opposition party within the democratically elected government lacks the political clout to effectively impact on the physical shaping of the emergent landscape of public memory. The same is true for other minority groups and opposition political parties in different local contexts…

1.3 Motivation for the study

As it is seen that Zimbabwe and South Africa have used and continue to use oral history programmes to address the missing voices at archival institutions, the problem of a biased archive still remains even after the dismantling of colonial yokes. This prompted the researcher to think that may be the idea of the biased archive is caused by the dynamics of power and, in most cases, elitism which suggested that those in power are the ones who shape and control the national agenda and narrative notwithstanding the fact that they may be colonialists, nationalists or leaders of independent nations. This argument is coming from the observation that even in the post-independence era of Zimbabwe and South Africa there are still voices of ethnic groups, especially the so called minorities, which are missing in archival institutions. This is worsened by the fact that in Zimbabwe some communities, especially minority groups, are refusing to participate in mainstream archival institutions' oral history programmes. The same applies to South Africa, as Mhlanga (2014:82) argued, because some of the ethnic groups are not willing to share their stories with the National Archives and Records Services of South Africa. However, in instances where communities are involved especially through action research, as explained by Ngoepe and Setumu (2016), they are highly likely to share information including the sacred one.

Generally speaking, the minority groups can be classified as subaltern and it is assumed that in most cases such kinds of groups of people have no archives to talk about. This point is explained by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2007:11) who argued that "since the subaltern has no archives all their concerns can only be well captured through oral testimonies and tradition". Hence, it is not surprising that the NAZ and NARS are using oral history to capture those voices which are missing at national archives. But challenges have been met in that endeavour and now we are seeing a lot of community-based oral history programmes some of which are 'successful'. This movement of local oral history programmes is well supported by some scholars who view it as the best way of doing oral history. In Zimbabwe, the Mafela Trust which is documenting the oral testimonies of former ZAPU/ZPRA cadres has managed to digitise some of their oral history collections with the assistance of SAHA. The South

African examples of such oral history programmes include Royal Bafokeng Digital Archives (Molobye 2012), Makgabeng Oral History Project (Ngoepe & Setumu 2016) to mention just two. Very often these are not integrated into the mainstream national archival system (Ngoepe 2019).

The 'successes' of these local initiatives call for a change of approach from the mainstream archival institutions. These same sentiments are echoed by Sassoon and Burrows (2008:3) who argued that:

> The impulse by communities to preserve, document and remember through a range of material forms raises questions as to who creates and retains custody and control of these archives. As Andrew Finn, Mary Stevens and Elizabeth Shepherd argue, community archives 'offer mainstream heritage institutions not only a reminder of their obligations to diversify and transform collections and narratives but also perhaps the opportunity through equitable and mutually beneficial partnership to achieve some of that transformation'.

The study was, therefore, influenced by Thompson (1998) and other scholars' concept of advocating the local communities to collect and document their stories rather than having to rely upon outsiders and mainstream archival institutions. Once documented, such stories should be integrated into national archival system. It is, therefore, Thompson's (1998) argument that with the use of community approach methodologies, the communities are empowered and then have confidence in writing their history which would be accessible to the public. This study, therefore, interrogated this approach of allowing communities to document their own testimonies without much interference from third parties. More examples of selected oral history programmes both in Zimbabwe and South Africa were studied in order to understand this approach to oral history by Thompson and other scholars. Flinn, Stevens and Shepherd (2009) have stated that there is a growing establishment in the world of grassroots projects and initiatives which deal with the preservation and documentation of local communities' histories by in-situ communities themselves. This desire is mainly encouraged by the fact that there is now a "growth in awareness of the absences and challenges to dominant heritage narratives. . ." (Flinn et al 2009:74).

These community archives are synonymous with oral history. They use oral history to document their historical testimonies and oral traditions.

1.4 Research problem

It has proved to be a challenge in some cases to collect oral history from certain minority groups both in Zimbabwe and South Africa as the problem of a biased archive still remains even after the dismantling of colonial yokes. In most situations the groups who are hesitant to give their stories are the ones who are deemed to be 'minorities' and in most cases the 'marginalised'. Mhlanga (2014:82) argued:

> That despite the efforts made by NARS to achieve equality, whereby the institution strives to include in their archives those social groups previously under-represented by the apartheid record-keeping regime, they encounter resistance from the groups they would have otherwise targeted as marginalised elements that merit inclusion in the documentary heritage of the country.

In Zimbabwe it is also the same story as most of the so called minority groups are not willing to participate in oral history programmes conducted by the National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ). Bhebhe (2015) observed that there is a gnawing gap when it comes to the minority groups in Zimbabwe and it has been difficult to collect their oral history because they are sometimes not willing to cooperate, one of the reason being that of archivists who are outsiders and not even speaking the languages of minorities.

Besides the dilemma of language, there is the politicisation of heritage institutions prompting Pickover (2009:6) to explain that, "political expediency can dominate what is collected and party political agendas can have repercussions on the archival institution's collection policy." The same sentiments are echoed by Mhlanga (2014:102-103) who averred that "by virtue of the institution being funded by the ruling party, this has led to a compromise on the core archival functions". For example in Zimbabwe, in addressing this problem of being excluded from social institutions of memory, in 1989 former ex-combatants of ZAPU cadres decided to form the Mafela Trust (SAHA 2012:7), the main objective of which is to document the ZAPU/ZPRA'

liberation history. This clearly shows how “the archival landscape in Zimbabwe is a site of a fierce battle between the elites, the victors, the losers, women, men, the poor, the majority, minorities, and the marginalised. Those in power have tended to prioritise their historical narratives at the expense of other groups” (Bhebhe 2015:5).

In other words, the picture that is unravelling in both Zimbabwe and South Africa is that of fixation with the documentation of the elite histories of liberation stalwarts and the liberation history generally. The ‘other’ is neglected, and as Harris (2015:22) observed, the South African archival system is “haunted by under-resourced community-based initiatives and processes which are not recognised as ‘archival…”. Harris (2015:21) further added that ‘the recounting, rehearsing and reinforcing of post-apartheid metanarratives squeeze out counter-narratives and sub-narratives. The cacophony of big voices makes it hard to hear softer voices. Resources are thrown at flagship projects while community-level endeavour is neglected”.

Therefore, from such a background the NAZ has found it difficult to collect oral history of different minority groups of people in Zimbabwe. This has led the researcher to try to interrogate the oral history methodologies being used by NAZ and NARS. The study in particular pays attention to whether communities are given a chance to tell and document their stories without the archivists, historians or other outsiders leading the way. In addition to that, there is a glaring physical invisibility of national archival infrastructures in rural areas even in a devolved governance system like South Africa. In Zimbabwe the situation is worse because of a highly centralised government system. What this means is that the linguistic minority groups who are in most cases residing in rural areas are left out of the national archival system. They are only incorporated in a top-down approach when national archives decide to take their programmes there where they are treated as informants rather than participants.

Therefore, this tendency of ignoring the community approach when it comes to oral history methodologies and instead promoting the mainstream archival institutions such as NAZ to be the ‘sole’ oral history collectors is also viewed as a problem in this study. Whilst in South Africa there are many oral history programmes initiated by local

communities as observed by Klopfer (2001:100) that “oral history in South Africa is experiencing an upsurge initiated by community and academic groups, and embraced by the new government” there are still some challenges as some communities are still averse to cooperating with NARS as stated by Mhlanga (2014:82). Peterson (2015:134), reviewing Harris’ work, has the following quotation relating to the ‘wrong’ oral history methodologies used by mainstream archives which end up affecting oral history programmes:

> Post-apartheid South Africa, “mainstream archives” have attempted to capture oral knowledge “by rushing out to capture stories with video cameras and tape recorders.” Harris does not like this. He says these recordings are “not an expression of hospitality.” Instead he urges archives “to respect the other, and to engage it with a willingness to have one’s own ways of knowing and doing changed in the process”.

1.5 Research purpose and objectives

The study critically analysed the memorialisation of minority groups in post-independence Zimbabwe and South Africa with special attention to oral history programmes. The specific objectives were to:

1. Analyse the oral history methodologies, strategies and approaches used by national and other mainstream archival institutions in Zimbabwe and South Africa.
2. Examine the factors that hinder or enable national and other mainstream archives in Zimbabwe and South Africa from documenting the oral history of the minority groups.
3. Analyse selected oral history programmes which are initiated and run by the minority groups both in Zimbabwe and South Africa.
4. Evaluate accessibility to the oral history collection of mainstream and community archives.
5. Determine the extent to which the concept of oral history community archiving has been embraced in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

6. Propose a framework to integrate community oral history programmes whilst maintaining their independence, into national archival systems.

1.6 Research Questions

1. What are the oral history methodologies, strategies and approaches used by national and other mainstream archives in Zimbabwe and South Africa?
2. What are the factors hindering and enabling national and other mainstream archives in Zimbabwe and South Africa from documenting the oral history of the minority groups?
3. How organised are some of the oral history programmes initiated and run by minority groups both in Zimbabwe and South Africa?
4. How accessible are the oral history holdings of the mainstream and community archives?
5. To what an extent has the concept of oral history community archiving been embraced in Zimbabwe and South Africa?
6. Which framework can be used in integrating community oral history archives into national archival system whilst maintaining their independence?

1.7 Significance of the study

The researcher anticipates that the results of this study are likely to help national archives both in Zimbabwe and South Africa in managing how to deal with the challenges of documenting the histories of minority groups. The comparative approach of this study is envisaged to be of benefit to both countries as they are likely to learn from each other's experiences. This study also brings to light the methodologies used by minority groups in documenting their testimonies and oral traditions. The efficiency and effectiveness of these methodologies are thoroughly investigated in order to value their usefulness and in how they can benefit both Zimbabwe and South Africa in documenting the stories of the minority groups. This study also offers a framework that aims at improving the current national archive organisational structure that can be used in the preservation of and providing access to the collected oral history, including for those being archived by the minority communities themselves.

1.8 Originality of the study

Gill (2015) explained that studies can be original in a number of key areas, including: the approach, topic area, methods, data, findings or theories which are developed, refined or reinterpreted. In regard to this research, comprehensive studies of minority groups from an archival point of view is minimal in both countries of Zimbabwe and South Africa. Whilst there is much literature on oral history programmes being conducted by NAZ and NARS, there is less on those communities that have taken it upon themselves to document their oral history at community levels especially in Zimbabwe. This study, therefore, took a thorough and comparative trans-territorial look into how the minority groups are telling and documenting their stories. This current research also intended to come up with a national archival organisational structure that wrestles the management of archives from the government and replaces it with an Independent heritage commission. Such an organisational structure is envisaged to be one of the 'first' in the world since most of the archives are under the central government.

1.9 Scope and delimitations of the study

This study critically evaluated how NAZ and NARS documented the histories of minority groups. In order to achieve that objective, a few selected community-based oral history programmes both in Zimbabwe and South Africa were looked into. This entailed the research on provincial archives both in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Also private mainstream archives such as Sinomlando and SAHA's oral history programmes were also researched on. There was no attempt to study all the community-based oral history programmes in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

1.10 Definitions of key terms

The following key terms relevant to the study are briefly defined in this section so that they are put into context. These, and other key terms, are to be explained in more detail in Chapter Two which reviews the literature. Yusuf and Chell (2005:28) argued that defining terminology in research is very important in dispelling confusion and

bringing clear understanding, both for those who are new to the subject and those who are familiar with the subject hence its incorporation here.

1.10.1 Oral history

Moss (1988:148) defined oral history as a concept that “fits into the idea of deliberate and systematic recording of oral testimony based on human memory and experience. Its purpose is to enrich the store of historical evidence available for historians and other social scientists”. Ngoepe (2019) divided oral history into oral testimony and oral traditions by arguing that the former entailed recording the life stories of living people whereas the latter deals with memories transmitted over many generations. Ngoepe (2019) further added that in oral history is where we find the concept which is concerned with capturing personal or ‘eye witness’ testimony (oral testimony). Ngoepe’s (2019) finally concluded that oral history “uses either of the two methods that is, oral tradition or oral testimony”. In this study, oral history refers to oral testimonies and oral traditions.

1.10.2. Oral traditions

Oral traditions are defined by Vanisna (1985:27) as verbal messages which are oral statements from the past beyond the present generations and are usually spoken or sung. In the African culture, this usually encompass proverbs, riddles, praise poetry, folklore, myths, taboos and family names. Ngoepe (2019) referred to oral traditions as stories or narratives that have been transmitted by the word of mouth beyond the generation that gave rise to them. In oral tradition unlike in oral testimonies, accounts are no longer contemporary as is the case with folktales, epics, genealogies, praise songs, and so on (Ngoepe 2019). Moss (1988:148) does not differentiate oral history from oral traditions as he said that “oral history includes oral traditions, folk wisdom and folk history that have traditionally been handed down from generation solely by word of mouth…” Moss (1988:150) noted that oral history and oral traditions share a common oral nature even though there are differences which are difficult to be maintained in the field or practice. The thin difference between oral history and

traditions can also be seen from the East Midlands Oral History Archive (2015) which defined oral history as:

> The recording, preservation and interpretation of historical information, based on the personal experiences and opinions of the speaker. It may take the form of eye-witness evidence about the past, but can include folklore, myths, songs and stories passed down over the years by word of mouth. While it is an invaluable way of preserving the knowledge and understanding of older people, it can also involve interviewing younger generations.

So in this study the use of oral history also encompasses oral traditions.

1.10.3 Archives

The traditional definition of archives by Bradsher (1988:3) is:

> the official or organised records of governments, public and private institutions and organisations, groups of people and individuals, whatever their date, form and material appearance, which are no longer needed to conduct current business, but are preserved, either as evidence of origins, structures, functions, and activities or because of the value of the information they contain, whether or not they have been transferred to an archival institution.

International Council on Archives (2016) defined archives as “documentary by-product of human activity retained for their long-term value”. However, in the past few decades with the coming in of post modernism, archival definition has expanded to the extent of even blurring the line between archives and museums. The archival turn has also turned away from the notion of a ‘written document’ only, to embrace a wide variety of ‘records’ such as cultural practices. In this study, the definition of archives will also encroach into museology.

1.10.4 Minority groups

There is no clear cut definition of minority groups. However, Reynolds (2008) stated that the term ‘minority’ as used in the United Nations human rights system refers to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities who are persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities. Indigenous peoples are also

included. It is now generally accepted that minority groups exhibit the following characteristics; non-dominance in terms of numbers and/or political power and possessing distinct ethnic, cultural, religious or linguistic characteristics as well as self-definition, that is, a will on the part of the members of the group in question to preserve these distinct characteristics (Reynolds, 2008). This study took the view that the minority groups are those who are linguistically or ethnically, sexually, politically and economically oppressed.

1.10.5 Community

There are many definitions for the word community. However, this study adopted the following definition: Aggarwal (2006:67) quoting Roberts (1979) saw a community as 'a collection of people who have become aware of some problem or some broad goal, who have gone through a process of learning about themselves and about their environment, and have formulated a group objective'.

1.10.6 Community oral history programmes

Flinn (2007:150) defined community histories or community archives as the grassroots activities of documenting, recording and exploring community heritage in which community participation, control and ownership of the project is essential. This activity might or might not happen in association with formal heritage organisations, but the impetus and direction should come from within the community itself. Flinn (2007:152-153) also mentioned that other comparable, if not exactly synonymous terms which are also regularly used, include local history group, oral history project, community history project and community memory project. Nevertheless, acceptance of the term 'community archives' has grown in recent years as an active [if sometimes imperfect] means of grouping together these often very dissimilar and variously named projects and initiatives into one community archives 'movement'. However, this study adopted both terms, that is, community oral history programmes and community archives and used them interchangeably with community museums. This is because community archives tend to be hybrid as sometimes they exhibit library, archives and museum tendencies.

1.11 Research methodology overview

The study was influenced by qualitative research approach which is defined by Creswell (2009:4) as a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. Critical emancipatory paradigm was used because of its bias towards explaining the struggles faced by minorities, hence its association with feminist, queer and critical theories. The study is interdisciplinary as it borrows heavily from historiography and political science.

Comparative case study was adopted as a research method. This was done because of the benefits that can be gained in delving into cases in more detail and discovering issues that might not have become apparent through more superficial research (Denscombe 2007:36). In this case, the researcher was trying to understand the general phenomenon of 'communities approach' to oral history. The case studies are Zimbabwe and South Africa.

Data collection tools used were interviews, document analysis and observations in some cases. Mainly, purposive sampling was used. Purposive sampling was selected because of the advantages that Denscombe (2007:17) pointed out where he said that:

> The advantage of purposive sampling is that it allows the researcher to home in on people or events which there are good grounds for believing will be critical for the research.

More on research methodology is covered in Chapter Three.

1.12 Ethical considerations

The researcher made an effort to comply with the University of South Africa's (UNISA) policy on research ethics (2007) which, amongst other principles, call for the respect of autonomy, promotion of beneficence, guarding against maleficence and upholding justice. Confidentiality issues pertaining to information given by the participants were maintained as Creswell (2009:87) said, "It is important for researchers to protect their participants, develop a trust with them and promote the integrity of research, guard against misconduct and impropriety that might reflect on their organisations". This was

done through anonymising participants. Consent and permission from relevant authorities and individuals were sought before data gathering. One of the selected permission letter is attached as appendix E. In order to ensure that the research was done responsibly and ethically, the researcher obtained a research clearance from his institution, that is, the UNISA. The ethics clearance letter is attached as appendix F. Results of Turnitin report for plagiarism check were within the recommended range of less than five percent similarity on every cited source.

1.13 Organisation of thesis

The thesis is organised into six chapters. The first chapter introduced the study together with the inclusion of a background, research problem, objectives, research questions and a brief overview of the research methods used to attain the outcome of the research. The chapter functions as a foundational block upon which the whole research is based.

Chapter Two discusses the theoretical framework of which is the Power Elite Theory. Literature review is also discussed. The themes discussed are the analysis of the oral history methodologies, strategies and approaches used by mainstream and community archival institutions in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Factors hindering and enabling the documentation of minority groups in Zimbabwe and South Africa, access to community archives and integrating community archives into national archives system are discussed.

Chapter Three discusses the research methodology that is used. It touches on critical emancipatory research paradigm and its relevance to the study. Comparative case study method which entails mainstream and community archives both in Zimbabwe and South Africa is discussed. Data collection tools which included interviews, observations and document analysis were also discussed. Purposive sampling method is also touched on.

Chapter Four presents the qualitative findings of the study and this is done mainly thematically. In some cases, tables are used to present the data but in almost all cases

the presentation is in a narrative form. Chapter Five is a follow up to Chapter Four as it discusses and interprets the data that is presented in Chapter Four. Chapter Six then summarises, concludes and recommends. It also comes up with the proposed national organisational archival structure framework that also take care of integrating community oral history programmes whilst maintaining their independence, to national archival system.

1.14 Summary

This chapter outlined the motivations for carrying out this study as well as the importance of doing that. It specifically looked into the politics behind national memory, oral history methodologies as practised by mainstream archival institutions and community archives in Zimbabwe and South Africa. The research problem, research objectives, research questions, motivation of the study, significance of the study and research methodology, among other issues were also unpacked. The next chapter delved much into the theoretical framework of the research which is power of elitism. Furthermore, the literature was reviewed in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER TWO

THE POWER ELITE THEORY AND LITERATURE REVIEW ON THE DOCUMENTATION OF MINORITY GROUPS IN ZIMBABWE AND SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

Following the contextualising of this study in Chapter One, the current chapter deals with two aspects. Firstly, it interrogates the theoretical framework of the study. It uses the power elite theory as a lens to understand the dynamics of power in the documentation of the national memory. Secondly, the Chapter reviews the literature related to the research objectives using themes from the objectives.

2.2 Theoretical framework

Methodological and substantive theories are part of theory in research as Punch (2005) noted. Methodological theories are those that address the philosophy behind research such as pragmatism, constructivism, positivism and critical emancipatory among others and in this research it was critical emancipatory. Substantive theories, as Punch (2005) argued, are those that addresses the content of research and in this case it was the Power Elite Theory. This theory enabled the dissection of state power and how it affects the documentation of the marginalised minority groups.

2.2.1 The Power Elite Theory

Using Figure 2.1 Mthethwa, (2014:26) argued that the Power Elite Theory leads to policy formulation and implementation which is influenced by the ruling elite of the society and, as a result, the public policy implementation is biased towards the achievements of the objectives of the elite.

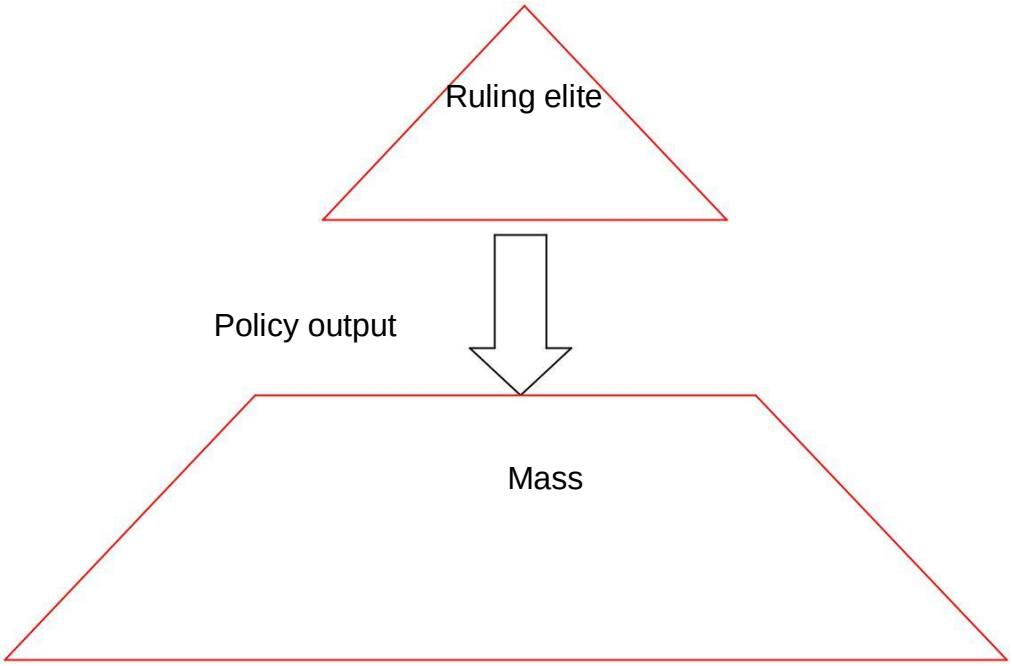


Figure 2.1 Power Elite Theory (Mthethwa 2014:26)

The "concept of elites is based on the notion that every society holds a ruling minority, a group that controls and disputes power… and in the elitist view, elites could only be substituted by another set of elites, meaning the majority is necessarily ruled by minority" (Lopez 2013:1-3). The transition of apartheid South Africa to democratic South Africa is given as an example of elite settlement where power was transferred or is now being shared within the few elite whites and elite blacks whilst the majority are excluded and settings of extreme social inequality, violence and state inefficiency are tolerated (Lopez 2013:3-8). Lopez (2013:2) explained that "the principle or law of elite circulation holds that elites alternate in power as a result of either peaceful or violent competition" and citing Pareto, he described "history as nothing but a cemetery of elites".

Marger (1981:78) stated that:

> Elites are those who occupy the society's top positions and wealth. They are the people who exercise authority, influence, and control of resources within the society's important organisations. They formulate policies, guide the activities, and decide the significant issues of government, the corporation,

> education, and other major societal institutions. And, perhaps most importantly, they are able to impose on society as a whole their explanation and justification for the dominant political and economic systems.

In the archival world “archives have always reflected the influence of certain members of their community – often the social elites and their political and administrative allies” (Bloch 2013:153).

Kotze and Steyn (2003:11) described elites as switchmen of history who are “societal agents through which broader forces such as ethnicity, class and religion are filtered to ordinary people”. Kotze and Steyn (2003:12), referencing Lasswell, said elites are described as those people who decide “who gets what, when and how” and, also citing Easton, described them as those people whose political action is predominantly “oriented toward the authoritative allocation of values for a society”. Elites are also described as agenda setters, shapers of public opinion, interpreters of political events and they decide which national issues would receive priority in comparison to others (Kotze and Steyn 2003:12). However, the most important argument in Power Elite Theory as explained by Kotze and Steyn (2003:11), citing Anderson, is that “public policy is not determined by the demands and actions of the masses, but by the ruling elite whose preferences are carried into effect by public officials and agencies”. Wa-Kamau (2005:5) explained that elitism is an ideology that is unfavourable to the majority.

Paabo (2011:46) argued that the political elite played a crucial role in the construction of national narratives because they possess that necessary power which legitimised their position in the society and that power not only constructed but also defined the interpretation of history narratives. Paabo (2011:46) concluded by stating that “the interpretation of facts and evidence in the national narratives is the national elite’s exercise of power. It makes the national elite the main agent of construction of national narratives”. The same sentiments are found in the works of Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009:47) where he stated that “the duty of African elites and historians in the 1960s was to ‘rediscover and reinterpret elements of myths, memories, symbols, and traditions in the process contributing to the making of modern national identities”.

Rodrigues (2013:2) argued that South African institutions of preservation, such as archives have often focused their collecting efforts on records of national significance and documenting the perspectives of the more dominant communities that represent power and government and the result of this is the omission or underrepresentation of certain communities in the archival heritage of the nation. Rodrigues (2013:2), citing Shilton and Srinivasan (2007:88), contended that throughout history, heritage and preservation institutions have always wielded the power of iconography, the power to represent and tell the nation's narrative.

However, these authors bemoaned the fact that these heritage and preservation institutions have "often ignored experiences outside the history of the state and the powerful, consequently creating gaps in the portrayal of a society's past experiences and social memory" (Rodrigues 2013:2). One of the examples in Zimbabwe is the contestation over the conferment of national hero's status to the dead which seems to favour the elite. Kriger (1995:144) described the whole system of creating national heroes as a politically turbulent process, one which has made mass-elite inequities highly visible as the entire project has shown the propensity of the governing elite's commitment to hierarchy, bureaucratic control and top-down decision-making. This leads to alienation of the many ordinary people who end up no longer participating in the official commemorations of the heroes of the liberation struggle. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Willems (2009:950) described it as a hierarchical system of elite memorialism.

Contemporary Africa cannot be understood without unpacking nationalism. Zeleza (2014:124) averred that nationalism was "once valorised as for its emancipatory possibilities, nationalism is now often vilified for its alleged mystifications, primordial pathologies, mimetism, and elitism; that it was not revolutionary or transformative enough because it was a mimic and elitist project…". In addition to that Cheru (2012:270) expressed the feeling that whilst decolonisation was the greatest achievement of nationalism, "beyond that the noble goals of the nationalist movement, such as national unity, inclusive development, democracy and regional integration have failed to materialise". Cheru continued to argue that people came to see independence as a sort of punishment that brought nothing but misery, pain, dashed hopes, terror, exploitation, marginalization and hopelessness" and there was the rise of centralisation and expansion of bureaucracies and a top-down approach to the

management of public affairs. Cheru (2012:266), referencing Dumont, echoed the same sentiments when he stated that the so-called nationalist development project which was supposed to be liberating and empowering, instead became a means by those in power to enrich themselves and their political supporters to fend for themselves.

Ekeh, who is cited by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009:300), lamented the fact that the fight for independence was a struggle between two bourgeois classes involved in the colonisation of Africa, their struggle was not different but the issue was which bourgeois class should rule Africans. The same sentiments are echoed again when unpacking the contestation of power in the colonial and postcolonial state. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009:300) argued that elite struggles of power have been at the forefront. He added that "the liberation war was partly provoked by struggles between the colonial white elite and the emerging black elite over political power".

Contextualising this argument to Zimbabwe, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009:300) posited that the defeat of the colonial white elite did not bring about a stable and democratic transition in 1980. Instead, the end of settler colonial rule opened floodgates to violent inter and intra-black elite struggles for power in which African elites in ZANU-PF used state power to discipline and destroy those who belonged to PF-ZAPU, together with their supporters. Higley (1999:48) added that this revolutionary model of independence created elites who built "a sharply centralised and coercive regime aimed at transforming society to accord with its doctrinal precepts".

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009:349) further argued that the making of postcolonial nations witnessed the canonisation of founding fathers, inventing personalised ideologies, elevating themselves to mini-gods, saints and angels and their names were inscribed on public buildings, roads, and airports. For personalised ideologies, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009:349) gave the following examples: Mobutu Sese Seko's *authentic*, Julius Nyerere's *Ujamaa* socialism, Sekou and Kwame Nkrumah's variants of African socialism, Kenneth Kaunda's African *humanism,* Kenyatta's *Harambee*, Robert Mugabe's *Third Chimurenga*, Nelson Mandela's *Ubuntu*, and Thabo Mbeki's *African Renaissance*. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009:349) added that the nationalist leaders also embedded themselves into the national memory by adopting majestic titles such as

Robert Mugabe (Gushungo), Joshua Nkomo (Umdala), Kwame Nkrumah (Osagyefo), Julius Nyerere (uMwalimu), Jomo Kenyatta (Mzee) and Nelson Mandela (Madiba). In the end “postcolonial Africa became characterised by a terrible ‘Big Man syndrome, with leaders who were accountable only to themselves and not to citizens” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009:360).

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009:351) held the view that in the “post-liberation states of Zimbabwe, South Africa, Namibia, Angola, and Mozambique that came into being as a result of liberation struggles, history is currently monopolised by triumphant nationalist elites as they manipulate it to legitimate their rule”. In South Africa, Good (1997:547) argued that after the 1994 participatory democracy which also incorporated the minorities suffered because of the rise of a predominant party system and elitism. Good’s (1997:561) argument is that “one-party predominance not only promotes elitism but stifles open and critical parliamentary processes, but it can also lead to further facilitating expedient constitutional amendments favourable to existing elites”. However, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009:358) is against this mentality of the elite making history as it has produced “skewed nationalism that is not progressive; a nationalism that is pandering to primordial pathologies, leaving it open to derision”. In fact, Ndlovu-Gatsheni supported the notion that “history is made by the people (the masses) and not by few selected self-declared heroes”.

In summary, the Power Elite Theory proposed that there are small powerful groups of people in society who are able to impose their will upon the rest of society. Kelly (2016) noted that the Power Elite Theory revealed how the balance of power is maintained within the societal structure. Kelly (2016) added that there are three levels of society:, the power elite (top level), government (middle level), and the masses (lower level) and the government serves as a rubber stamp to the machinations of the power elite, and the masses are just manipulated by the power elite. Kelly (2016:159), citing Mills, suggested that “policy formulation through traditional democratic processes is an illusion, that the power elite controls the true formulation of policy”. This included the culture and heritage policies. Kelly (2016:160) again citing Mills observed that “in essence, the power elite controlled the direction of the country, and they are influenced by those who are part of their political, economic, or military public constituency thus creating the illusion that the power ultimately is in the hands of the public” and that

from a critical perspective, the Power Elite Theory still has importance today as little has changed in relation to the functioning of the political, corporate, or military communities.

Kelly (2016:160), citing Mills, summarised the Power Elite Theory in the following way:

> From a philosophical perspective, members of the power elite determine the basic outline of the economy, distribute wealth among the population, and decide issues for the nation (Mills 1956). In addition, they leave minor matters to the middle levels of power with almost nothing for the common person (Mills 1956). Apparently, holding a position as a power elite member would give them abundant authority over governmental, financial, educational, social, civic, and cultural organizations and the ability to take actions that touch everyone.

Kelly (2016:160) argued that "when issues related to oppression, discrimination, exploitation, or other societal problems occur, it is helpful to know the power structure and identify those who can help alleviate the problem. In addition, knowing the power structure helps us hold those in power accountable". Hence, the importance of applying this theory in this study which deals with the marginalisation of the minority groups. These elites can control various institutions in society, archives and museums included. Schwartz and Cook (2002:1) stated that archives are established by the powerful to protect or enhance their position in society. Through archives, the past is controlled. Certain stories are privileged and others marginalised. Archives, then, are not passive storehouses of old stuff, but active sites where social power is negotiated, contested and confirmed.

It is within this theoretical paradigm that this thesis works on the hypothesis that the ruling revolutionary parties such as ZANU-PF (1980 -) and ANC (1994 -) and their state governments including governmental departments such as NAZ and NARS, are elitist and the implications are that what is put to the public as a national historical narrative can be biased. The revolutionary parties which were defeated in the first democratic elections such as ZAPU in Zimbabwe and PAC in South Africa are viewed as minority groups which are finding it hard to tell their stories through mainstream archival institutions. Minority groups in terms of ethnicity, for example the San, are

also hypothesised as communities that are missing at archival institutions because of the elitist approach used in mainstream archival centres. Archivists from mainstream archival institutions conducting oral history programmes are hypothesised as agents of elites whereas community in-situ cultural activist's documenting the histories of their community are viewed as opposite.

2.3 Literature review

Arlene (2014) defined literature review as an evaluation of surveys, books, scholarly articles, and any other sources relevant to a particular issue, area of research, or theory, and this helps in the provision, description, summarisation of, and critical evaluation of these works in relation to the research problem being investigated. The objectives being that of providing an overview of sources that have been explored while researching a particular topic and demonstrating to readers how one's research fits within a larger field of study. In this particular study, literature review is structured according to the objectives of the research.

2.3.1 Oral history methodologies, strategies and approaches

This section of literature review is meant to contextualise the strengths and limitations of oral history. The politics of memory when it comes to the government's role in documentation of minority groups is another aspect which was looked at. Mainstream oral history programmes in Zimbabwe and South Africa are other issues that this section addressed.

2.3.1.1 Contextualising the strengths and limitations of oral history

Ngoepe and Setumu (2017:19), citing Lekgwathi (2014), defined oral history as referring to "a method that used oral traditions and/or oral testimony as a form of historical evidence". The interesting part with this definition is that it embraced oral traditions and oral history into one whereas some scholars tend to differentiate the two. Okihiro (1981:34) defined oral history:

> As the recollections of a single individual who participated in or was an observer of the events to which s/he testifies. When oral history is passed on to another person, usually of a succeeding generation in that family or lineage, it becomes oral tradition. Thus, oral tradition is derived from a transmission of testimony vertically. If that tradition spreads horizontally to wider, definable group of people, it is referred to as a folklore or elitelore, depending on the social class of the group.

Ngoepe and Setumu (2017:16) also linked oral history to communities by positing that "much of what is considered community history lives in people's memories and is predominantly orally communicated stories especially in the African context". Ngoepe and Setumu (2017:17) further argued that this African epistemology of oral traditions was threatened and almost annihilated by colonialism where African stories were excluded from mainstream education and, using the South African example, where history is said to have started in 1652 when the first white people arrived in the country. The same sentiments are echoed by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015:14-15) when he argued that slave trade, colonialism and imperialism led to the denial, belittling and appropriation of African history that was accompanied by "epistemicides, linguicides and genocides".

Isaacman, Lalu and Nygren (2005:61), writing about Aluka project (documentation of the liberation history of Southern Africa), outlined the importance of oral history in this project by stating that oral testimonies not only fill the gaps in the written literature but they also tell a story about the complicated and contested changing world of the freedom fighters', a story which rarely emerges from conventional historical sources. Isaacman *et al* (2005:61) further argued that "oral accounts not only flesh out the lives of real people, but also expose new areas of inquiry. They may, for example, open new areas of research on gender relations in military camps and segue into much needed research into African masculinities".

The relevance of oral history in Africa is surmised by Setumu (2015:34) who averred that:

> Previously colonised, marginalised communities rarely participate in the mainstream archival and records systems throughout the world. Archiving as it is known today is preserving records on paper, electronic, audio-visual and microfilm formats. These media were not present in the pre-colonial era hence the stories, histories and heritage of most communities, such as those in Africa, are not represented in the mainstream archives.

The same sentiments are echoed by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2007:9-11) who explained that the subaltern have no archives and that orality is their only power meaning that all their concerns can only be well captured through oral testimonies.

Okihiro (1981:42) averred that oral history is not only a tool or method for recovering history, it is also a theory of history which maintains that the common people and dispossessed have a history to tell since there was an overemphasis on the elite at the expense of the masses leading to the writing of mythical and distorted history. Mazarire (2012:44) citing Bhabha associated oral history to the 'everyday life history approach' which represents a shift in focus from the traditional and conventional modes of 'doing history' to calls "for the historian as a social critic to realise, and take full responsibility for, the unspoken, unrepresented pasts that haunt the historical present". Mazarire (2012:45), referencing Eckert and Jones, moreover argued that 'everyday life histories' privilege oral sources "without giving too much power to ordinariness. Instead individual accounts and biographies cast in the realm of everyday life promote micro-histories that magnify the scale of observation in the analysis of general historical trends".

Nevertheless, some archivists feel that it is not their duty to indulge in oral history and cultural heritage, instead, national archives must pay more attention to information management operations, especially the management of current and non-current records, a view strongly supported by the United Kingdom based International Records Management Trust (IRMT) (Mazikana nd:152). Masuku and Pasipamire (2014:128) vehemently argued that "librarians and archivists should concentrate on their core duties and stop purporting to be the documentalists and preservers of IK. Let anthropologists, health specialists, cultural experts, agriculturalists be the ones

conducting research on IK". However, such an approach may be behind time as it is difficult to envisage a situation whereby archival institutions can do away with documentation of oral history, a view supported by Ngulube (2015:1) who cites Wallot when he argued that:

> However, to disregard oral history and oral traces in collection development in an archival environment in the developing world context is tantamount to excluding ''the majority of human beings'' from the archive, a situation which is not tenable in indigenous societies where an oral culture is vibrant.

Reflecting on African archives, Wamukoya (2015:15) asked rhetoric questions which bring to the fore the importance of using oral history in documenting the stories of the ordinary people. He noted that with so much focus on official records, there is a tendency to forget archiving the voices of ordinary citizens. He queried that "considering standardised archival legislations, are archivists doing enough to collect, preserve and make available private archives that document the voices of community and civil society groups?" Wamukoya (2015:15) further asked that "have archivists done enough to document the exploits of the business and/ or commercial sector, or the voices of the ordinary people through formal programmes that focus on oral history and oral traditions"?

Bickford-Smith, Field and Glasser (2001:13) stated that "oral history as a research method can be harnessed to record lived oral history, oral poetry, oral literature, oral traditions, oral performances and various other oral and non-verbal forms of sound". Bickford-Smith *et al* (2001) goes further to state that "as the many oral historians have demonstrated, research that relies solely on written sources bears the risk of presenting only the views of the dominant groups in society". Bickford-Smith then said that the emergence of a critical African history as a challenge to the social, political and intellectual influences of colonialism and imperialism have drawn heavily from the oral histories and oral traditions of the continent. This means that oral history has the "potential to record and inscribe the view, or rather the views from below and from the margins. The development of African history as it stands today would be inconceivable without oral history" (Bickford-Smith 2001:13). The same sentiments are echoed by

Bonnerjee, Blunt, McIlwaine and Pereira (2012:15) who contended that oral history uses personal testimony to create history-making from below and it is an increasingly important methodology to write community histories. This is supported by Julius (2007:13) who posited that oral history practice is now increasingly community-focused, serving as a tool of cultural development, developing community awareness around social issues and its potential as a dialogical encounter between members of a community "resulting in liberatory and transformative practice as it restores the subject to history".

However, criticism against oral history has been noted by Bickford-Smith *et al* (2001:13-14) when they argued that "oral historians have been accused of setting up a dogmatic truth, a grand narrative of experience from below". The same sentiments are echoed by Katuu in Tough (2009) where he expressed his concern in relation to orality by averring that while postmodernism has offered new ways of making sense of the world, its premise of the rejection of grand narratives has become, to some extent, its own grand narrative and, therefore, suffers the frailty of reductionism as do other grand narratives.

Secondly, Bickford-Smith *et al* (2001:13) opined that "oral history has been seen as a part of social history's hegemonic project which systematically marginalises alternative historical methodologies, especially Foucaultian or linguistic approaches". Thirdly, Bickford-Smith *et al* (2001:13-14) argued that "oral historians have been seen as romanticising the notion of 'community', exaggerating the unity, solidarity and resistance of oppressed people. In so doing …they have aligned themselves uncritically with an African nationalist struggle agenda". Fourthly, oral historians have been accused of a teleological construction of class, of imposing or assuming class identity rather than exploring subjective identity in an open-ended way. Lastly, Bickford-Smith *et al* (2001:14) argued that oral historians have been "characterised as insensitive to textuality and naïve about the structures of narrative and memory. Oral sources have been used uncritically, and the voices of subjects have been presented unproblematically as 'authentic' ". Alexander (2016) echoed the same sentiments about some 'authenticity' of oral history testimonies when she stated that "even the most honest personal stories by former rank and file reflect the fighter's restricted

range of vision. These accounts often show the narrow views of the fighter's own small sub-group (defined by rank, ethnicity, etc.) and reflect a world where rumours run rife and both information and dis-information are commonplace".

Another epistemological challenge of documenting oral history testimonies and traditions in archival centres is that of equating oral history to an archival record in its traditional sense. This is forcing some "archivists in developing countries to seriously question whether classic archival concepts that emerged from the written culture of European bureaucracies are appropriate for preserving the memories of oral culture" (Cook 1997). However, archival theorists like Cook (1997) advocated an approach in archival thinking that should be "viewed as constantly evolving, ever mutating as it adapts to radical changes in the nature of records, record-creating organisations, record-keeping systems, record uses, and the wider cultural, legal, technological, social, and philosophical trends in society". Referencing Samuels, Cook (1997) argued that the contemporary "documentation strategy should integrate in its analysis official government and other institutional records with personal manuscripts and visual media, as well as published information and even oral history". Although some of the approaches have been found wanting, the bottom line is the move towards a broader view of archives that incorporates societal analysis and functional appraisal which reflects more globally the society that creates them leading to archives that are of the people, for the people, often even by the people than relying only on static archival discourse that is based on the state official narrative (Cook 1997).

Tough (2009) averred that inadequate resources, both financial and technical have tended to reduce the effectiveness of oral history as a strategic approach. Some of the limitations of oral history were mentioned long back as seen in Proctor (1975:2) in which one historian described it as "an artificial survival of trivia of appalling proportions" whereas others question the "ability of persons far removed from the time and scene of events to remember these activities with any degree of accuracy". Nevertheless, the value of oral history was recognised long back as Proctor (1975:2) took note of "the fact that oral history affords an opportunity to interrogate individuals who had special life experiences and who cannot or will not commit this knowledge to writing has already proved its great value". Proctor (1975:2) further stated that

worthwhile books and articles have been published that used oral history as its primary source of information and it is also used by historians, anthropologists, sociologists, novelists, political scientists, journalists, science writers, genealogists and others. Thane (1999:164), citing Wood, challenged the narrative which favours literacy over oral cultures by arguing that this has eroded oral traditions, diminishing the importance of locality, memory and the status of the guardians of memory such as old people thereby "reinforcing the power of the social and political elite, who wielded their literacy to subordinate the illiterate". Thane (1999:164), referencing Fox, on the discourse that oral history is prone to distortion of events, argued that in fact written culture is "probably more culpable than oral history in the fabrication and perpetuation of distorted, exaggerated and spurious versions of the past".

Ngoepe and Setumu (2017:16) suggested that "it is important that oral stories be converted into written sources in order to preserve them". However, the challenge with orality is that in most instances, chances are that the truth can be distorted to suit the narrator leading to compromise on issues of reliability and authenticity because of inconsistencies and different versions to one story (Ngoepe and Setumu 2017). Referencing Hatang (2000:27), Ngoepe and Setumu (2017:17) took note of some of the advantages of oral traditions which included that even after the story has been narrated, the storyteller still has control over his/her story. The storyteller can still share this story with others at his/ her leisure. Conversely, this raises the issue of ownership and copyright as some people may generate money out of these oral stories (Ngoepe 2019). However, Bickford-Smith *et al* (2001:19) argued that the written medium of oral history interviews while "vital it is a relatively weak medium for the dissemination of oral histories, oral traditions and life stories to as many audiences as possible".

Despite hesitations from other quarters of scholars who view oral history as a domain which is not compatible with archival standards, in most archival institutions in the world and in Africa particularly, oral history has been taken aboard as has been seen in Zimbabwe and South Africa. In Swaziland, Hamilton (1987:383) narrated that the oral history programme was established in 1985 in the National Archives at Lobamba where the objectives were "the establishment of an oral archive on Swazi history; the

publication of a selection of transcripts from the oral archive concerning the precolonial history of Swaziland; the popularization of the precolonial history".

In concluding this section, it seems proper to close it by Thompson's (1988:28) words about the importance of oral history in which he posited that:

> Oral history is a history built around people. It thrusts life into history itself and it widens its scope. It allows heroes not just from the leaders, but from the unknown majority of the people. It encourages teachers and students to become fellow-workers. It brings history into, and out of, the community. It helps the less privileged, and especially the old, towards dignity and self-confidence.

2.3.1.2 The politics of memory when it comes to government's role in the documentation of minority groups

Memorialisation of different groups of people in the nation has always been contested. Mainstream cultural institutions such as archives, museums and galleries always find themselves in these controversies because "collective forgetfulness, anonymity and shared amnesia are dreaded conditions resisted in all social orders" (Khalaf 2005).

The importance of memory can be noted in Greek mythology where it is referred to as the mother of all the Muses and through her, society may be nursed to healthy and creative maturity (Cook 1997). However, societal memory is littered with a lot of controversies in which the processes of the science of memory are now being critically analysed to determine what led to the conclusions of what "was worth remembering and, as important, what was forgotten, deliberately or accidentally. Such collective remembering and forgetting occurs through galleries, museums, libraries, historic sites, historic monuments, public commemorations, and archives perhaps most especially through archives" (Cook 1997).

Ndlovu, Lantern and Sibanda (2013:116) argued that "the colonisers knew the value of the history of a people as a weapon for liberation. It was, therefore, necessary to

distort that history and render it useless so that people would not take pride in it". Citing Fanon, Ndlovu *et al* (2013:110) argued that colonialism turns to the past of the oppressed people, distorts, disfigures and destroys it". Also quoting Ngugi (2009:4), Ndlovu *et al* (2013:116) posited that "the colonialists dismembered the colonised from memory, turning their heads upside down and burying all the memories they carried". Echoing the same sentiments is Petrovato (2006) who said that those "who control the past, control the future, however, the way in which events are selected for national popular memory is not a politically neutral or objective process". In addition to this is the fact that the intention to erase African historical and cultural narratives is a clear case of cultural genocide with the express aim to destroy African cultural values and identities (Rwafa 2014:106).

Wa-Kamau (2005:5) argued that:

> An important aspect of the African Revolution is cultural; African culture must be rediscovered, rejuvenated, practiced, and maintained. However, it must not be imposed on the general population. African culture should receive ample structural support (e.g. in terms of African culture/history being taught about in the state curriculum, African research institutes being state-funded, public television/radio having majority African content, etc). Even so, other cultural forms should be allowed to blossom. If this is not allowed and African culture is imposed upon the population, there will undoubtedly be a revolt and African culture will be associated with repression.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012:4), citing Laakso and Olukoshi (1996: 11-12), argued that the fatal flaw at the heart of the modern African nation-state is, in general, the idea of "a tight correspondence between the nation and the state whereby each sovereign state was seen as a nation-state of people who shared a common language or culture". However, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012:4) stated that the problem with this "notion of a monolithic nation-state contradicts the realities of an African social existence dominated by multiculturalism, multilingualism, multiple religions, and diverse ethnic and racial groups". Referencing Arif Dirlik (2002), Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012:4) noted that:

> Many of the identities that today are accepted and taken for granted as national are not only “hybrid”, but also products of prior processes of colonisation and resistance and encounters mediated by oppression, exploitation, and even forceful conversion. But the identities that have emerged from these traumatic experiences have ended up being embraced and celebrated as a historical triumph. Zimbabwean nationalism is thus predicated on the assumption that diversity of ethnic and racial identities has to be homogenised into a singular national identity and that successful nation-building and state-making will culminate in eradication of diverse identities and the projection of the identity of the group that dominates state power.

Gaugue (2001:26) criticised African memorialisation post-independence by contending that “the description of events after independence was usually limited to the actions of the president or the party in power at the time of inauguration. Museums thus became places devoted to the self-legitimization of power and instruments of political propaganda”. This approach to history is challenged by Muwati, Mutasa and Bopape (2010:166) who argued that:

> Nation and nationalism are vigorously contested sites between the ruling elite and the majority. This has been engendered by the conscious realisation that nationalism has been divested of its national appeal to a point where it has become a cocktail of warped self-seeking manoeuvres and a justification for minority power. The narrow conceptualisation of nationalism has led the majority to feel they are not part of the broader national entity

Muwati, Mutasa and Bopape (2010:161) preferred micro to macro national historiography which focuses on the individual and critiques the official nationalist ideology whose powering engine is the group. They also contended that micro nationalism “marks the radicalisation of alternative and counter voices to insipid ruling elite dogma. Such counter-discursive perspectives amplify the imagination of multiple versions of nationalisms and multiple versions of nationalisms of nation Zimbabwe”.

In regard to the selective memory of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, Hadebe (2016:1) figured that since ZPRA did not win political power at the attainment of

independence in 1980, its war effort has largely remained an untold story or where reference is made it is often anecdotal and their contribution is belittled by their competitors. In line with that, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012:5) posited that “the political use of memorialisation and commemoration in Zimbabwe dates back to the time of the liberation war, when ZANU-PF cleverly and instrumentally used particular events not only to popularise itself, but also to claim to be the sole initiator of the liberation struggle”. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012:5) then gave the following examples to buttress his point: The Chinhoyi battle of 1966 was celebrated annually during the liberation struggle by ZANU to mark the beginning of the armed struggle and so this battle is “ideologically used by ZANU-PF to claim the position of the initiator of the armed struggle ahead of the Zimbabwe African People’s Union and its armed wing, the Zimbabwe People’s Revolutionary Army (ZPRA)”.

The politicisation of liberation struggle memory in Zimbabwe is again described in the following words by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009:22) when he explained that “this regime has been holding the nation hostage to skewed and highly partisan and sanitised version of history and memory of national liberation has been converted and consolidated into a myth of foundation of the nation with ZANU-PF leaders putting themselves at the epicentre of this epic struggle”. Even 20 years after independence ZANU PF has continued to rule by biased historiography as stated by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009:25) that “since 2000, the Harare elite tried to rule by historiography backed by sanitised and edited memories of the liberation struggle”. Such an approach of sanitisation of history is explained by Schwartz and Cook (2002:1) who posited “that archives are established by the powerful to protect or enhance their position in society”.

Eriksen (2016) noted that Freedom Park, which was constructed in 2009 as a monument dedicated to “struggle heroes” and features a “name wall” which lists the names of people who died fighting in the Anglo-Boer War, World War 1 and 2 as well as during the struggle against apartheid, excluded specifically South African Defence Force soldiers who fought in the Southern African Bush war (1966-1989) but rather chooses to name Angolans, Cubans, Russians and MK members who fought against the SADF. This memorial exclusion led the Veterans Association of SADF to erect a

wall of remembrance at Voortrekker monument that features the names of fallen SADF, Navy and Airforce soldiers and civilians who had been fatally involved (Eriksen 2016:17).

Eriksen (2016:4) contended that the SADF (1966-1989):

> Felt that their stories, experiences and contributions had either been ignored utterly or warped into propagandist narratives with the evil Apartheid and its attack dog, the SADF, losing to the "good" ANC, SWAPO and their supporters, thus colouring their own experiences in the light of being an "evil, racist" military force, at least as far as the rest of the world was concerned.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Willems (2009:950) argued that:

> Against the background of government's efforts to create a one party state, the nation was increasingly imagined as 'Shona-centred' and 'ZANU-PF-centred', excluding PF-ZAPU and Ndebele-speaking communities. This was indicated, for example, by the creation of an ethno-centric dance-drama called Mbuya Nehanda–The spirit of liberation, to coincide with the second anniversary of Zimbabwe's Independence in 1982.

ZANU-PF's approach towards national historiography is again called into question when Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Willems (2009:950) posited that the national broadcaster ZBC was accused of "producing several documentaries about the history of ZANU but neglecting ZAPU…ZAPU followers even launched a protest in front of ZBC's Bulawayo studio to express their concern that ZBC only aired ZANLA liberation war songs and failed to broadcast ZPRA songs". Similar sentiments are echoed by Hadebe (2016:4) who maintained that he added that the publicised historical narratives in Zimbabwe "are influenced by war propaganda, partisan bias, glorification of individual members of the ruling elite and public policies pursued by the government at any given period". The omission of ZPRA songs in the national narrative has a strong negative impact because song "is full of affect – it hits people deeply and that is why it works and had such a potent impact" (Langa 2016:1). Referencing Galant (2016) and Dlodlo (2016), Langa (2016:13) argued that songs are true, untampered, untainted representation of the past, uncluttered mobile archive if it is compared and contrasted

with history created by Governments, academy and mainstream museums and archives.

In regard to archival institutions, Chabikwa (2016:66) averred that societal archives are:

> Selective memory and the voices of the socio-political and economic elites abound in the archive at the expense of the other voices. This is so because of the nexus between political power and archives. In the case of the National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ), public sector records and archives predominate. Minorities and the underrepresented are evident by their "silences" and "absences" from the archive.

Furthermore, Chabikwa (2016:66) added that the mainstream archives are the ones increasingly seen as the main cause of silences and absences in the archive of the underrepresented and minorities.

2.3.1.3 Mainstream oral history programmes in Zimbabwe

Oral history programmes in Zimbabwe have not only been conducted by mainstream institutions such as NAZ or National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) but by other different organisations such as universities, museums, liberation trust associations such as Mafela Trust and ZPRA Veterans Trust, ethnic biased groups such as the Tso-ro-tso San Development Trust (TSDT) of the San people, Gaza Trust for the Shangaan/Tsonga people, Nambya and Kalanga Language Development and Culture Association, clan associations such as Amangwe Heritage Trust, sexual minority groups such as Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe (GALZ) and Commissions concerned with human rights violations such as the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) among others. However, this section dwells more on NAZ.

NAZ's oral history programmes can be traced back to 1968 when the reminiscences and experiences of the white early settlers who were involved in the colonising Pioneer Column were recorded. This exercise was seen as supplementing the written records

of the British Southern Africa Company (BSAC) which ruled the country before a formal government of 1923 took over (Manungo and Peet 1988:67). However, it should be noted that in the 1960s the European administration, not archives per se, decided that the Department of Native Affairs should look into the history of the chiefs and their lineages in order to understand how to rule Africans and this led to the production of delineation reports which today are 'valuable' to researchers who are researching on chieftainship disputes and those studying the history of different ethnic groups in Zimbabwe (Manungo 2012:65).

The blacks who were interviewed during the European oral history programme at NAZ were few prominent people like traditional chiefs such as Chief Zvimba and Chief Chivero. Also, the well-known philanthropist, Jairos Jiri who was the founder of the rehabilitation centres for the handicapped, was interviewed during this period (Manungo 2012:65). It was only in 1977 that a black oral historian interviewer, Dawson Munjeri, was hired to collect African stories (Manungo and Peet 1988:68). After 1980 the oral history programme began to focus on ordinary people and it also became the focal point for the formation of the Oral Traditions Association of Zimbabwe (OTAZI) in 1985. Manungo (2012:66) outlined the developments by narrating that the Association brought together practitioners in oral history and oral traditions such as those from the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC), African Literature Bureau, the Culture section of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Zimbabwe National Traditional Association of Herbalists (ZINATHA), University of Zimbabwe's Department of African Languages and Literature and the History Department. A regional body of Oral Traditions in Southern Africa (OTASA) was later formed in 1987 in Zambia and it included Southern African countries such as Zimbabwe, Malawi, Botswana, Swaziland and Zambia. Mozambique and Angola because of the difference in lingua franca were not involved whilst South Africa was side-lined because of Apartheid.

Matangira (2016:251) narrated that:

> The Oral History Unit, which was mainly conducted in the English language before independence, was expanded in the period after independence to

include two other major indigenous languages of Shona and Ndebele with the aim of capturing the unrecorded histories of the local people whose history had been side-lined in the past. The recording of such histories became active and vibrant after independence in the 1980s and 1990s through a deliberate effort to "take the archives to the people" including the project "Capturing a Fading National Memory" – a project set-up in 2003 to document oral testimonies on experiences of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. Thus, the oral history programme was strengthened in the period after independence. Nevertheless, in recent years, it has also suffered from the effects of the Zimbabwe crisis.

'Capturing a Fading National Memory' was a huge oral history programme at NAZ. This was seen by the volumes of oral testimonies which were produced as noted by Cunningham and Yecalo-Tecle (2016:4) who stated that over 4,000 recorded interviews are held in the oral history collection at the National Archives of Zimbabwe, and nearly 2,500 of these have been produced since 2003 as part of a range of projects led by the National Archive to "capture a fading memory". However, the programme faced some challenges in Matabeleland and Gwanda where nothing much was collected because the respondents view Government and its archivists with suspicion and instead of narrating about the liberation struggle they decided to reminisce about the Gukurahundi atrocities which took place after independence in which many people of Ndebele origin lost their lives (Murambiwa 2009:31). Bhebhe (2015:48) noted that this raised interesting questions regarding the implications of imposing to the interviewees what they should remember and what they should forget. Why should they remember the war of liberation and forget the civil strife that took place soon after independence? Murambiwa (2009:27) also pointed out that the "political environment in Zimbabwe which, coupled with the need to identify and approach informants through local leadership structures, complicated the oral history recording efforts". This was so because the "local leaders invariably referred matters to highly politicised local government structures or ruling ZANU-PF structures" thus politicising the whole process (Murambiwa 2009:27). The informants, therefore, adjusted their testimonies accordingly once they noted that the interviewer was a government agent and then told him or her what he or she wanted to hear (Murambiwa 2009:27).

The use of oral history at NAZ is very relevant and important considering the distortions and omissions noted by Murambiwa (2009:25) in the 'Zimbabwe Archive' when he lamented that it is an:

> Archive of divergent versions shaped by colluding interests of archivists and historians. As part of the creation of the "Zimbabwean archive" certain social sections actively seek to protect their desired memories through collecting documents, objects and stories that buttress their viewpoints. In a parallel process, the same social sections seek to erase unwanted memories of losers, atrocities and repression. This they do through destruction of evidence, access control and distortion of history.

In the recent years the NAZ has targeted the minority ethnic groups in the programme dubbed 'One Nation, One Zimbabwe' in which oral traditions of the Kalanga, Ndau, BaTonga, Tsonga and the Nambya have been captured (Chabikwa 2016:71). Although Chabikwa (2016:71-72) claimed that the Government of Zimbabwe is proactive in supporting the archival programmes that deal with the minority and underrepresented groups by providing financial resources, he also noted the shortcomings of 'One Nation, One Zimbabwe' in that it was "premised on the fact that the project was supposed to document memories from the ten administrative provinces of Zimbabwe. A decade later after its official launch in 2004, only 4 districts (Gokwe, Chiredzi and Bulilima and Mangwe) out of 63 in the country have been documented". Another oral history project of interest is the NAZ-launched Family Tree Project in which family trees of ordinary people were compiled (NAZ 2017:1-34). This was done after noting that the Zimbabwean archive has more on elites such as chiefs and politicians than the ordinary people.

However, the oral history programme at NAZ has been besieged by a plethora of challenges. Some of them are narrated by Moyo (2007:162) where she notes that:

> There is a lack of thorough planning before the interviews commence. There is no uniformity in the collection of oral history and collections are clandestinely done. Interviews are conducted as an afterthought mostly in Provincial Centres when one wants to send in their quarterly reports. Provincial Centres rely

> heavily on resources from the Head Office thus limiting their capabilities in doing the interviews. If Provincial Archivists do not have time to do interviews, one is not penalised at all. There are no mechanisms of controlling collections. Collection strategies have failed to cater for the whole country due to a number of factors, which include shortage of manpower, resources and strategies for collections. The Provincial Heads are supposed to carry out interviews in their provinces but they have other responsibilities. All Provincial Archivists are responsible for more than eight districts in their provinces but most of the districts have not been covered. Oral history collections are no longer mandatory for the Provincial Heads since they are assigned other work responsibilities.

Tsodzo (2016:47) noted that the Ministry of Rural Development, Preservation and Promotion where NAZ once belonged, was described as having a shortage of resources to the extent of even struggling to have office space at the local level of governance, let alone vehicles and other basic equipment to effectively undertake their mandate.

Preservation of oral history collection is also presented as a challenge by Moyo (2007:165) since the collection is not kept under optimum conditions because the air conditioning system broke down in 1990s thus leaving all collections liable to deterioration. Chaterera and Mutsagondo (2015:2) noted that even though NAZ has embraced oral history as a matter of policy, “the Unit has suffered from lack of national vibrancy and national visibility, as it has hitherto remained a pale shadow of itself. The situation has been worsened by huge backlogs (approximately 4,500 cubic feet) of unprocessed transcripts”. Chaterera and Mutsagondo (2015) also cited lack of transport and equipment, poor staff motivation and negative perceptions of NAZ officers on oral history. By negative perceptions of NAZ officers they meant that those officers who were not involved in oral history because of a rigid specialisation in the organisational structure were not supportive or appreciative of the unit.

Ngulube (2015:6) went deeper into the challenges faced by the oral history programme by delving into professional issues relating to oral history ethics. He listed the following observations:

1. Collectors did not adequately prepare for interviews.
2. Some interviews did not add value to the collection.
3. A lack of collection development policy inimical to following proper procedures.
4. No equity in selecting the narrators and filling the gaps.
5. No uniform approach to getting informed consent.
6. No formal release form for the interviews.
7. Narrators were rarely rewarded.
8. Interview transcripts were not reviewed and signed off.
9. The respect for privacy and confidentiality assured within reasonable limits.
10. Professional association has not formulated a code of ethics.
11. Limited skills to collect oral history.
12. Oral history archivists mainly trained in-house.
13. Limited basic training in oral history methodologies.
14. Limited ethical competencies among oral history archivists.

2.3.1.4 Mainstream oral history programmes in South Africa

Rodrigues (2013:2) observed that archives in South Africa “have often focussed their collecting efforts on records of national significance and documenting the perspectives of the more dominant communities that represent power and government. This has resulted in the underrepresentation of certain communities in the archival heritage of the nation”. Rodrigues (2013:2) further stated that even though the major purpose of archival institutions is to preserve the experiences of all people, the result has been that these collecting institutions “have often ignored experiences outside the history of the state and the powerful, consequently creating gaps in the portrayal of a society’s past experiences and social memory”. However, Harris (2002:78) noted that these gaps in memory left by mainstream archives are not being seriously covered in South Africa “as many groups continue to be underrepresented and under-documented in

our archives". Rodrigues (2013:28) noted that the under-documented on which South Africa is concentrating are those that had to do with the liberation struggle and some rural communities but nothing much is being done for immigrant groups such as Portuguese.

Referencing Lekgwathi, (2014) and Setumu (2015:34), Ngoepe and Setumu (2017:17) argued that the motivation of oral history programmes in South Africa is that the official national narrative before the end of apartheid was written from the point of view of the ruling white elite. That is why 1652 is stated as the beginning of South African history, with the focus being on whites' activities in South Africa and the observation being that the current archival records preserved in South Africa's mainstream archives largely consist of documents that were generated after the arrival of Europeans in this part of the world and these records reflect very little about the indigenous communities. Citing Ngoepe and Ngulube (2011), Ngoepe and Setumu (2017:17) proposed that time is ripe for ordinary people to document their stories to share with the rest of the world as this would also help to close the gap that exists in terms of archival holdings in public archival repositories, especially in South Africa, where the holdings mostly reflect white privilege. This archival gap in South Africa, as Rodrigues (2013:129) argued by citing Harris, was mainly created by the Apartheid Government which silenced, erased or destroyed oppositional and alternative voices. Rodrigues (2013:129), still citing Harris, further argued that this destruction of records was not only limited to public records, but also crept on to non-public records of individuals and organisations.

According to the Revised White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage (2016), foundation for arts, culture and heritage to grow were being laid. This is so because the Paper promoted the extension of arts, culture and heritage infrastructure, facilities and resources beyond the colonial urban centres into peri-urban and rural communities. The Paper also promoted multilingualism and cultural diversity of all peoples including minority and indigenous citizens.

Bickford-Smith, Field and Glasser (2001:5) selected the late 1970s as the years in which oral history became the vital element in the production of social history in South

Africa where the experiences of individuals and communities that were undocumented in written sources have been brought into the mainstream of South African history. Bickford-Smith, Field and Glasser (2001:5) insisted that it is then that oral history "generated fresh insights, on issues such as migracy, sharecropping and labour tenancy, urban squatter movements and removals, household struggles, youth subcultures and political movements".

However, it should be noted that the earlier ethnographers in the 1930s such as Van Warmelo were already collecting oral histories of the local blacks. This is noted by Lekgoathi (2009:65) who argued that:

> Van Warmelo was motivated by the twin goals of conserving and salvaging the African traditions from corrosion by western influences and of creating an archive. As an ethnographer and expert on African cultures, he sought to preserve the knowledge of African customs, manners and institutions contained in folklore in much the same way that James Stuart, a colonial official in Natal, had recorded Zulu cultural practices, and the Swiss missionary Junod had collected material among the Thonga from the late 1890s to the 1920s.

Denis (2008:4) observed that what "makes oral history attractive in contemporary South Africa, among groups as diverse as officials in government departments, local activists and community leaders, is its perceived ability to retrieve, affirm and disseminate long-repressed African traditions". The History Workshop which was created by the University of Witwatersrand believed that oral history, through its deference to ordinary people, could produce history that was not elitist. Their approach favoured individual life history or family history. By focusing on the life stories of individuals and their families' one is able to gain a better understanding of the experiences of people who are usually ignored (such as peasants, tenants and labourers).

By the 1990's, especially after the onset of democracy, oral history projects in South Africa began to collapse due to diminishing sources of funds and the failure to define the new role within the post-apartheid context (Bickford 2001:16-17). Similar sentiments were echoed by Denis (2008:15) who argued that many of the countless

oral history projects launched since the turn of the century are ill equipped and struggle to reach their objectives. However, positives were also mentioned by Denis when he posited that their existence is an achievement in itself and the fact that oral history is now part of the history curriculum in South African schools gave it an importance that it never had during the years of apartheid. Denis (2008:13) also posited that:

> South African government – along with municipalities and various other public bodies – is one of the few governments in the world, if not the only one, to actively promote oral history in schools, museums, archives and heritage sites. Oral history is less and less the preserve of academic institutions.

The Western Cape Oral History Project (WCOHP) is selected as one of the survivors because it adapted and went beyond filling gaps but started interrogating issues of power relations in the interview situation, memory and translation (Bickford-Smith 2001:16). Another problem faced by South African oral history is that "neither publishers nor universities feel that they can derive profit from it. It is not seen as a good investment because the market is not considered big enough" (Bickford-Smith 2001:19).

Oral history in South Africa has been used by the state to heal and reconcile the nation after the pains of apartheid. This was done through the creation of Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The weakness of the TRC approach was its prescriptive legalism in contrast with the open-ended informal style of most oral history interviewing and "the commission focussed almost exclusively on particular incidents of trauma, to the exclusion of personal and social context" (Bickford-Smith 2001:18). TRC modus operandi was again viewed as using oral history in a simple way that fills the "gaps of the state archive or to confirm a new master narrative of the past" (Bickford-Smith 2001:19). Referencing Bozzoli, Bickford-Smith *et al* (2001:19) complained that "a complex process whereby a new silencing and seclusion [begins] to emerge, through the silences of the [TRC] hearing and appropriation of what was said by a nationalist discourse".

Layton and Mtetwa (2013:103-104) also have reservations with TRC by arguing that while the TRC created a “metanarrative” of the liberation struggle, there was no reflection of the incredible richness and diversity of contributions, no contestations that were part of the lived heritage and many stories remained silent and were even suppressed by the TRC. The same views can be noted from Good (1997:567) where he argued that TRC was hijacked by elitists as they tried to protect themselves from prosecution, for example, human rights violations by Winnie Madikizela and Buthelezi were ignored or skirted. Good (1997:571) concluded by critiquing the elite’s behaviour in stating that “when the predominant party elite set out to falsify big political issues [this] disempowers the people… [And] the real losers within the elite-contrived obscurity and silence are the poor and the voiceless”.

Ngoepe and Setumu (2017:21) observed that in South Africa there has been a “growing emphasis on community history in schools and the broader society is based on a genuine effort to recover silenced voices and offers an opportunity to capture and share heritage…” as this would be of benefit in correcting “distortions in the official archives and other sources, and would help to open new areas of inquiries which are often overlooked and remain obscured”.

Wahlberg (2008:41) stated that the introduction of Outcomes Based Education (OBE) in 1998 and a new curriculum, Curriculum 2005, was meant for learners to be taught research on the neglected and hidden histories of their communities. To achieve this goal, the Department of Education purposefully emphasised the importance of using oral history. Quoting Kallaway (1995), Wahlberg (2008:42) said the problem of apartheid education system was that it presented history as being a “grand narrative of “big” men. In this sense, the historical record for a whole generation was heavily biased towards, and characterised by a Eurocentric perspective. As a result, the history of ordinary people and people of colour was falsely interpreted, went unrecorded or was silenced altogether”. Wahlberg (2008:42), referencing Cubbin (1998), argued that “in order to bring history in line with OBE the focus of the subject should shift to community or microhistory …local history is a powerful means of restoring academic history to the realm of the active, relevant and real in our

community lives". DoE (2002), cited by Wahlberg (2008:43), saw the use of oral history in schools as advantageous as it was going to promote the "study of indigenous languages, which is essential for the re-writing of a more inclusive South African history for coming generations" and, therefore, making oral history component as compulsory to Grade 12.

Lekgoathi (2015:1) posited that Oral History Association of South Africa (OHASA) has achieved a lot of things such as popularising oral history and supporting provincial initiatives across nine provinces of South Africa. Lekgoathi (2015) also observed that OHASA has come up with Oral History Journal of South Africa, the first of its kind on the African continent, which helps to disseminate academic information to the public. The objectives of OHASA according to the amended OHASA Constitution (2016:1) are:

1. To promote and develop oral history as a formal and distinct discipline.
2. To promote the research and dissemination of oral history in South Africa in the various official languages.
3. To promote the usage of oral history in schools and other institutions.
4. To liaise with indigenous knowledge systems holders in the promotion of oral history.
5. To establish partnerships with institutions, bodies, associations pursuing similar objectives and practices.
6. To promote collection management and accessibility of oral history.
7. To organise and host annual OHASA conferences.

Another important oral history programme in South Africa that deserves special mentioning is the South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET). "The Road to Democracy in South Africa project, managed by the South African Democracy Education Trust, began in 2000 and has become the most comprehensive and systematic investigation of South African liberation history to date" (Minter 2009). "Initiated by the former President of South Africa, Mr Thabo Mbeki, and assisted by private sector funding, it has carried out hundreds of interviews with participants from

all sides and recruited dozens of scholars for recording and analysing multiple aspects of that history for the period from 1960 to 1994" (Minter 2009). Houston (2010:5) argued that one of the key objectives of SADET was "to develop a collection of oral histories of South Africans from all political persuasions and experiences of the liberation struggle during the three-and–a half decades under study". It all started when Thabo Mbeki "indicated his concern about the paucity of historical material on the arduous and complex road to South Africa's peaceful political settlement after decades of violent conflict" (SADET 2015). According to SADET (2015) The Project has following publications to its name:

1. The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 1, 1960-1970.
2. The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2, 1970-1980.
3. Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 3, International Solidarity Part 1.
4. Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 3, International Solidarity Part 2.
5. The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980-1990 Part 1.
6. The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4, 1980-1990 Part 2.
7. The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 5, African Solidarity.
8. The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 5, African Solidarity Part 2.
9. The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 6, (1990-1996) Part 1.
10. The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 6, (1990-1996) Part 2.
11. The Road to Democracy: South Africans telling their stories, Volume 1, 1950-1970.
12. The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 7, Soweto Uprisings: New Perspectives, Commemorations and Memorialisation.
13. The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 3, International Solidarity, Part 3.

SADET (2015) also mentioned that the subsequent volumes would carry accounts in the original languages in which they were told and that the full interview tapes can be consulted, on request, from SADET archives.

2.3.2 Factors hindering and enabling the documentation of minority groups' oral history in Zimbabwe and South Africa

Several factors hinder national archival repositories from documenting oral history. For example, NARS has faced some challenges in conducting its daily business and these have also negatively affected the documentation of minority groups. These challenges are mentioned by Mhlanga (2014:i) whose argument is that the institution experienced a number of challenges which include absence of a dedicated budget for records and archives operations, low awareness of its role in fostering indigenous people's rights, space constraints, political influence and resistance by citizens to participate in oral history programmes.

Whilst the archivists and records managers confirmed that archival practices at NARS were now focused on filling the gaps left by the apartheid regime by embracing all elements in society, Mhlanga (2014:82) however stated that the respondents also said that:

> Despite being a vital documentation strategy, participants concurred that the main challenge in making oral history programmes a success is the reluctance of some targeted groups to be included in the societal memory of the nation. The respondents in the archiving section gave the following responses: AS1 (interview, 5 December, 2013) says that "…some ethnic groups just resist participating in these programmes." AS4 (interview, 22 January, 2014) points out that "…in some instances when capturing information some participants refuse to disclose some information." AS5 (interview, 24 January, 2014) says that "…other people do not see the benefits or value of being interviewed and hence do not show interest."

Mhlanga (2014:102) posited that this aspect of resistance is induced by lack of awareness about the potential of archives on such issues as human rights and national memory and thus citizens do not find it worthwhile to participate in these programmes initiated by NARS and the result of that is the further relegation of the institution to the periphery of government and public interest.

In the case of the NAZ, public sector records and archives predominate. Minorities and the underrepresented are evident by their "silences" and "absences" from the

archive (Chabikwa 2016:66). Views of the similar nature are noted in Bhebhe (2014:66) whose standpoint is that 'the indigenous groups of Zimbabwe that seem to be represented in the national social memory are the Shona and Ndebele. Other minority groups such as the San are silent in the social memory of the nation". Bhebhe (2014:66) and Chabikwa (2016:71) observed that this is changing as NAZ is coming up with programmes such as 'One Nation One Zimbabwe' which are targeting the minority groups. Chabikwa (2016:66) then advised:

> That the appraisal and selection of records by NAZ needs to change as well as its collection development policy to incorporate private archives and related regional and local archives. Zimbabwe needs a transformational discourse as well as research agenda to facilitate the documentation of the underrepresented and minority groups from various sectors of society. Collaborative efforts by NAZ and groups of the marginalized should lay the foundation for achieving integrated societal memory, which will address the imbalances and discontents in the mainstream archival endeavour.

The same challenges are encountered in South Africa in which Ngoepe (2017:1) argued that most of the provincial archives which came to existence after South Africa's independence are situated in previously marginalised communities, [therefore] the:

> Archival holdings should embrace the voices of such community, which in turn will promote the usage of archives. One way of building an inclusive archive is through embarking on a national oral history project that adopts the model of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Furthermore, the South African government should consider developing a policy on inter-repository repatriation of archives to the communities about which they were created. It is concluded that the failure to address the situation of 'archives' will render these repositories white elephants and empty vessels.

Some of the notable hindrances encountered in documenting the Zimbabwe's minority groups has been the issue of language in which Bhebhe (2015:51-52) noted that when oral history interviews were conducted in Chiredzi with Tsonga people, the community

demanded to be interviewed in their own language but among the team of NAZ there was no one who was able to converse in the Shangaan language. The same happened in Plumtree where the community wanted to be interviewed in the Kalanga language and there was no one in the team that could speak it. Such challenges can be addressed by adopting Thompson's (1998:21-28) approach where community itself collects its own oral histories than having middle class professionals doing it and disappearing with the respondents' tapes.

Political interference is another challenge as explained by Mhlanga (2014:82) that archivists are public servants, hence, cannot disassociate themselves from politics. Mhlanga (2014:86) further cited an interviewee who argued that "…during my time at the institution we made frantic efforts to at least disassociate ourselves from politics but we came to the realisation that the notion of objectivity and impartiality in public-funded archives is something that is not achievable." Pickover (2009:6) once talked about this issue when she explained that, "political expediency can dominate what is collected and party political agendas can have repercussions on the archival institution's collection policy." Mhlanga (2014:102-103) further averred that:

> By virtue of the institution being funded by the ruling party, this has led to a compromise on the core archival functions. The institution receives inadequate funding from the government yet is expected to be largely biased in its acquisition and appraisal strategies whereby consciously or unconsciously, archivists add to their holdings records or archives of powerful elements in the government. The implication of this is that focus is diverted from capturing or documenting the other groups in the society which merit inclusion in the national memory. Similarly, providing access to the archival materials at the institution can also be controlled by the same powerful elements in the country and this cripples the mechanisms of proper record-keeping.

Despite Nstimane (2008:124) stating that "in post-apartheid South Africa, the government has invested large sums of money, through the Department of Arts and Culture and its provincial equivalents, in promoting oral history", Mhlanga (2014:99-

100) begged to differ by arguing that lack of adequate government support has emerged as:

> The major stumbling block crippling the operations of the institution especially in the areas of acquisition, appraisal and also making access to the archival holdings difficult. The placement of the institution within the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) appears to have further complicated the issue and this stems from the fact that the department is seen as being less influential in the circles of government decision-making. The lack of a dedicated budget allocated to NARS further compounds the problems, relegating the institution to the periphery. The implication of this treatment from the government implies that the core archival practices are no longer being fully executed, leaving gaps in corporate and societal memory. A skewed documentary heritage emanates from the failure of the institution to conduct records surveys, oral history programmes and outreach activities which are crucial in the construction of a vibrant recordkeeping system. The adverse effects of such a situation are firstly felt by the NARS employees themselves as they feel demotivated by this neglect and they transfer this frustration to their work which results in archives of poor quality.

In the Zimbabwe case, Chabikwa (2016:71-72) argued that the:

> Government through its arms like the National Archives and the National Museum and Monuments are fully behind the documentation of such areas of history. The project Capturing a Fading National Memory had been put on hold due to lack of resources, but in 2014 the Government resuscitated the project by funding for the documentation of the liberation heritage of the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army(ZPRA) the armed wing of Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) before independence. This illustrates the fact that government has a positive attitude and thinking towards the documentation of minorities and the underrepresented.

However, a number scholars such as Moyo (2007), Murambiwa (2009), Ngulube (2012), Bhebhe (2014; 2015), Chaterera and Mutsagondo (2015) have noted that NAZ has struggled with the issues of inadequate funding and that this has resulted in limited success in excellent archiving.

Wieder (2004:23-24) took note that the South African history methodology is now emphasising on the importance of recognising and celebrating the voices of people who were unheard during the apartheid era and this is bringing out the possibilities of discovering new meaning and depth in testimony such as oral history. However, the issues of insider/outsider paradigm and deconstructing the synergy of rapport and trust remain a challenge. Wieder (2004:24) argued that some scholars posited that oral historians should be local to the respondents because of inside knowledge whereas others mentioned issues of objectivity in such cases. Mchunu (2008:135), in addition, averred that "community members may find it easier to divulge sensitive memories to soon-departing strangers than to veritable neighbours". These methodological paradigms have led to a situation where the local respondents have developed mistrust for outsiders as was observed by Ngoepe and Ngulube (2014) when they were collecting oral testimonies from African Independent Churches. The same situation was observed also by Bhebhe (2015) in Zimbabwe where some minority groups were not willing to be interviewed by 'outsiders' from NAZ. The same challenges were witnessed by Mchunu (2008:133) "during the Impi Yamakhanda field research, when interviewees expressed suspicion of the intentions of scholars, this was based upon previous experiences of academics who misrepresented data".

To counter some of the resistance that may be encountered in documenting the minority groups, Epprecht (1999:25) called for a change of method where professional historians work with community activists. He refers this approach as a situation whereby "ivory tower" and "grassroots" are brought together in a mutually enriching relationship that offers an alternative model to the methods that currently predominate in the production of historical knowledge in Southern Africa".

Ntsimane (2008:124) observed that in post-apartheid South Africa, "the stories that are brought to the fore celebrate the wisdom and courage of African people and their resistance to apartheid. Cultural expressions through songs, dances and sports are now valued as part of the nation's cultural heritage". Ntsimane (2008:124) further argued that, relatively few oral history projects focus on the survival strategies and resilience mechanisms of the oppressed, especially the women, a situation which was

noted long back by Gerda Lerder who has traced, from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century, the systematic exclusion of women from society's memory tools and institutions, including archives (Schwartz and Cook 2002:7). Malphas (2005:100) then advocated the production of histories that recognise the presence of women in the past as this would lead to a multiplicity of narratives that explore the ways in which the differences within and between sexes have been controlled, denied or suppressed by patriarchal societies.

2.3.3 Community oral history programmes initiated by minority groups in Zimbabwe and South Africa

This section reviewed literature on community archiving as an archival discourse. The literature on community archives in Zimbabwe and South Africa was also reviewed.

2.3.3.1 Community archiving as an 'emerging' archival discourse

Wisniewaska-Drewniak (2015) defined community archives as "historical archives created on a grass-roots level, commonly organised by foundations and associations, but also by private persons or informal groups". Wisniewaska-Drewniak (2015) further held that community archives are a result of citizen activity and passion for history and the past, an effect of belief that some records or memories are worth preserving even if state archives do not recognise them as so. Community archives almost always lack professional archival staff (with only a few exceptions). Such archives actively collect their own materials actively by themselves. They gather mainly photographs and oral histories, but sometimes also traditional paper records but the latter are not very popular part of community archives' holdings.

Newman (2012:1), defining community archives as a whole, said that the archives that are held by the community should meet the theoretical definition of archives, that is, the records of continuing value created by individuals or organisations and notes that community archives often collect local history materials which they call 'archives' but which do not meet the archival theory definition of archives. In then defining community

archives as a whole, Newman (2012:3) used Erica's definition that it is a "collection of archival records that originate in a community – that is, a group of people who live in the same location or share other forms of community of interest – and whose collection, maintenance and use involves active participation of that community".

However, Wales (2014:26) citing Flinn, Stevens and Shepherd observed "that community archives are far more flexible in their practice than formal archival institutions and, in many cases, combine the functions of libraries, archives and museums". Similar sentiments are echoed by Sheffield (2017:361) who argued that "community archives … pay little heed to traditional distinctions among museums, libraries, and archives. These organizations are also more attuned to the role of archives and the purposes of education, community building, and developing coalitions with other groups". Sheffield (2017:360) further noted that "in fact, a community archive may not even identify itself as an archives but instead use terms such as library, resource centre, or historical association to describe the work that it does".

Why the fuss about community archiving? Bonnerjee, Blunt, McIlwaine and Pereira (2012:15) citing Bellah, reasoned that "communities … have a history – in an important sense are constituted by their past – and for this reason we can speak of a real community as a 'community of memory', one that does not forget its past. In order not to forget that past, a community is involved in retelling its story, its constitutive narrative".

Bloch (2013:153) argued that community approach to archiving means:

> Trying to ensure that appraisal decisions and other archival functions are done with the needs and interests of the community uppermost. This means, again, that archivists ultimately serve societal purposes. For example, when records of certain minorities are created by a state or corporation, they too should be included in the archive, and that collecting archives should include the records of variety of community members in their acquisition decisions. This can also

mean that members of these communities should have some input into such archiving decisions.

Gilliland and Flinn (2013:1) described community archives as varying considerably across different settings, driven by complex considerations such as social justice, a focus on common identities and experiences, and a desire to document communities historically under-represented in mainstream archives. Wales (2014:15) then described community archiving in a way that "suggests some form of resistance to dominant heritage narratives, and connotes a desire for self-representation and the reclamation of the past, especially those groups who may have felt disenfranchised from the national historical or archival record…"

Bloch (2013:153) added that community archiving also meant that the "community of archivists should be available to help establish and support archives created by communities of various kinds – whether of the more conventional type by towns or villages, or by social groups, such as gay and lesbian communities, or cultural minorities". Following Bloch's argument, Christen (2011:185) stated that "in the last twenty years, many collecting institutions have heeded the calls by indigenous activists to integrate indigenous models and knowledge into mainstream practices".

The last decade has seen the growing interest in community archiving and these archives can be centred on ethnicity, sexual orientation, race, religion, economic status and physical locations (Cocciolo 2016:1; Flinn, Stevens and Sherperd 2009; Caswell, Michelle, Cifor and Ramirez 2016). Cocciolo (2016:1), however, argued that the literature on community archives often addresses handling traditional archives, such as accessioning of boxes of paper records or the digitization of such records but there is not much on how the community archives can shift their practices to acquiring born-digital materials. Cocciolo (2016:9) concluded that establishing and maintaining community archives today necessitates dealing with a complex set of technological and social issues which include digitization and crowd-sourced metadata, privacy, archival practices, electronic records and the digital dark age, ownership, copyright and donation of born-digital records, social media and archiving. On the issue of

archival practices, Cocciolo (2016:9) elucidated that in community archives environment, archivists must sometimes set aside their practices and use those that make the most sense to the community. On the issue of ownership and copyright, Cocciolo (2016:9) argued that with born-digital records like photographs, legal language related to ownership and copyright can be confusing or not easy to accept in a community archives context because people want to retain the rights for personal uses, such as posting photographs to social media. Cocciolo (2016:9) then recommended rethinking donor forms and adoption of perpetual licenses or creative commons licences.

Mckemmish, Gilliland-Swetland and Ketelar (2005:144) argued that communities outside the mainstream find it difficult to participate in archival developments and that "their exclusion is in part a manifestation of the differential power relationships at play between the global, the national, and the communal, manifested in a lack of local archival expertise, fiscal resources, and robust technological infrastructures". Mckemmish, Gilliland-Swetland and Ketelar (2005:144) further argued that this is worsened by the "lack of recognition or acknowledgement in western archival science practice of the legitimacy of local and indigenous forms of recordkeeping and memory preservation". Wales (2014:4) also contended that since community archives exist outside the walls of formal archive it then means "that tangible barriers have been created by the professional heritage sector, composed of standards and traditional practice, which prevent informal and community-led initiatives from gaining a place within the recognised domain". In addition to this, the authors argued that there is a need to refigure the archive and "rethink definitions of records and archives that exclude orality, literature, art, artefacts, the built environment, landscape, dance, ceremonies and rituals as archival forms". Referencing Hamilton *et al* (2002) Mckemmish, Gilliland-Swetland and Ketelar (2005:144) cited that in South Africa archivists are exploring "the archive outside the archival inheritance of colonialism, and later apartheid – the oral record, literature, landscape, songs, dance, ritual, art, artefacts and so on".

Flinn, Stevens and Shepherd (2009:83) see community archives as offering "an important and empowering assertion of community resistance to otherwise

exclusionary and often marginalising dominant narratives". They go further to argue that community archives act as a reminder to mainstream heritage institutions to diversify and transform collections. Referencing Crooke, Flinn *et al* (2009:84) argued that many of these "archival activists aim to use community archives and heritage for community empowerment and social change". Flinn *et al* (2009:84) went further to state that these community projects are not politically neutral but frequently arise from and are part of social movements with broad political, cultural and social agendas of transforming change which fundamentally challenges mainstream society, and need to be celebrated as such. In summary, Flinn *et al* (2009:74) concluded that "the establishment of a community archive is, for many, a form of activism that seeks to redress or rebalance this pattern of privileging and marginalising".

Shilton and Srinivasan (2007) came up with a participatory archiving model which they deemed would positively engage the community of South Asian population in Los Angeles. In this model, the South Asian population in Los Angeles was asked to create, upload and share documentation of their identity and culture (Shilton and Srinivasan 2007:98). This model treats the communities as actors and the archive itself is based on a consensual community ontology of the participating community members (Huvila 2008). Huvila (2008), to counter the participatory archiving model by Shilton and Srinivan (2007), came up with participatory archive in which "there is no predetermined community. The 'community' is a sum of all individual participating archive users whether they are users or contributors, archivists, researchers, administrators, labourers, or belong to marginalised communities or the majority". Huvila (2008: 29) summarised the "premise of the participatory archives as that of developing and testing a concept as to how an archive could be radically aligned towards integration of and interaction with its actual and potential users using the notions of decentralised curation, radical user orientation and contextualisation of both records and the entire archival process. The notion of decentralised curation is defined by Huvila (2008) as referring to harnessing knowledgeable users of archival collections to contribute in the form of new and improved descriptions, translations, summaries, and relationships to other records. Radical user orientation means following the principle of postmodern archival science that the foremost functionality of an archival system is to make the contents of an archive available. The notion of contextualisation

refers to making an explicit attempt to capture a wider context of archival material beyond its provenance.

Challenging mainstream cultural institutions, Chapman-Smith (2011:10), referencing Bunch, argued that “ultimately, cultural institutions are special places: touchstones of the past, keepers of our collective memories, sites that enrich and places that inspire. Yet without fully embracing the challenges of diversity, these institutions cannot be a glue that helps to bind a city or a nation together”. Chapman-Smith (2011:62) seemed to favour grassroots programmes because of their potential to reach new audiences and diverse communities thereby promoting the participation of undeserved and underrepresented groups and in the process making major contributions to the archives and history leading to the quality of life in communities.

Oral history is then viewed as a powerful tool in fostering community resilience. Madsen (2015:56) looked into the relationship between community oral history and community resilience, trying to examine questions of how “community oral history can contribute to community resilience through increasing capacity, collective problem solving and action by community members and uncovering stories of the past that are used to support and strengthen a social narrative of how the community can respond to change and adversity”. Madsen (2015:58-59) argued that when the community is telling its story that helps because communication skills, skills on how to publish a book from stories collected, embracing diversity and openness to new ideas and people, social networks, collaborative leadership and civic engagement are greatly improved. This is supported by Thompson (1988:27) who is against “a relationship with informants in which a middle class professional determines who is to be interviewed and what is to be discussed and then disappears with a tape of somebody’s life which they never hear about again – and if they did, might be indignant at the unintended meanings imposed on their words”.

Despite all these positives for community oral history, Madsen (2015:61) argued that there is a risk that “community oral histories would tend towards the celebratory and that difficulties and stories of shame and oppression will not be examined, that the

social narratives and memories represented will be sanitised". The same sentiments are echoed by Thompson (1988:27) when he cautioned that even in the community, those being interviewed would rarely be "fully representative of a community. It is much more likely to be composed from its central groups – people from a skilled working-class or lower middle-class background. The upper class will rarely be there, nor will the very poor, the less confident especially among women, or the immigrant from its racial minority". Thompson (1988:27) also added that "local history drawn from a more restricted social stratum tends to be more complacent, a re-enactment of community myth". The result of such an approach would not strengthen community resilience because they would not reveal those aspects within the community that need attention to increase adaptive capacity, be they local government regulations or addressing issues around social capital (Madsen 2015:61).

To counter this biased history from the community, Madsen (2015:61) offered advice that inclusion of an oral historian in such projects can help community members consider who they interview and what questions are asked as a way of taking a more critical and inclusive approach. In this way, the stories can provide insights into how the community has functioned in the past, what social narratives have been reinforced that continue to influence the way community members see themselves, and their place within that community. Community oral histories can thus offer opportunities for community members to take a good honest look at their past as a way of understanding their present, and how they relate and work together for the good of the community. It is this insight into the past that allows community oral history projects to contribute to community resilience.

Writing about community history programmes in United Kingdom, Bonnerjee *et al* (2012:18) reasoned that these programmes are now "managed through collaborations across arts/cultural, academic and the community sectors, reflecting wider connections both across different communities and across different sectors". The emphasis on community oral history programmes is the need to include communities in documenting their own histories (Bonnerjee et al 2012:19). Bonnerjee *et al* 2012:20), citing Sitzia, contended that "an important aspect of community histories is that the process and participation are often as important as the end product".

Cannon (2009:10) listed the following as the basic challenges faced by community archives: high staff turnover, inability to devote staff time to records management and or archival issues because members of community archives are usually stretched pretty thin and there just aren't enough hours in the day to devote to everything that needs to be done, dwindling funding opportunities and lack of suitable space for long-term storage of records. Cannon (2009:10-11) then suggested that some of the challenges such as high staff turnover or lack of expert staff can be mitigated by enlisting volunteers and students from tertiary or university institutions.

The power of a community archive in action can be seen in the following example, The Digital Community Archives of the National Folklore Support Centre in Chennai India. Sekhar (2010:110-113) said these are six Digital Community Archives (DCA) in Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Jharkand States and the key principles and practices for these community archives are:

1) The community is central to the project and participate in the documentation as "fair" and equal partners.

2) The community is treated as primary audience of the archival material produced.

3) Intimate dialogic processes as methods and means of documentation.

4) Carving cultural spaces for communities.

5) Integration of culture in sustainable development.

2.3.3.2 Community archives in Zimbabwe

Oral history in Zimbabwe is not limited to NAZ only. There are some groups and associations which are using oral history methodology to attain their objectives. A trend is developing in Zimbabwe where oral history programmes are now being conducted by the communities themselves (Bhebhe 2015:6). Some of the examples of these groups are the San people through their Tso-ro-tso San Development Trust (TSDT) which is resuscitating and documenting its language and culture. The

interesting aspect about TSDT is that its role is multifaceted, whilst the NAZ may come in by documenting their history and other cultural artefacts, the TSDT goes beyond that as it covers almost all social, economic and political aspects of the community and it is in situ (Bhebhe 2015:7).

The sister department of NAZ, NMMZ, is playing a major role in the documentation of minority groups in Zimbabwe. A move to decolonise the colonial museums led NMMZ to "introduce new types of museums, which were expected to serve the interests of mainly rural communities. It provided financial support for site museums, interpretive centres and community museums, constructed around archaeological sites and near local communities" (Mataga 2014:119). Mataga (2014:119) further revealed that before that crusade, "an earlier effort was a project on constructing 'Culture Houses' across the country. Located in rural areas, the culture houses were supposed to be constructed in all the 54 districts. These places would be used as centres for cultural activities in the districts". However, due to financial challenges this failed leading to only one cultural house functioning, that is, Murehwa Cultural Centre (Ucko 1994).

Mataga (2014:120) also argued that there was also an emphasis on promoting community museums in the 1990s which were expected to offer space for the cultures of underrepresented minority groups and:

> In 2004, the BaTonga Museum, presenting the life, history and culture of the Tonga people in Zimbabwe, became the first community museum to be officially opened. The idea was initiated by the Binga Crafts Centre Management Board and was funded by MS Zimbabwe (Danish Association for International Cooperation) and the Binga Rural District Council (ZMHS 1994). By 2011, further plans were put in place to collaborate with more local communities in order to build more community museums, especially among the minority ethnic groups such as the Nambya, the Hlengwe and others (Chipunza 09/09/ 2011).

Mataga (2014:120) explained that these community museums were meant to be divorced from NMMZ curatorship as the voice of the local community took centre stage and they were successful in the first stages but later to be bogged down by financial

resources and administrative challenges, “eventually they were given back to the NMMZ, reverting to the state, rather than remaining independent and community owned”.

Saidi (2019:325) argued that the creation of the BaTonga Museum is an “outcome of the efforts of young BaTonga’s to call for recognition of their historical and cultural rights, visibility as well as inclusion in national cultural discourses, may be seen as a direct protest to subjugation. In other words, this is a non-militant call for inclusion in nation building”. Saidi (2019:325) mentioned that the major challenge facing the museum is inadequate finances and this is worsened by the fact that with the history of displacements, the community itself is unable to fund its project. Saidi continued to argue that this invites interference from the expected funders.

Tribal associations documenting the history of their ethnic groups are common in Zimbabwe. The one of interest to be mentioned is that of the minority group of the BaKalanga people, not minority in terms of size of their population but minority in terms of power relations with dominant groups such as the Shona and Ndebele. Dube (2015:151) averred that “in most parts of Africa these ‘tribal’ associations helped new migrants to adjust to the strange surroundings of urban environments… The Kalanga Cultural Promotion Society (KCPS) of the 1940s also sought to promote Kalanga culture in the urban colonial city of Bulawayo”. Dube (2015:151) further stated that “this Association worked closely with the Kalanga people in Bulilimamangwe especially during the nationalist activities when it sought support from the local people in order to fight the colonial regime”. In 1980 the Association was re-launched after 40 years of hibernation and it was also known as *Bukalanga Muka Kwaedza Muhango iyo*, meaning “Wake up Kalanga it has dawned in this country!” (Dube 2015:152). These associations lobbied for their people’s cultural representation as they believed that it was through the use of their language in the education and information systems that they could achieve the goal of the recognition of their ethnic identity (Dube 2015:151).

The KCPS faced the challenge that the elites of the Association tried to manipulate history to their favour. Dube (2015:155) has this to say:

> Malaba used his position as the chairman of the KCPS to write circulars to the government demanding the teaching of Kalanga language and history in schools. In his circulars to the Ministry of Education, he ensured that the history of the Malaba clan was not only included but was actually over-emphasised in the historical narratives of the Kalanga. By so doing, he manipulated the history of the Kalanga for self-gratification. He went to the extent of writing a circular that stated that Mpangana Hobodo Malaba had played a pivotal role in the naming of places during the time of Lobhengula. Malaba should also be criticised for his failure to acknowledge or mention other forgotten Kalanga heroes such as Madlambuzi and Ndumba. It is clear, therefore, that while Malaba might have had a genuine cause and perhaps had an altruistic motivation in fighting for the official recognition of the Kalanga in postcolonial Zimbabwe, he combined it with his own personal ambitions.

KPCS was accused of blaming the government to come up with the Kalanga literature whilst they themselves were doing nothing on that aspect. This position was supported by George Silundika who was the Minister of Roads and Road Traffic, Posts and Telecommunication and was a Kalanga hailing from Bulilimangwe. Dube (2015:156) cited the letter written by George Silundika in which he said “language does not become acceptable only by government decision, it is also necessary that the people of that language should popularise it by writing”. KPCS members were also labelled tribalists because of their politics of identity (Dube 2015:153), such labelling was experienced again by the Nambya community when they named their community museum in their ethnic name. The KPCS “laid a foundation for the successor organisations such as the Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association which facilitated the teaching of Kalanga language in Zimbabwe” and documentation of their culture.

Mafela Trust is one of the liberation struggle community archives documenting the stories of ZAPU/ZPRA elements who felt they were being erased from the historical

national narrative by ZANU PF who claimed to be “the alpha and omega of leadership of the country through its declaration that it alone has primal legitimacy deriving not from elections, but from active participation in the epic anticolonial struggle?” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012:2). The Mafela Trust Collection at SAHA, indexed as SAHA collection AL3289, includes paper-based and digital materials, photographs, oral history interviews and video material. These materials were identified as endangered in the course of the research, digitisation and oral history project conducted by SAHA in 2010 and 2011 and the materials were relocated to Johannesburg in 2011 for comprehensive archival processing and digitisation (SAHA 2012:7).

SAHA (2012:5) has this to say about the exclusion of ZAPU’s historical narrative from the national memory:

> The Zimbabwean government has since 1980, been dominated by ZANU, a political party formed as a break-away from ZAPU in 1963. Within this context, the story of ZAPU’s role in the liberation struggle has been eclipsed, deliberately underestimated by official Zimbabwean sources, and largely not understood by many sympathisers.

In addressing this problem of being excluded from social institutions of memory, in 1989 former ex-combatants of ZAPU cadres decided to form the Mafela Trust (SAHA 2012:7), the main objective of which is to document the ZAPU/ZPRA’ liberation history. This clearly shows how “the archival landscape in Zimbabwe is the site of a fierce battle between the elites, the victors, the losers, women, men, the poor, the majority, minorities, and the marginalised. Those in power have tended to prioritise their historical narratives at the expense of other groups” (Bhebhe 2015:5).

The equivalent of Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action (GALA) of South Africa is Gays and Lesbians Association of Zimbabwe (GALZ) with its Gay Oral History Project (GOHP) whose objectives Epprecht (1999:31) outlined as:

1. To conduct interviews with gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transgendered and any other people with knowledge and sympathy toward people whose sexuality

does not conform to the heterosexual norm or ideals and whose views have historically been silenced. Life histories would be gathered from all the districts and among all the different cultures of Zimbabwe, including migrant labourers from neighbouring countries where possible.

2. To create an archive that could be a resource for people wishing to learn about the diversity of historical experiences of sexuality, and which could contribute to GALZ members' own sense of community in a political and social milieu that otherwise tends to divide and demoralize them.
3. To publish materials that summarize the above in English and in Zimbabwe's two main indigenous languages, Shona and Ndebele. These would become part of an information kit intended to influence debates at the World Council of Churches conference in Harare (December 1998), could be part of an AIDS awareness or other educational package, and/or be published in sympathetic mass media. A history of alternative sexualities in Zimbabwe and the region will eventually be published by a reputable press in which GALZ members can take pride.
4. To bridge the chasm that commonly exists between professional scholars and local activists and to provide a model for shaping a research project in a democratic manner.

Oral history has been a source of information when it comes to unravelling the violation of human rights in the past. This has been seen in South Africa’s TRC. In Zimbabwe also, oral history has been used to bring into light what really transpired during the Gukurahundi period. The Report on the 1980s disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands (1997:24) as its methodology, talks of oral testimonies which were collected in 1993 to 1996 and observed that:

> Speaking about those years was visibly traumatic for many of its victims. While those who came, gave evidence freely, some told of other victims who were still too afraid to come forward and tell their stories. A number of key witnesses made appointments to speak to the researcher and then felt they could not do so, and stated that it was fear of possible harm to themselves that had made them reconsider.

2.3.3.3 Community archives in South Africa

Klopfer (2001:104) observed that the "enthusiasm for community constructed history is widespread in progressive South African circles". Ngoepe (2017:12) noted that there are a "number of best practices of community archives in South Africa even though they are operating in fragmented silos" and he mentioned such examples as the Royal Bafokeng Digital Archive (BDA) in the North West province and the heritage documentation centre at Makgabeng in the Limpopo province. Molobye (2014:51) observed that:

> The Bafokeng Digital Archives (BDA) was … conceived, with its aim being to act as a tool to retain the stories that shaped the Nation's achievements for future generations. BDA is a repository for all historical material which comes in different forms, including digital scans of photos, letters, maps, newspapers and journal articles, books, posters and art works, virtual representations of heritage sites, audio and video recordings. Oral history interviews are available as text, audio files and in some cases as video files.

Molobye (2014:51) ascribed the success of the BDA to the availability of community participation, material acquisition and soliciting, infrastructural development, interoperability, legal framework and marketing. Molobye (2014:53) said every year "a theme that covers an aspect of Bafokeng history is selected, on which oral evidence is sought after. Community members with knowledge on the particular theme are invited to come forth and share their knowledge" and the themes range from the origins to heroes and heroines of Bafokeng people.

The District Six Museum is a private community venture operating on government and international grants to memorialise the destroyed neighbourhood for which it is named and it actively collects audio and video recordings of the personal memories of former residents, along with textual documentation and artefacts (Klopfer 2001:105). Field (2012:15) mentioned that "in the post-apartheid period, land restitution and the building of local museums in both Langa and District Six are significant examples of community heritage". Field added (2012:88) "that local museums in both Langa and District Six

have become significant venues for community regeneration. Oral histories are central to the exhibits in these museums and are the medium by which they are often conveyed".

District Six Museum is described by Field (2012:98) as one of "the leading community museum in South Africa [in which] … former residents also played a central role in creating this museum and in materially and emotionally rebuilding the community". Its establishment can be traced to "1995, [when] a temporary exhibition about District Six was launched and planned to run for only two weeks. But it was such a popular success that it developed into a permanent museum, located in the Methodist church that had previously served District Six residents" (Field 2012:98). The Museum has different styles of presenting oral history including oral history recordings being played through radio, a scenario that overturns scholar–informant relations thereby allowing oral history interviewees to become co-authors of the public presentation of their stories (Field 2012:98). Field (2012:151) further stated that:

> The District Six Museum in Cape Town remains a shining example of how to provide longer-term support and spaces for social regeneration. The success of the museum, in part, involves regenerating self-worth and community identity, through reconnecting former residents with each other. This also involves placing people—their selves and their identities—on symbolic and literal maps of Cape Town. The District Six community museum is a model of hope for many communities across South Africa.

Another example of a community archive in South Africa is the Jewish Digital Archive (JDA) which Bloch (2017:3) described as "an online repository that captures the story of Southern African Jewry over the past century in all its complexity…" Further description of the JDA is that it is an unsentimental depiction of South African Jewish history looking into the realities that make up their community- the divisiveness, cultural mix of people, different roots, diversity (economically, socially, politically, historically) and that ideally it is "not just a communal scrapbook but a lens into particular times and places through quotidian evidence as well as anecdotal and personal experience in the form of photographs, film and oral history" (Bloch 2017:3).

Ethical and technical dilemmas, issues of Inclusion and exclusion and issues of ownership are some of the concerns that the Museum has to deal with (Bloch 2017:10).

Another community inclined programme in South Africa is uLwazi. It rides on the existing library infrastructure in the eThekwini Municipal area which has 89 public libraries most of which have Internet access and carry the programmes to local communities (Roux 2013:29). “Community workers collect oral and visual material while members from the community are taught at their local library how to add local content to the website. People of all social backgrounds and age groups are employed to steer the programme at ground level while volunteer contributions to the database is encouraged” (Roux 2013:29). McNulty (2014:1) described Ulwazi Programme as a “new South African heritage initiative that has been set up by the eThekwini Municipal Libraries and Heritage Department to preserve and disseminate indigenous knowledge of local communities in the greater Durban area”. In further describing, McNulty (2014:1) stated that “the Programme, in the form of a localized Wiki, functions as a collaborative online archive of local knowledge and histories that are collected from the community by volunteer fieldworkers and then shared via the Internet and on cell phones”.

McNulty (2014:5-6) argued that:

> The Ulwazi Programme provides a framework for the collection and sharing of local histories and cultures through a digital library of content created by the community. Through the Programme, sustainable preservation and dissemination of local knowledge of rural and urban communities is enabled and a digital knowledge resource of local relevance is also developed. Community engagement results in capacity building in digital and information literacy skills, and empowerment in terms of knowledge and ICT skills.

McNulty stated that “the project consists of three interrelated elements; the community, the technology and the public library” and that these can be further divided into community engagement, community journalists, contributions, Ulwazi on the web, blogging and social media”.

Another community oral history programme is GALA. Rodrigues (2013:177) said "although not an archive of an immigrant or ethnic group, but rather one based on sexual orientation, the GALA Archive is an example of a project launched by a community that has come together in South Africa to preserve its social history and experiences". Barber-April (2017:118) argued that GALA is an example of how a "particular archive-based organization has avoided the hierarchies built into institutional archival knowledge. By embracing action and multiplicity, GALA's work operates in what could be called, following Deleuze and Guatari, a rhizomatic process of becoming-archive". In other words, it is in "opposition to arboreal, hierarchal top-down knowledge, a rhizome dwells in the uncanny connections between seemingly disparate fields and rejects epistemological hierarchies" (Barber-April 2017:123). It is a community archive that takes roles of a community centre, art therapy facilitator and publisher (Barber-April 2017:117). GALA's value to its community was noted in 1998 when a South African workshop of archivists and activists was organized by GALA where its community was encouraged to participate in determining what should be preserved in their archives (Flinn 2015:146).

2.3.4 Access to oral history holdings of mainstream and community archives

Access to archives is one of the cornerstones of the profession as Wales (2014:36-37), citing National Archives of Australia argued, that "there is little point in keeping records unless they can be accessed by interested researchers". Cannon (2009:17) echoed the same statements by stating that "an unused archive is a sad archive indeed". Wales (2014:36) while noting the value of archives explained that access to community archives is compromised because of inadequate preservation and limited facilities that make archives accessible to the public.

Anderson (2005:4) argued that the fundamental questions about access and control, ownership and authorship test rationalities of library and archival management and that in most places around the world "indigenous people are seeking greater access to and, in certain cases, control over cultural material". This is contrary to the popular belief that libraries and archives provide a pivotal space for negotiating meaning about past histories, reconstructions of cultural memory, and reinterpretation of culture and

this calls for free access to information (Anderson, 2005:15). Citing Lynch (1999), Anderson (2005:16) argued that “although archives continue to be valuable facilities, the practices and struggles associated with composing, assembling and controlling access to documents plays a substantive role in history as well as the scholarly reconstruction of history”. Anderson (2005:17), quoting Stoler (2002:97), argued that “colonial archives were both sites of the imaginary and institutions that fashioned histories as they concealed, revealed and reproduced the power of the state”.

Christen (2011:185) noted that “while digital technologies allow for items to be repatriated quickly, circulated widely, and annotated endlessly, these same technologies pose challenges to some indigenous communities who wish to add their expert voices to public collections and also maintain some traditional cultural protocols for the viewing, circulation, and reproduction of some materials”. Christen (2011:188) also argued that:

> for example, in the case of the Warumungu community’s Mukurtu Wumpurrani-kari Archive, access to certain cultural materials (and knowledge that animates these materials) is decided based on a dynamic system of accountability where one’s age, gender, ritual status, family, and place-based relationships all combine (and recombine as affiliations shift over a lifetime) to produce a continuum of access to materials within the community…[and that] The Warumungu system is just one such indigenous system that provides a basis for critiquing and enriching our notion of the public and access.

For example, the Plateau tribes in the Pacific Northwest have a layered approach to the access of their traditional knowledge having some content being viewed by women only and issues regarding male initiation being accessed by elderly men. However, this layered access approach is not respected by mainstream collecting institutions that prefer granular access where everyone can access anything and this causes access conflict between indigenous groups and mainstream collecting institutions (Christen, 2011:185-2010). Christen (2011:196) then recommended that collecting mainstream institutions need to “consult with culturally affiliated community representatives [in order] to identify those materials that are culturally sensitive and develop procedures for access and use of those materials”.

Wamukoya (2015:16) supported decentralisation of archival services with the hope that such scenarios will promote the participation of the local community as he argued that:

> There is need to decentralise and / or devolve archival services by adopting a model that aims to bring these services closer to the people. We need to do this by confronting the barriers that militate against meeting the needs of local government and the people at regional and grass-root levels. Decentralisation of archival services can only be considered meaningful if it seeks to give greater freedom, responsibility and autonomy to professionals and the people at local levels…creation of adequate record keeping systems to support decentralisation will require significant investment in terms of resources, infrastructure, legislation and policy and human capital. Such systems must eventually transform into local archives centres where local residents can go to learn about their history, culture, and where local researchers, community groups and business can deposit collections of records concerning local events and activities, similar to the British model of local or county archives.

The importance of decentralisation in access to information, inclusion and participation, accountability and local organisational capacity are also reinforced by Muggenhuber and Mansberger (2003:4) who averred "that modern governance requires transparency and the involvement of communities and citizens in the decision making process. Decentralisation and community empowerment are strategies to achieve transparency and participatory democracy…"

Velios (2011:258) observed that post-modern archival practice has benefited from the internet because the shift to online open-access data and communities is now influencing the methodologies for presenting and using an archive in a post-modern fashion. Velios (2011:258) then talked of archive 2.0 and added that "archive items can be available online and people who relate to and recognise them are able to enrich their context and offer multiple interpretations". Velios (2011:258) advocated the use of a deconstructed archive which "avoids the problem of the single accepted truth of

an archive and allows and demands archival practice to be questioned rather than accepted".

Velios (2011:261), writing about archives of individuals further argued that whilst the use of standards has benefited the archival profession, its limitation has been "making the individuality of archives disappear in the unified approach to archiving because, in a sense, they are being lost within larger collections of big institutions". Velios (2011:261) then concluded by stating that, this standardization inadvertently reduces the value of an individual archive because instead of promoting it and emphasising its value, it buries it in the vastness of a larger collection.

Writing about access at Bulawayo Archives and Records Centre (BARC), Ngulube, Sibanda and Makoni (2013:134) bemoaned the status quo by stating that ICT's were not used effectively in the provision of access to archives and that the:

> Finding aids available at BARC included indexes, accession registers for archival materials and descriptive inventories. Some finding aids were incomplete and were not compiled according to any international standard. Some finding aids available from NAZ website were not detailed enough. The inadequacy of finding aids means that the public is deprived of the right to access to archives of public bodies as enshrined in first Principle of ICA (2011).

Specifically writing about accessibilty of oral history interviews at NAZ, Moyo (2007:166) observed that cataloguing and indexing have received scant attention as most of the collection at Provinces is not accessioned and indexed. Moyo again mentioned that most of the collection is yet to be transcribed thereby hindering access.

Centralising most of the archives means "distance is a barrier to access because, despite efforts at digitisation which makes material accessible across space on the world wide (web), the vast majority of archives and manuscripts remain undigitised and accessible only if researchers can physically visit the repository" (Greene 2007:2). Bickford-Smith, *et al* (2001:19) contended that it is imperative that people's stories are taken beyond the confines of 'The Academy' and 'The Archive'.

Layton and Mtetwa (2013:104) argued that many contributors to the historic liberation struggle in South Africa are at risk of being forgotten if their contributions are not recorded somehow and somewhere within some formal and accessible structure. Layton and Mtetwa (2013:104) noted that even Khulumani has been recording these oral histories and have built up a large database, but this remains largely inaccessible due to limited resources and in most cases these stories are for the unsung heroes and heroines of the struggle.

Access through online archiving is now becoming the in-thing in the archival world including South Africa. This is noted by the Archival Platform (2015:172) when it narrated that there are now a number of online archives which includes South African History Online (SAHO), Claremont Histories, the Ulwazi and the Apartheid projects which make it possible for individuals to contribute to the creation of an online archive through high level use of ICTs and social media. Some of the advantages of these infrastructures are mentioned by Kennedy and Holt (2016:66) who explained that "digital repositories [or] these virtual galleries can actually afford more possibilities for participatory projects and pedagogy that are inclusive, democratic, and open". Theimer (2014:261) explained that these "Changes in technology and the broad adoption of new tools also allow archives to interact more directly with a broad range of users and take advantage of their knowledge and enthusiasm".

2.3.5 Integrating community archives into national archival system

Collaborative approach involving partnerships and networking between community archives and cross-sectoral mainstream cultural institutions such as museums, libraries and archives is recommended (Wales, 2014:48). Referencing Cook, Wales (2014:52) contended that "developing relationship between community archives and the mainstream sector should not be based upon professionals 'jumping to the rescue', but should be about each party learning from the traditions of the other". The same sentiments are echoed by Chabikwa (2016:66) where he advocated collaborative efforts by NAZ and groups of the marginalised to work together in addressing the imbalances and discontents in the mainstream archival endeavour. In South Africa,

Mahalefa (2016:2) observed that partnership between the national Department of Arts and Culture, OHASA, Witwatersrand History Workshop, and different provinces is working very well to promote oral history in the country. What is required is for it to be strengthened, and more provinces to be encouraged to become involved in the oral history projects.

Ngulube (2012:33) advocated 'decentralised' archive by asking a rhetorical question that "is it practically tenable for archives to preserve all records, from all sources, for all people?" His answer is that the archives do not have the space and resources to live up to that responsibility. He then recommended "an archival system in which the National Archives would coordinate a national archival management system that shares the responsibility of preserving archives with the creators of records, for their own benefit and the benefit of the society". This decentralised approach is also supported by Murambiwa (2009:33) who suggested that "the National Archives of Zimbabwe does not have resources, capacity, goodwill or intention to be the sole custodian of the 'Zimbabwe Archive'". He proposed that since the law allows for a dispersed Zimbabwean archive, what the NAZ can do is "to encourage these to flourish instead of scrambling for official versions whose home and purpose remains that of the establishment".

Rodrigues (2013:371) came up with an integrated framework for Portuguese community archiving in which he called for archival plan which identifies and engages with potential contributors of community. His plan then calls for the identification of individuals to serve on steering/advisory committees which will launch and sustain the initiative and that this coordinating steering/advisory committee should be made up of archive/heritage professionals and community members.

Devolution of archival activity is seen as an important aspect in the growth of community archives. Wales (2014:58), writing about the archival set-up in Britain argued that regional archive councils were thought of as best placed to connect with community groups implying that an over-centralised archives sector is seen as counterproductive. Wales (2014:58) opined that devolution of mainstream archives will lead to the incorporation of local interests into the discourse of 'authorised' heritage

and they will benefit from local input and specialised regional knowledge. Referencing United Kingdom Inter-Departmental Archives committee, Wales (2014:59) argued that it has been "recognised that archival innovation flourishes at a local level, as adapting to circumstances breeds new and creative solutions". This is yet to be fully achieved in Zimbabwe as Dube (2011:288) noted that "while NAZ has made some strides in decentralizing its services to the provinces, four of the provinces still do not have archives. As a result of this and the failure to adapt to modern technology, access to public archives is only limited to Harare and Bulawayo provinces".

Wales (2014:59) recommended that community archives should be allowed to grow, develop and be given support needed without attempting to create and direct them according to accepted professional standards as they may feel threatened by formal sector imposing any level of control on them. Supporting this approach, Wales (2014:60) argued that:

> This is important because, in order to maintain the grass roots element that is so characteristic of community archives, it is acknowledged by the formal sector that their activity should remain interest-led and not directed by top-down initiatives or agendas. As Gilliland and Flinn have also argued, 'the "living" community-centric nature of the community archive will likely die if it is subsumed into a mainstream archive.

Wales (2014:61) also suggested the patchwork model of archival provision which promotes diversity within the archival landscape. Referencing Pickford, Wales (2014:61) opined that the nature of service provision in patchwork model means that "archives across the nation represent a patchwork of provision rather than an integrated network, with a myriad of private and specialist archives complementing the more structured provision in the public sector". This model promotes diverse entities contributing to a cohesive whole which is a reflection of cultural diversity (Wales 2014:61).

Promotion of cultural activities at the grassroots as propagated by Tsodzo (2016:10) mentioned that the Strengthening Local Cultural Policy in Zimbabwe (SLCPZ) Project

is designed to strengthen management of the creative and cultural sector at the lowest level of governance, local authorities, and distribution of cultural content from marginalised rural communities. The project seeks to achieve this by first facilitating the introduction of a domesticated cultural policy and strategies to rural district councils. Such an approach can be helpful to archival institutions.

In order to initiate and improve cultural industries at local/district levels, Tsodzo (2016:57) averred that it is imperative to enhance the presence of Arts and Culture Ministry at grassroots' level since it has been noted that beyond provincial level, there was hardly much presence of Arts and Culture Ministry at the local level and this reportedly weakened coordination and government support to arts and culture activities. The need for Arts and Culture officers at district level can thus never be over-emphasised.

Heimo and Hanninnen (2015:5) talk of community archives in the digital space calling them participatory archives where an organisation, site or collection other than the archives professionals contribute knowledge or resources resulting in increased appreciation and understanding of archival materials and archives, usually in an online environment. Participation exists in numerous forms for example: crowd-sourcing work (e.g. transcribing or translating texts); contributing expert or personal knowledge (e.g. recognising people in photos); adding items to collections outside the 'archives' (e.g. Facebook nostalgia groups); remixing archival materials in new contexts (hackathons); involving the public in taking part in the archival activities; involving archivists in taking part in community activities (Heimo and Hanninnen 2015:5).

2.4 Summary

This chapter has reviewed the literature that has shown how those in power have influenced the documentation and memorialisation of history to their favour and in the process distorting, erasing and forgetting the histories of the minority groups. Oral history has been shown as methodological tool to correct that imbalance especially if it is used at a community level than in mainstream archival institutions. Opportunities and challenges of using oral history by both Zimbabwe and South Africa have been

discussed. This section again showed the importance of community archiving as an alternative to the traditional archiving system.

The next chapter discusses research methodology applied in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed literature related to this study. This chapter discusses in detail the research design and methodology which was overviewed in Chapter One. It is guided by scientific research components that make it valid and reliable. These research components are philosophical assumptions of the study, research approaches and methods as shown in Figure 3.1. Therefore, this research is philosophically influenced by the constructivism ontology and critical emancipatory epistemology. The research approach is solely qualitative. The research method used is a comparative case study of oral history programmes in Zimbabwe and South Africa and the substantive theory being that of the Power Elite as shown in Figure 3.1. Data collection tools were interviews, observations and document analysis as is also shown in Figure 3.1. All this specification of research is done in order to make clear the entire research processes that were followed in this study so as to reduce the different threats to research claims as well as to promote the validity and trustworthiness of the study.

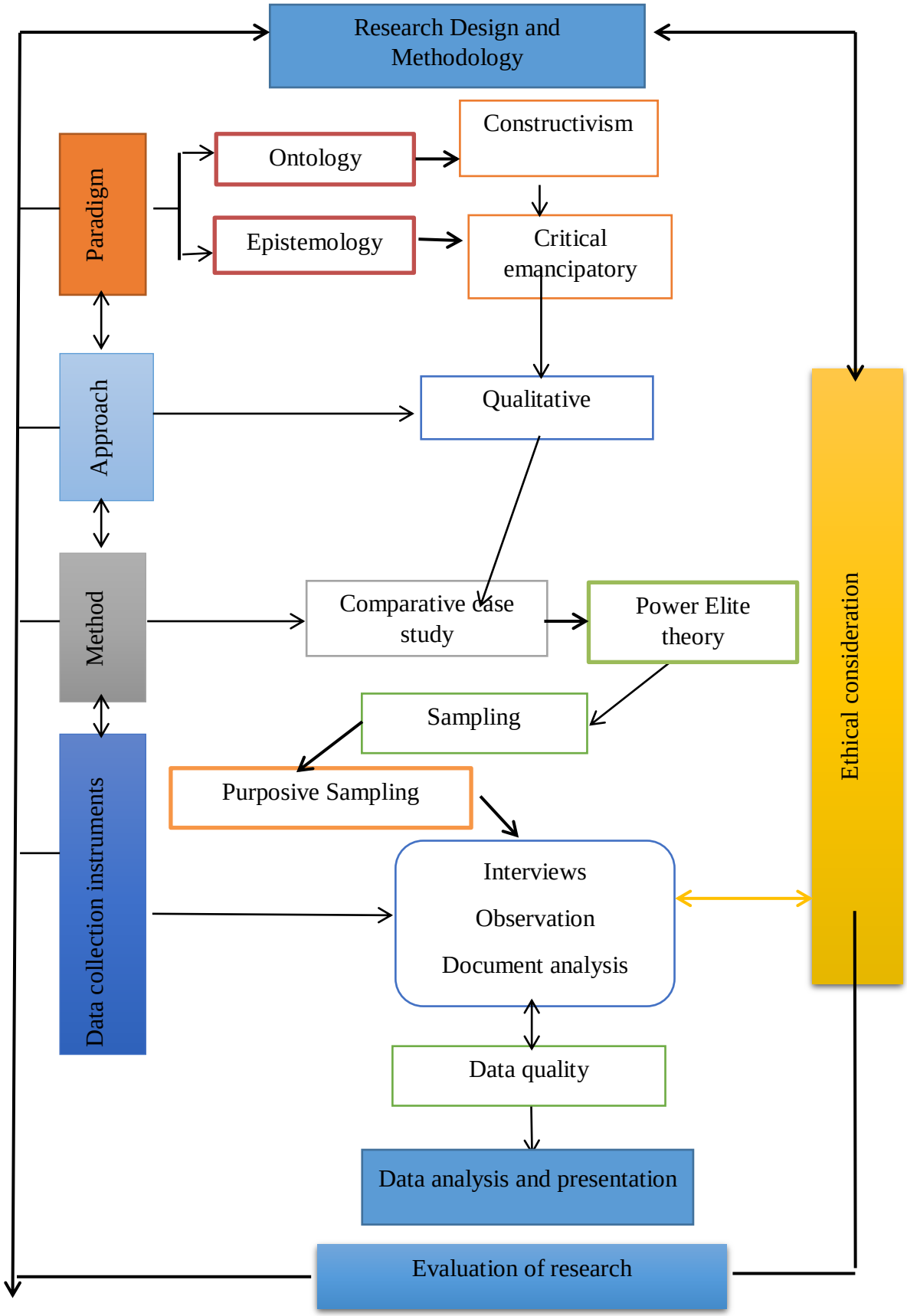


Figure 3.1 Research methodology and design road map (Researcher 2019)

3.2 Research paradigm

Guba and Lincoln (1994:105) described research paradigm as a basic system or worldview that guides or leads the researcher. Shah and AI-Bargi (2013:253-254) observed that a paradigm has five components which are the following:

1. Explicitly stated laws and theoretical assumptions.

2. Standard ways of applying the fundamental laws to a variety of situations.

3. Instrumentation and instrumental techniques that bring the laws of the paradigm to bear on the real world.

4. General metaphysical principles that guide work within the paradigm.

5. General methodological prescriptions about how to conduct work within the paradigm.

Romm (2014:134) argued that a paradigm can be seen as composed of philosophical assumptions that lead and direct thinking and action and that these include:

> ontological assumptions about the nature of (social) reality; epistemological definitions of "valid" knowing; methodological assumptions concerning how knowers can go about obtaining enriched insight/understanding; and the (axiological) link – if any – between research and value-concerns.

There are a number of different paradigms and these include interpretive, pragmatic, positivism and critical emancipatory among others. In this study critical emancipatory paradigm is used.

3.2.1 Constructivism as a methodological ontology

Unlike positivism in quantitative research which is influenced by objectivism, critical emancipatory in qualitative studies as used in this study is mainly aligned to constructionism. "Objectivism is an ontological position that implies that social phenomena confront us as external facts that are beyond our reach or influence" and

this is common in natural sciences (Bryman 2012:32). Objectivism is an ontological "position that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings have an existence that is independent of social actors. It implies that social phenomena and the categories that we use in everyday discourse have an existence that is independent or separate from actors" (Bryman 2012:33). Bryman (2012:33) then described constructionism which influences this study as an:

> Ontological position (often also referred to as constructivism) that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors. It implies that social phenomena and categories are not only produced through social interaction but that they are in a constant state of revision. In recent years, the term has also come to include the notion that researchers' own accounts of the social world are constructions. In other words, the researcher always presents a specific version of social reality, rather than one that can be regarded as definitive.

Therefore, constructivism worldview that puts more emphasis on social actors as able to influence their world and not being independent from it is used. Critical emancipatory epistemology grounded on the Power Elite Theory that addresses issues of oppression and power relations was also applied. Through this research methodology application, the researcher was able to show among other issues how African nationalism created leaders who were against societal plurality which takes into consideration diversity and celebrate it. Also the constructivism worldview and critical emancipatory epistemology along the Power Elite Theory made it understandable that those who are oppressed would always find a way of expressing themselves and try to shape the world they want to live in. For example, in addressing the decimation of their self-identity by those in power, the minority groups are seen forming 'dissident' community archives parallel to the so called mainstream national official archives which are presided over by 'ruling political party government bureaucrats' pushing the agenda of their elite leaders as the study revealed.

3.2.2 Critical emancipatory as a methodological epistemology

Bryman (2012:27) argued that “an epistemological issue concerns the question of what is (or should be) regarded as acceptable knowledge in a discipline”. In epistemology the emphasis is on how we know what we know or what are the most effective ways to reach the truth (Neuman 2011). There are different ways of knowing and Bryman (2012:27-28) talked mainly of positivism which is common in natural science and interpretivism which is mainly used in social sciences. In other words, the methodology of positivism is quantitative while that of interpretivism is qualitative (Ngulube 2015). However, this study uses none of those, instead it opted for the critical emancipatory paradigm in line with the research problem which is mainly concerned with the emancipation of community minority groups from the clutches of the elites.

This study is oriented towards critical emancipatory/critical social theory paradigm as already mentioned. Fawcett and Garity (2009:95) stated that the “critical emancipatory paradigm extends the naturalistic paradigm by placing human beings and human behaviour within the context of their history, culture, gender, and economic, social, and political situations”. Fawcett and Garity (2009:95) further added that “research guided by this paradigm emphasizes the influence of oppression and discrimination—in the form of social class and power struggles—on people’s behaviour”. Weaver and Olson (2006:464) stated that with this paradigm emphasis is also placed on raising “awareness of social problems and . . . ensur[ing] that the voices and perspectives of marginalized people are heard”. Burrett and Lingam (2012:226) averred that emancipatory research asks what is just and what can be done to transform society … Such research is concerned with critical social theory and issues of power, equity, social justice and change”.

Shah and Al-Bargi (2013:259) argued that “critical theory challenges both positivist and interpretivist paradigms and attempts to uncloak beliefs and practices that shackle human freedom”. “Moreover, it vouches for collective freedom and social transformation. It considers the researcher to be a transformative intellectual who liberates people from their historical, mental, emotional and social conditions” (Shah and Al-Bargi 2013:259). Shah and Al-Bargi (2013:259) further stated that critical theory doubts all the culturally constructed meanings and emphasises that meanings are

created in peculiar social conditions which might attend to certain hegemonic concerns. Crotty (2003:59-60) averred that “each set of these meaning[s] supports particular power of structures, resists, moves towards greater equity, harbours oppression, manipulation and other modes of injustice and denial of freedom”. The issues encountered by the marginalised groups, such as oppression, domination, suppression, alienation, and hegemony are given paramount importance (Shah and Al-Bargi 2013:259). In their concluding remarks Shah and Al- Bargi (2013:260) posited that:

> The goals that critical inquirers set may not obtain the absolute results, yet they regard their struggle for social justice, freedom and equity to be worthwhile. They explore the relationship between power and culture through the lens of the marginalised and hope for "universality and universal validity of culture. The critical paradigm is considered anti-foundational attacking the reality and asserting that people are not only in the world but also with it. It also considers reality a commutable human action. The emancipatory aim is achieved through addressing issues of social justice and marginalisation. Various theoretical perspectives of critical research embraces: Marxism, queer theory and feminism.

This critical paradigm is closely related to advocacy paradigm which Creswell (2003:9) viewed as been influenced by the emancipatory writings of Marx, Adorno, Marcuse, Habermas and Freire in which issues of social justice for marginalised groups and individuals are dealt with. The proponents of this position in 1980s and 1990s felt that the postpostivist assumptions, theories and constructivism did not cater for the marginalised individuals and groups and at the same time did not address adequately the issues of social justice hence the rise of advocacy/participatory approach (Creswell 2003:9). In this approach there is an advocacy for an action agenda to help marginalised peoples where the inquiry needs to be intertwined with politics and a political agenda thereby addressing such issues as empowerment, inequality, oppression, domination, suppression, and alienation (Creswell 2003:10).

Still on development of the critical theory, Mittwede (2012:26) outlined that it was developed by:

> The so-called Frankfurt School of social researchers who were inspired by Hegelian dialectic and strongly opposed to its Soviet Marxist form (Rée 1989:112) Social theorist Jürgen Habermas, who has been associated with the Frankfurt School, is 'the most influential contemporary representative of Critical Theory' (Dews 1989:122). According to MacIsaac (1996), Habermas emphasizes that 'knowledge is gained by self-emancipation through reflection leading to "perspective transformation" or transformed consciousness— similar to Marx—but, contra Marx, posits no predictable outcomes emerging from that transformed consciousness.

Mittwede (2012:26) stated that "the epistemology of critical theory, unlike the dualist or modified dualist relationship between investigator and investigated object in positivism and postpositivism, respectively, is transactional. Thus, the assumption is that the investigator and investigated are 'interactively linked'". Guba and Lincoln (1994:110) averred that in critical research, inquiry proceeds in a dialogue form and it is "dialectical in nature; that is, it has an eye to transformation or a more-informed consciousness". Thus, the preferred outcome is to bring about a critical incident (or paradigm shift), such as a revolution in perspective or practice (Mittwede 2012:27).

One of the criticisms levelled against critical theory is that it is deemed as a deliberate political agenda where researchers place themselves as ideologues when they are supposed to remain objective, dispassionate and disinterested (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2007:30). Shah and Al-Bargi (2013:261) argued that this "may lead the researchers to introduce political changes with ulterior motives. As a result, that may encourage people to make radical changes irrespective of their desires and needs". They further stated that in conducting "critical inquiries in various marginalised contexts in order to liberate and empower people, critical theorists often lack clarity in terms of guidelines and roadmaps to achieve the desired outcomes" (Shah and Al-Bargi 2013:261). However, notwithstanding these limitations, the immense strength of

critical paradigm cannot be denied due to its plainly stated goal of transforming the phenomena under study (Ernest 1994).

In this study, critical emancipatory paradigm is the philosophical lens used to bring 'total change' in the documentation of the history of the 'marginalised' or the minority groups. The history of these minority groups is missing in the mainstream heritage institutions hence the advocacy for correcting the imbalance and also the promotion of community archiving. Creswell (2003:10) also suggested that there are theoretical perspectives that gel well with this advocacy/participatory philosophical assumption such as feminist, critical and queer theories. However, in this study the theory which fits to critical emancipatory paradigm is chosen and this relates to power of elites dominating the cultural and nation's history narrative at the expense of the masses. In most cases the experiences of the minority groups are always the experiences of persecution, 'othering' and outright marginalisation hence the incorporation of the critical emancipatory paradigm which equips one to philosophically understand these isms. Therefore, this study is more advocative in its approach so that the challenges faced by minority groups in the documentation of their history and traditions are brought to the fore and addressed.

3.3 Research approach

Creswell (2003:13) wrote of three research approaches which are quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods. This research is based on qualitative approach. Yates and Leggett (2016:225) posited that "in qualitative research, the researcher is aware of the socially constructed nature of reality and is embedded intimately in the context of the study – the research setting, participants, and the data being collected". Qualitative research gets the how and why answers of the research problem, in ways that quantitative research cannot (Yates and Leggett 2016:225).

Mayer (2015:53) added that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them and that it emphasises on words more than quantification in data collection and analysis as is done in quantitative research.

Qualitative research is more concerned with the context of certain phenomena and it works with open questions which might even change during the course of research (Mayer 2015:57).

Qualitative research methods seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world (Van Maanen 1979:520). Over forty different research approaches have been identified by Tesch (1990:58) and are outlined as follows: action research, case study, clinical research, cognitive anthropology, collaborative enquiry, content analysis, dialogical research, conversation analysis, Delphi study, descriptive research, direct research, discourse analysis, oral history, life history study, participative research among others. In this research a comparative case study is used.

Despite its usefulness, qualitative research has been despised especially by those coming from hard sciences. They argue that qualitative research is uncertain, subjective, lacks scientific rigour and is guided by whims and fancies of researchers (Mayer 2015:57 & Sarma 2015:177-188). However, Sarma (2015:181) has countered these allegations by arguing that:

> The debate surrounding the non-scientific methodologies of qualitative research is misplaced. In qualitative approach all the key characteristics of scientific inquiry are satisfied…Qualitative research operates in a paradigm which is distinctly different from that of quantitative research (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). While quantitative research is highly influenced by logical positivism, qualitative research has been shaped through the influences of different paradigms like post-positivism, constructivism, feminism, Marxism, etc. Qualitative research stresses on the value-laden nature of inquiry and emphasis on questions of how social experiences are created and given meaning. Contrary to this, quantitative approach emphasizes on measurement of casual relationship between variables, and conducts the inquiry within a value-free framework (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Both qualitative and

> quantitative approaches are useful in its own way and it is unreasonable to compare the two under similar set of parameters.

Therefore, this study is purely qualitative in nature.

3.4 Research design

This study is based on a critical evaluation of minorities' oral history programmes in Zimbabwe and South Africa. It is more of a comparative case study as it compares oral history programmes of Zimbabwe and South Africa. It is a cross-sectional/synchronic comparison in which analysis is done at the same point in time across cases. This is in contrast with longitudinal or diachronic comparison in which a researcher compares a single case with itself repeatedly over time.

Richardson (2017) defined comparative research as essentially comparing two or several groups in an attempt to draw a conclusion about them. Kaarbo and Beasley (1999:372) defined comparative case study as the systematic comparison of two or more data points (cases) and they are obtained through the use of case study method. Mohamed (2016) defined it as:

> A research methodology in which aspects of social science or life are examined across different cultures or countries. It is a form of qualitative approach or analysis in which different types of methods like case study analysis are used by the researchers to elucidate the similarities and differences between the entities or countries. Comparative research method combines theory or theoretical concepts with data collection. Cross-national comparison is a common application of comparative research method in qualitative analysis.

Richardson (2017) added that in this research design researchers attempt to identify and analyse similarities and differences between separate groups. Richardson further stated that comparative studies can be used to increase understanding between cultures and societies and to create a foundation for compromise and collaboration.

In this study the researcher was interested in the description of similarities and differences found at NAZ, NARS and other mainstream archival institutions concerning

the documentation of minority groups and also how community archiving was being practised by local people in their physical space. The study went beyond the description of similarities and differences but also their interpretations. Furthermore, the study produced more generalizable knowledge about causal questions-how and why mainstream archival institutions are 'struggling' to archive minority communities. It is also able to look at how and why some community archives are a success while others are struggling.

3.5 Population and sampling

A population is defined by Parahoo (2006:256) as "the total number of units from which data can potentially be collected". Fawcett and Garity (2009:135) then defined a sample as a portion or a subset of a population. In this study the target population are mainstream and community archives both in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Due to the inability to identify all community archives in Zimbabwe and South Africa, it meant that the accessible population was targeted. An accessible population arises in a situation where access to the entire target population may not be possible due to inability to identify every population unit (Fawcett & Garity 2009:135).

In this qualitative research, nonprobability sampling methods that is purposive was used. Fawcett and Garity (2009:144) defined purposive sampling as a relatively arbitrary nonprobability sampling strategy that relies heavily on the researcher's knowledge about the characteristics of the population that are relevant for the research. Fawcett and Garity (2009:144) noting the risk of obtaining a sample that is not representative of the population, argued that purposive sampling can be a particularly appropriate strategy for selecting a sample of people who are known to be experts in the research topic. In this study the researcher was intentionally selecting those cases that deal with mainstream archiving such as NAZ, NARS, SAHA, Sinomlando and community archives found in minority groups such as the Kalanga, Nambya, BaTonga, Gaza Trust, Tso-ro-tso Development Trust in Zimbabwe and the Jewish Digital Archive and GALA in South Africa.

3.6 Data collection methods

Yates and Leggett (2016:226) described qualitative data collection as open-ended and that it produces emerging themes during analysis and that common methods include interviews, focus groups, observations, reviewing document studies, key informants, alternative (authentic) assessments, and case studies. Taking note that comparative case studies often incorporate both qualitative and quantitative data, this study, however, is totally qualitative. Arguing on the same wavelength, Goodrick (2014:1) has pointed out that in comparative case studies "the focus is on generating a good understanding of the cases and case context, methods such as fieldwork visits, observation, interviews and document analysis often dominate among the various data collection methods employed". So this study used fieldwork visits, observations, semi-structured interviews, document analysis including web content analysis of NAZ, NARS, SAHA, Sinomlando, GALA and those community archives which have websites.

3.6.1 Interviews

Edwards and Holland (2013:3) in positioning qualitative interview vis-à-vis quantitative interviewing, argued that "the structured interview is at the quantitative end of the scale, and more used in survey approaches. The rest of the scale, semi-structured and unstructured, is the area occupied by qualitative researchers, with the interviews characterized by increasing levels of flexibility and lack of structure". Edwards and Holland (2013:3) further stated that the following terms are associated with qualitative interviewing: in-depth, informal, non-directed, open-ended, conversational, naturalistic, narrative, biographical, oral or life history and ethnographic.

Alshenqeeti (2014:39) averred that qualitative data is 'most often' collected by researchers through interviews and questionnaires. However, compared to questionnaires, interviews are viewed as more powerful in eliciting narrative data that allows researchers to investigate people's views in greater depth (Kvale 1996). In a similar vein, Cohen *et al* (2007: 29) added that interviewing is "a valuable method for exploring the construction and negotiation of meanings in a natural setting".

Nicholls (2009:640) said “research interviews usually take one of three forms: structured, semi-structured and unstructured. Structured interviews are based on a predetermined set of issues that are prepared in advance, and the interview follows a pre-prescribed format”. Semi-structured interviews are defined as “based on a pre-defined set of broad questions and themes… sticking loosely to a recognizable plan, but allowing for deviations where the interviewee decides that new information is needed” (Nicholls 2009:640). Interviewing was selected for its characteristic of interpersonal contact and the need for making follow ups on interesting comments.

3.6.2 Document analysis

Nicholls (2009:643) explained that:

> Qualitative researchers are very interested in the role played by documents in defining who we are and what we do as a people. A document, in this context, is any form of text that conveys meaning. It need not be only in written form, but could, in principle, be an image, a poster, or even a bus ticket; anything, in fact, that carries cultural significance. It may be a written policy produced by a government department, or the lyrics to a song. It may be a piece of graffiti, or a book of poetry.

In this study, documents produced by the target sample for example official reports but not limited to, are analysed. Documents found on the websites of the target sample were also analysed. Hancock, Ockleford and Windridge (2009:19) stated that a wide range of written materials can produce qualitative information and that these can be particularly useful in trying to understand the philosophy of an organisation as may be required in ethnography. They go on to mention the following documents: policy documents, mission statements, annual reports, minutes of meetings, codes of conduct, web sites, and series of letters or emails among others.

3.6.3 Observation

Kothari (2004:96) opined that under the observation method, the information is sought by way of the investigator's own direct observation without asking anything from the respondent. Kothari (2004:96) further argued that:

> The main advantage of this method is that subjective bias is eliminated, if observation is done accurately. Secondly, the information obtained under this method relates to what is currently happening; it is not complicated by either the past behaviour or future intentions or attitudes. Thirdly, this method is independent of respondents' willingness to respond and as such is relatively less demanding of active cooperation on the part of respondents as happens to be the case in the interview or the questionnaire method.

Therefore, in this research the weaknesses or limitations of interviews are compensated by the use of observation. Along the same argument, Hancock, Ockleford and Windridge (2009:18) stated that observation can be used as a triangulation method by positing that "observation can also produce data for verifying or nullifying information provided in face to face encounters". In this study, observation is used as stated above by Hancock, Ockleford and Windridge (2009:18).

This research not only observed people but also the environment. This provided valuable background information about the environment where community archives are operating thereby shedding light on their financial viability and also the availability or non-availability of archival infrastructure. Through observation issues of organisational structure are taken note of.

3.7 Data trustworthy

This research tried by all means possible to be credible, transferable, dependable and confirmable even though the issue of dependability and transferability are usually difficult to apply in qualitative study (Shenton 2003). Credibility was maintained by adopting a well-established research method such as comparative case study. Triangulation, which involved the use of combined data collection methods, is used to compensate for limitations in some of the data collecting tools. Shenton (2003:72) argued that the "concept of confirmability is the qualitative investigator's comparable concern to objectivity. Here steps must be taken to help ensure as far as possible that

the work's findings are the result of the experiences and ideas of the informants, rather than the characteristics and preferences of the researcher". In this, the role of triangulation in promoting such confirmability was emphasised, and in the process reducing investigator bias.

3.8 Qualitative data analysis

Bhattacherjee (2012:113) described qualitative analysis as the examination of qualitative data such as text data from interview transcripts. Bhattacherjee (2012:113) differentiated quantitative analysis from a qualitative one by pointing out that qualitative analysis, is statistics-driven and largely independent of the researcher whereas qualitative analysis is heavily dependent on the researcher's analytic and integrative skills and personal knowledge of the social context where the data is collected. Bhattacherjee (2012:113) further stated that "the emphasis in qualitative analysis is "sense making" or understanding a phenomenon, rather than predicting or explaining".

Qualitative data in this research was analysed through content analysis. Content analysis is defined by Fawcett and Garity (2009:227) as referring to "a general data analysis technique used to identify similarities and differences in word data". Bhattacherjee (2012:115) said "content analysis is the systematic analysis of the content of a text (e.g., who says what, to whom, why, and to what extent and with what effect) in a quantitative or qualitative manner". The goal of content analysis is to create a comprehensive "word picture that is as multifaceted and complicated as life in today's world" (Kearney 2007:299). A "meaningful structure of themes or categories is created as the content analysis reveals similarities and differences in words. As the content analysis continues, the themes or categories may be further organised into subthemes or subcategories" Fawcett and Garity (2009:227).

Creswell (2014:237) refers to six steps in data analysis which are:

1) Preparing and organizing the data for analysis.
2) Engaging in an initial exploration of the data through the process of coding it.

3) Using the codes to develop a more general picture of the data— descriptions and themes.
4) Representing the findings through narratives and visuals.
5) Making an interpretation of the meaning of the results by reflecting personally on the impact of the findings and on the literature that might inform the findings.
6) And finally, conducting strategies to validate the accuracy of the findings.

However, in this research the researcher adopts the thematic analysis which Matthews and Ross (2010:284) said has the following steps:

1) organising the data;
2) identifying initial key themes;
3) exploring these, using charts;
4) noting down interpretations;
5) comparing these across interviews;
6) developing categories into which the data was put;
7) developing a diagram to assist with possible relationships between categories;
8) looking for overarching themes which included within them the relationships identified;
9) using overarching themes to explore the data and looking for possible explanations of the relationships;
10) looking for similarities and differences between cases and looking for data that helped explain these differences and similarities; and
11) returning to the research questions to verify whether the analysis had helped answer these.

I followed these steps in analysing the qualitative data I got from interviews. Content analysis was then used in analysing different responses from different participants in order to come up with observable patterns which also needed to be analysed. Similarities and differences between cases in Zimbabwe and South Africa were noted and explained were possible.

3.9 Evaluation of the research methodology

Ngulube (2005) stated that the importance of research methodology evaluation is that it assists to expound the errors, biases and difficulties that would have affected the gathering of data as well as its analysis. It, therefore, becomes important that the evaluation of the research methodology is done.

The challenge of defining the term community archives was encountered during research. The term is very fluid in the sense that some organisations even though not calling themselves that, can be described as community archiving through what they would be doing. Some groups call themselves community museums, language associations, digital archives and trusts. Therefore, the researcher ended up using these terms interchangeably and this is likely to create confusion to persons that are not familiar with the concept of community archiving. Also on the confusion of terms was the use of word minority. Some people felt offended when the researcher referred to them as that, especially the ethnic groups. They preferred to be called the indigenous groups. However, the researcher found the term unsuitable for this study in hand hence the term minority groups is maintained throughout the study.

The other challenge is that some of the selected cases initially agreed to be part of the study but later developed cold feet as one of them thought the research is too political and touches on some sensitive issues. Because of that, two cases ended up being dropped from the research.

The multi comparative nature of the research, cutting across international boundaries, meant that the researcher spent more than a year collecting data and in some two cases even though he wanted to use face-to-face interviews but ended up sending interview schedules because of geographical barriers. Where the researcher wanted further clarification, this was made through a telephone call. This weakness of very limited inconsistency in the use of data collection tools in two cases was corrected through triangulation especially the website content analysis.

3.10 Summary

In this chapter it was shown that the research paradigm used was critical emancipatory epistemology and constructivism ontology. Qualitative approach was used. Multiple cases were studied comparatively across Zimbabwe and South Africa and these included NAZ, Ministry of Sports, Arts and Recreation in Zimbabwe, NARS and provincial archives, SAHA, Sinomlando, JDAP, GALA, KLCDA, Gaza Trust, TSDT, Nambya and BaTonga community museums. They were mainly selected through purposive sampling. Data presentation and analysis is done in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS OF THE STUDY

4.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter set the study on a qualitative approach and comparative case studies and this influenced how the data was collected. This chapter then dwells on the analysis and presentation of data collected. Data analysis is described by Bryman (2012:13) as that stage which is “fundamentally about data reduction—that is, it is concerned with reducing the large corpus of information that the researcher has gathered so that he or she can make sense of it”. Blaikie (2010:26) categorised data analysis as “creating categories, indexing or coding documents, sorting data to locate patterns, describing patterns, generating theories from data and validating these theories”. Data analysis was mainly done to draw conclusions and answer the research questions as Creswell (2009:152) argued. In other words, data analysis made it possible to make sense out of all the gathered information.

In this research the data was analysed in a thematic way as described by Matthews and Ross (2010:284) in which some of the stages are to organise the data by coming with key themes. These themes are then explored by looking for similarities and differences between cases and lastly returning to the research questions to verify whether the analysis had helped answer them.

4.2 Data presentation

Qualitative data was collected mainly using interviews and on two cases sending interview schedules to the participants because of geographical challenges. Follow-up questions on these two cases was done through telephone. The data on oral history programmes was collected from Zimbabwe and South Africa. Data presentation and analysis is better done taking into cognisance the research questions or objectives and the problem statement (Perez 2014; Babbie & Mouton 2001; Nalzaro 2012).

Therefore, in this chapter the data is analysed against the objectives found in Chapter One which are to:

1. Analyse the oral history methodologies, strategies and approaches used by national and other mainstream archival institutions in Zimbabwe and South Africa.
2. Examine the factors that hinder and enable national and other mainstream archives in Zimbabwe and South Africa in documenting the oral history of the minority groups.
3. Analyse selected oral history programmes which are initiated and run by the minority groups both in Zimbabwe and South Africa.
4. Evaluate accessibility to the oral history collection of mainstream and community archives.
5. Determine how the concept of oral history community archiving has been embraced in Zimbabwe and South Africa
6. Propose a framework to integrate community oral history programmes into national archival system whilst maintaining their independence.

The data is mostly presented and analysed in a narrative form with only one or two instances where a simple table is used.

4.2.1 Oral history methodologies, strategies and approaches

This section analysed the data on oral history methodologies, strategies and approaches from Zimbabwe which included the cases of NAZ and its provincial record centres and Zimbabwe Ministry of Youth, Sports, Arts and Recreation (ZMYSAR). In South Africa the data on oral history methodologies, strategies and approaches was analysed from NARS including provincial archives, OHASA, Sinomlando and SAHA.

4.2.1.1 Zimbabwe

The data presented in this section was extracted from the staff members at NAZ. The data was collected through semi structured interviews at NAZ Harare, the Head Office, Bulawayo Archives and Records Centre, Mutare Record Centre, Masvingo Record

Centre, Gweru Records Centre and Chinhoyi Records Centre. The data collected through semi structured interviews was augmented with observations, document analysis and the review of NAZ website.

The oral history section in the NAZ (2018) website is introduced as being manned by the oral historian at the NAZ Head Office, Harare, as well as archivists in the NAZ's Provincial Offices in Bulawayo, Gweru, Masvingo, Mutare and Chinhoyi. This statement implied that there are no dedicated oral history structures at the Provinces as the Oral Historian is only stationed at NAZ, Harare. In the provinces, oral history just becomes one of the duties of provincial archivists.

The NAZ (2018) website showed that the oral history section has the prime responsibility of collecting and preserving oral interviews from a wide diversity of people whose contribution to Zimbabwean history and development has been considerable but undocumented or under-documented. The important word here is ‘prime’. In other words, is this prime responsibility only monopolised by NAZ or there are other organisations which are collecting oral histories? This question is asked because in an interview with one participant an answer was given to the effect that community archiving is not done in Zimbabwe because “as it is the NAZ which solely reserves the right to conduct oral history programmes”.

When it comes to the documentation of the minority groups the NAZ (2018) website has a link to the programme dubbed ‘One Zimbabwe’. This programme is described as a NAZ’s oral history programme which documents the totality of Zimbabwean cultures. The project was commenced in 2010 and is focused on documenting endangered cultural practices facing extinction in the form of recorded sound, film and illustrative material such as photographs and other objects. The project is being carried out in all provinces emphasising on marginalized societies of various ethnic groups whose history is under documented.

The NAZ (2018) website then gave the following background to the programme:

> [That] Zimbabwe has diverse ethnic groups from diametrical backgrounds. It is, however, disturbing that some cultures are dying a natural death as smaller ethnic groups are being dominated and absorbed by larger groups. This is even reflected in the National Archives collection imbalances where larger ethnic groups are well documented at the expense of smaller ones. It is against this background, that the project seeks to document endangered cultural practices facing extinction for preservation at NAZ. The project is carried out from province to province focusing on marginalized societies of minority ethnic groups. Within the selected areas, emphasis is on local endangered cultural practices facing extinction, the aim being to document them for preservation and save them from extinction. So far the project has been taken to the BaTonga of Gokwe South, the Shangaan of Chiredzi, The Kalanga of Plumtree, and the Ndau in Chipinge. The project is yet to cover the following groups;
>
> 1. The Nambya of Hwange and surrounding areas.
> 2. The Venda in the southern part of the country.
> 3. The Korekore tribe of Mt Darwin and surrounding areas.
> 4. The Buja tribe of Mudzi and surrounding areas.
> 5. Doma of Mt Darwin
> 6. The San of Tsholotsho

The NAZ (2018) website gave an example of one of its project under 'One Zimbabwe'. The latest Report on the 'One Zimbabwe Project' is that which covered the Ndau people and it is found on the NAZ (2018) website. The Report's objectives were to document the minority Ndau culture for preservation focusing on chieftainships, dances and songs, dressing, ceremonies, customs and taboos, material culture and sacred places. The Report located the Ndau people in Manicaland Province and mainly concentrated in Chipinge, Chimanimani and parts of Mozambique. Of the mentioned areas the project was focused on the Chipinge area. The Chipinge area has six Ndau Chiefdoms namely Gwenzi, Mapungwana, Musikavanhu, Mutema, Garahwa and Mahenye. However, the project concentrated on Chief Gwenzi, Chief Mapungwana and Chief Musikavanhu and the result of the project was a total of 54 audio interviews and ten video interviews recorded. These interviews captured different aspects of the Ndau Culture.

One of the questions raised to the interviewees was the role played by NAZ in documenting the minority groups. The answers to that question from both the oral historian and provincial archivists showed some activities in that regard. For example, this is how that question was answered in NAZ Harare and Provincial Centres (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Documentation of the minority groups at NAZ

Archival Centre	**Response**
NAZ Harare	"One Zimbabwe One Nation project and Capturing a fading national memory".
NAZ Bulawayo	"We have collections that cover the Kalanga, a bit of Venda and Tonga. We have also a very small donation of oral history collection of the San community from the Tso-ro-Tso San Development Trust".
NAZ Mutare	"The collection is not comprehensive. The only oral history programme for minority groups done in the province was about the Ndau which was completed over one week. This time was not enough to comprehensively document all aspects of the Ndau people".
Naz Masvingo	"Oral recordings in Chief Tsvovani and Gudo of the Shangaan and Ndau tribes were respectively done in 2011, We also covered the 2016 edition of eMuhlanguleni Cultural Trade Fair of the Shangaan people".
NAZ Gweru	"Ndau, Tonga, Shangaan ethnic groups".
NAZ Chinhoyi	"No idea".

Through document analysis and observation, the other minority group which was documented is that of the VaRemba community. The NAZ (2016: 27) Director's Annual Report mentioned that NAZ collected and transcribed VaRemba of Mberengwa's oral traditions during the intangible cultural heritage (ICH) inventorying workshop in Zvishavane from 29 August to 2 September 2016. This was a collaborative effort between the NAZ oral history Unit, the Department of Arts, Culture and Heritage and

UNESCO in Inventorying Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH). Through the content analysis of ICH inventory framework documents, what was collected were oral traditions on the *Komba, Dzingiso* and *Bira* traditions of the VaRemba people and these are defined in the following: *Komba* as an initiation ceremony for the VaRemba /VaMwenye girls and women to impart a variety of skills in readiness for marriage. On the other hand, *Dzingiso* is a male initiation practice for the VaRemba for males aged between eight years to 15 years and it is usually done in winter for three months. *Bira* is a VaRemba/VaMwenye ritual that is meant to bring back the spirit of the dead so as to reunite it with the living family and God. It is worth noting that these cultural practices especially *Dzingiso* (traditional circumcision) are consistently being practised by very few ethnic minority groups in Zimbabwe and these are the VaRemba (mainly found in Mberengwa), the Tsonga (mainly found in Chiredzi) and the Xhosa (mainly found in Ntabazinduna) hence their being prioritised in documentation initiatives by NAZ and the Department of Arts, Culture and Heritage in 2016.

One of the participants described this as a successful story because of its use of synergies. The participant stated that it is important to note the modus operandi used to document the VaRemba cultural practices. It was an active participation of the local community involving its traditional leadership, the Lemba Cultural Association, the VaRemba cultural community at large, NAZ and Department of Arts, Culture and Heritage. However, the researcher observed that the major weakness which was noted when using group oral history interviews is that once the traditional leadership had spoken about something, others cannot challenge it but one can tell by body language that the ‘commoners’ are not in agreement but are afraid to challenge their leader’s narrative.

NAZ (2010) on its Report on the oral history interviews carried out in Gokwe South District on the 8th to the 12th July 2010 revealed that the team collected 73 recorded tapes and four videos. Subjects covered involved the Tonga culture and customs, Ndebele culture, Shangwe and Karanga culture and customs.

NAZ's (2010) Report on the oral history interviews carried out in Chiredzi concerning the Shangaan people in March 2010 revealed that Chief Tshovani and his people were initially not at ease with giving out information. The Report then said later it was realised that this was due to the succession disputes amongst the Tshovani Chieftainship and the neighbours. The Report stated that 41 recorded interviews were collected and six videos.

NAZ's (2012) Report on the oral history project held in Bulilima and Mangwe Districts on the Kalanga culture and history from the 8th of March to the 16th March 2012 revealed that 30 audio interviews and a total of five video interviews were collected. The Report further stated that the team visited the Kalanga Cultural Centre which is named after the villages of Mambo, Makumbi, Cheborama and Masendu.

The correspondence found on the NAZ Oral History Project File (2014) mentioned the Tokwe Mukosi Dam Oral History Project. This project involved the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ), NAZ and Midlands State University (MSU) history students. The correspondence stated that this is a collaborative exercise to add professional voice to the documentation of the history and heritage of communities affected by the construction of the Tokwe-Mukosi Dam.

The NAZ Oral History Project File (2014) revealed the correspondence relating to the documentation of liberation war history, battle sites and Intangible Cultural Heritage for Chikomba District, 26 June to 5 July 2014. Mazowe District is also mentioned. The background information given to these projects is the motivation to revive the two projects, Capturing a Fading National Memory and Safeguarding the ICH of Njelele that NAZ and NMMZ inaugurated in 2000 and 2001 respectively. The correspondence further goes on to state that if the ICH project is successfully implemented this would significantly raise the profile of ICH in Zimbabwe, hard on the heels of the success of Mbende/Jerusalem dance and also as recognition that documentation and preservation of ICH is socially relevant under the UNESCO 2003 Convention on ICH. The NAZ Oral History Project File (2014) further stated that the UNESCO/Flanders training on community based inventorying of ICH knowledge was also used in this

Project to produce a standardised inventory form for the nation as a follow-up to the Chiweshe Community based inventory. The project would involve NAZ, NMMZ and Memories of Zimbabwe Armed Struggle Trust (MZAST).

On the composition of the oral history archive at NAZ the participants were in unison that it was comprised mostly of the liberation testimonies. They stated that there are few archived oral traditions of ethnic groups compared to the testimonies of the liberation war. At the provincial record centres of NAZ the participants said nothing much has been collected both in liberation testimonies and oral traditions of minority groups. They attributed this to the fact that oral history is mostly centralised at Head Office. One of the participants said since joining one of the provincial record centres seven years back, no oral history programme has been conducted.

When the participants were asked how they conduct their oral history programmes they stated that they identify the community which they want to interview. After that they seek the authority from the District Administrator's office for permission to interview those identified in the district. Some of the participants mentioned that they were not happy with that procedure because they are forced indirectly to come up with oral history programmes that are in line with government, thinking otherwise they would not get the permission to interview the community members. The participants further added that this is worsened by the fact that some of the offices where they seek permission are politicised along political party lines making their work on oral history programmes difficult.

4.2.1.1.1 The Zimbabwe Ministry of Youth, Sports, Arts and Recreation

The Ministry of Youth, Sports, Arts and Recreation is heavily involved in the revival, documentation, preservation and exhibition of a number of ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. It achieved this goal through the deployment of its cultural officers to all provinces and districts in Zimbabwe. It is a Ministry that cannot be ignored in the preservation and documentation of minority ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. It is against this background that one of the cultural officers was interviewed in order to shed light on the work they

are doing. This section, therefore, sheds light on the works of the Ministry through the eyes of the participant who is a cultural officer. In explaining the role of the Ministry on community cultural programmes three cultural centres were used as examples, that is, the Sitauze Cultural Centre and the Tarcisius George Silundika Cultural Community Centre (TGSCCC).

The participant revealed that the Ministry has a programme of reviving cultural and traditional ways of different ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. In one of these programmes they target the traditional leadership, especially the chiefs, to come up with cultural centres which document the culture of the people they are leading. In this documentation exercise the participant said oral history is one of the major sources of information because nothing much is written. An example given is that of Chief Sitaudze of Beitbridge close to Zezani who built a cultural centre of the Venda people. The participant clarified that these are not straitjacket programmes imposed by the Ministry from top-down to the communities but the programmes are from the communities who use the guidelines of the Ministry and some of these guidelines are from their side.

The participant estimated that thousands of dollars were spent in constructing the Sitauze Cultural Centre and the money was mainly coming from within the community. Some of the infrastructure talked of by the participant are the conference rooms and House of Fame. In this House of Fame is where important aspects of their history are documented. Those historically important figures that shaped the community are documented there. This concept of House of Fame, as the participant explained, is to be found in all cultural centres as per the Ministry's guideline to which also the community contributed.

Concerning the storage of what has been recorded during festivals, cultural week and also on their oral history recordings the participant said discs are used. The participant further said video recordings are done by the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe (NACZ). However, in regard to the exact place of storage the participant was not certain to the extent of saying that if we go to Sitauze Cultural Centre it is not

guaranteed that we would find them. The participant said these community centres are mainly concerned with exhibitions and they normally do not pay much attention to recording and preserving the oral histories and IKS from an archival point of view.

Tarcisius George Silundika Cultural Community Centre (TGSCCC) is another cultural community centre that is mentioned by the participant. The TGSCCC is described by a Chronicle Newspaper journalist Dube (2018: 13) who pointed out that it is "located at Gala village under Chief Gampu and houses an art gallery and performing arts centre. The TGSCCC was founded by TG's children in 2015 in honour of the national hero at his homestead in Bulilima District as it was lying derelict with no one living there". The participant added to this description of TGSCCC that it does not only concern itself with the late hero of the liberation struggle but also about the culture of the Kalanga community in which the centre is located in.

The participant explained that some of the objectives of TGSCCC are to make the community aware of their national liberation heroes from the village level; to promote the culture of the Kalanga people, for example through the annual Tibakalanga-We are Kalanga-festival. The TGSCCC (2019) website revealed that in their proposed library they plan to feature thousands of photographs portraying the various stages of Zimbabwe's War of liberation mostly from ZAPU perspective. The images were captured by the well-known late photographer Zenzo Nkobi and the gallery would be known as Zenzo Nkobi Heritage Gallery.

The envisaged community library would feature the works of George Silundika. It is clear from their mission that they intend to promote Kalanga culture through creative community strategies that enhance economic growth and development. TGSCCC (2019) stated their vision as establishing the standard of excellence in cultural heritage sustainability and community development in Southern Africa. In their TGSCCC (2019) website, they also have crowdfunding campaign for their projects and they are encouraging members of the community to be volunteer staff. They also have a Facebook account named Tibakalanga-We-Are-Kalanga-Festival. They are also partnering with universities to achieve their goals.

The participant revealed that the TGSCCC houses the House of Fame which in the meantime has the pictures of George Silundika but later to house more other important figures in the Kalanga history such as the late renowned Ndolwane musician Solomon Skuza and many others. Asked how oral history is accommodated in these projects, the participant said oral history is also a source of information to document the stories of those who would find themselves in the House of Fame including the documentation of oral traditions of the Kalanga people.

4.2.1.2 South Africa

This section presented and analysed data from national and other mainstream archives in South Africa. These are NARS, OHASA, provincial archives, Sinomlando and SAHA. Data was collected through face-to-face interviews, document analysis and observations.

4.2.1.2.1 National Archives and Record Services of South Africa

In this sub section the NARS website was reviewed. Data from the interviewed participant at NARS was presented. In independent South Africa the vehicle used to push for inclusive oral history programme has been the National Oral History Programme (NOHP) which led to the birth of the Oral History Association of South Africa (OHASA). NARS is playing a major role in these two programmes so they were analysed under it. Therefore, the data was collected from these two programmes through document analysis, website reviews, interviews and observations.

The participant stated that more oral history programmes targeting those who were marginalised and the minorities during the Apartheid era started in earnest after South Africa got its independence. Before that the participant said institutions like universities were the ones who were mainly documenting the stories of the oppressed minorities and the marginalised. When asked “can we safely say that oral history targeting the black population and other minorities began after 1994?” The response was “even if it was there it was very limited but I do not remember seeing any oral history collection

meant for blacks at NARS collected during the Apartheid era, maybe in Free State Archives. I only know of the collections of post 1994 and those that came after the development of the NAROS Database". However, document analysis and reading through the NARS finding aids revealed that even before 1994 oral history was being collected by early white ethnographers. One of the notable oral archive to that effect is:

> The vernacular manuscripts [which] formed the basis of an archive named the 'Dr. N. J. van Warmelo Manuscript Collection', stored initially in the Ethnological Section, but later moved to the national archives. This collection was made up of the contributions of Van Warmelo's African interlocutors. From the 1930s, the Ethnological Section began to encourage African writers and other educated persons, mostly schoolteachers, to 'record folklore and other information they could obtain from elderly and reliable members of the tribes'. A substantial body of manuscripts of ethnological significance was acquired in this way… (Lekgoathi 2009:73-74).

When asked about the documentation of those liberation parties that did not make it to the seat of power after the first democratic elections such as PAC the response was that "there was a project that we did on military veterans that attended to some of the few combatants in the ANC and PAC". Asked about the contention that those liberation parties that found themselves in power are the ones that dominate the historical narrative, the response was "yes it's always the argument that the dominant have the loudest voices, yes that is true to some extent but we are trying our best to cover all the liberation parties". The participant added that for the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) they have not recorded much.

Oral history methodology as used by NARS: The participant said that oral history programme after independence in South Africa was motivated by the fact that the Apartheid regime did not record the stories of the marginalised black people so the motivation now was to fill those gaps. How are they filling those gaps? The answer given is that the Oral History Unit looks at themes, topics of interest and then it goes and captures those stories. The participant said in some cases people come to NARS

and notify them about their stories and the Oral History Unit would then go and capture them. The participant also mentioned that in OHASA's annual conferences researchers present on interesting case studies where, as Oral History Unit they then make follow ups to document and register those stories on the NAROS Database for access purposes.

National Archives Register of Oral Sources (NAROS): The participant said ideally they prefer to index some of these community archives in the NAROS Database than to take possession of their collection. However, the participant stated that some of the archive holders would want their collections to be stored at NARS because they do not have storage facilities in their places. The participant then said such organisations as museums, for example Museum Africa, University of KwaZulu Natal, Alan Paton and other archival centres register their materials with NAROS and it is uploaded.

The participant also talked about the National Oral History Programme where the then Minister of Arts and Culture Ben Ngubane advised that a panel of experts be instituted and look at the practise and methodology of oral history. The result of that was the formation of OHASA. Therefore, the following sub sections looked into these two vehicles, that is, NOPH and OHASA to see how they have assisted in the documentation of the once marginalised groups of people in South Africa.

4.2.1.2.2 National Oral History Programme of South Africa

Through document analysis of the Departmental (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology) paper, it was noted that this was the first project of its kind that was bent on massively documenting the histories of those who were once marginalised in South Africa. This programme was born from the Cabinet of South Africa which mandated the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST) to conceptualise and spearhead NOHP for South Africa. The rationale for the establishment and development of the NOHP is detailed by DACST (2001) as follows:

1. In South Africa, as a result of colonialism and apartheid there are gaps in the public knowledge, which are caused by deliberate omission of African

knowledge, technologies, stories and philosophies from the mainstream of South Africa's body of knowledge.

2. Such omission concerns various aspects of African and other disadvantaged experiences in areas such as politics, economics, social development, health, culture, gender issues and religion. These aspects are inadequately represented and urgently need to be redressed.

3. The retrieval and dissemination of oral history and oral traditions are vital to fill the gaps in the education system. It is important to integrate this knowledge not only into the formal curricula, but also into indigenous education.

4. Furthermore, oral history will provide alternative narratives, fresh information and new insights into our understanding of the past. It will stimulate marginalised and distorted social practices which could enhance the well-being of the people.

5. Oral history benefits the communities in three ways. Firstly, it provides emotional support to people through affirmation and healing. Secondly, it assists communities in retrieving traditional support systems in matters such as food conservation, funeral procedures or natural medicine, thus allowing them to save money. In this way it provides non-monetary economic assistance. Lastly the communities are entitled to derive some benefits from the commercialisation of commodities produced with the help of indigenous knowledge accessed through oral history.

It is again important to note the aims and objectives of NOHP which are stated in the DACST (2001) document because of their likelihood to influence the role played by NARS in documenting the inclusive national heritage. The DACST (2001) document outlined the following aims and objectives:

1. To assist the communities in retrieving neglected indigenous and community knowledge as a way of promoting social, economic and cultural development. Imperatives such as poverty alleviation, job creation, rural development, urban renewal, fighting crime and HIV/AIDS would benefit from oral history programmes.

2. To reconstruct those aspects of the nation's memory that are not recorded, preserved and conserved in the National Archives of South Africa (NASA) and other relevant institutions and organisations.
3. To develop capacity within the NASA, the education system and other relevant institutions and organisations to enable them to collect, preserve, conserve and make accessible the knowledge of oral testimonies and oral tradition.
4. To create an awareness of the value of oral history and oral tradition within the nation through the media and the arts.
5. To promote, co-ordinate, fund and monitor local, regional, provincial and national projects and initiatives in the field of oral history and oral tradition.
6. To facilitate interdepartmental synergies and partnership with other stake holders to ensure that oral history be integrated in all public initiatives.
7. To record, preserve and conserve data in the indigenous languages.
8. To develop an on-line National Register of Oral Sources (NAROS) as a support mechanism to the National Oral History Programme.
9. To draft a code of conduct which addresses ethical aspects of oral history work.

It is important to take note of the envisaged outcomes of the NOHP as they had an impact on the oral history unit of NARS. DACST (2001) outlined the following outcomes:

1. at least fifteen oral history workshops per year in the nine South African provinces;
2. The screening, funding and monitoring of at least twenty oral history projects per year in the nine South African provinces. These projects will fulfil the aims and objectives of the programme…;
3. The reviewing and updating of the National Register of Oral Sources (NAROS);
4. The inclusion of oral history in the history curriculum and textbooks;
5. The regular broadcasting on national and local radio and television of oral history records;

6. A pilot project with school children;
7. The networking with oral history projects in the rest of the world and particularly in Africa;
8. The establishment of a national oral history association.

Another important aspect to note about NOHP is that it is being managed by the DACST task team and co-ordinated by the NARS. It also led to the pilot project of documenting the stories of the 1956 Anti-Pass March to the Union Buildings by Women of South Africa. The NARS (2000) Report on the National Pilot Oral History Project revealed the involvement of South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and the idea of dramatisation, documentary and serialisation is talked of and the following citation on page 20 illustrates that:

> The major benefit of dramatization, documentary and/or serialisation, as I see it, is that it gives the interview a far wider exposure than transcriptions can ever hope to do. (This is often the reserve of libraries, professional archivist in the narrowest sense of the word, oral historians, scholars etc.) Television and/or radio could be roped into providing this exposure…

4.2.1.2.3 Oral History Association of South Africa

OHASA is one of the eight outcomes of NOHP. The importance of OHASA in this study is that it would be difficult to separate NARS from it. Ex officio members of OHASA are mainly from NARS. The data in relation to OHASA was collected through document analysis, especially the OHASA's President Annual Reports, OHASA's newsletters, OHASA's annual conference's programmes, OHASA's new and old Constitution, interviews, observations and OHASA's website review.

According to the OHASA (2018) website, OHASA was launched in 2003 under the arm of National Archives and one of the primary preoccupations of OHASA has been the planning and execution of annual oral history conferences, in conjunction with the Local Organising Committee (LOC) which plays a key role in shaping, *inter alia*, the

conference theme. These annual conferences serve as platforms for oral history practitioners in institutions of higher learning, NGOs, community organisations, educators, learners and local knowledge holders to engage one another. The OHASA 2018 website continued to outline that:

1. OHASA's first two annual national conferences were held in Gauteng Province; the first was in Pretoria in 2004, and the second was held in Johannesburg in 2005.
2. Thereafter, the annual conferences began to rotate between the different provinces as shown in Table 4.2

Table 4.2 Annual Oral History Association of South Africa' conferences and their themes from 2006-2018

YEAR	PROVINCE	THEME OF THE CONFERENCE
2018	Western Cape (Cape Town)	Freedom and egalitarianism: Nelson Mandela, the symbol of democracy
2017	Eastern Cape (Mthatha)	Oliver Reginald Tambo in Memorriam: Reminiscing on a centenary of struggle, true leadership and leadership values of a liberation stalwart
2016	Limpopo (Thohoyandou)	Chanted memories and anniversaries: celebrating our common past(s)
2015	KwaZulu Natal (Durban)	Freedom charter, memories, and other (Un) freedoms
2014	Gauteng (Johannesburg)	Celebrating 20 years of democracy: Oral history and the politics of transformation
2013	Northern Cape (Kimberely)	Centenary of the land Act of 1913
2012	Free State (Bloemfontein)	Oral history, communities and the liberation struggle: Reflective memories in post-apartheid South Africa

2011	North West (Mahikeng)	Past distortions, present realities; (Re) construction(s) and (Re)configuration(s) of oral history
2010	Mpumalanga (Nelspruit)	Oral history and heritage, national and local identities
2009	Western Cape (Cape Town)	The politics of collecting and curating voices
2008	Eastern Cape (East London)	Hidden voices, untold stories and veiled memories: Oral history, representation and knowledge
2007	Limpopo (Polokwane)	Truth, legitimacy and representation: Oral history and alternative voices
2006	KwaZulu Natal (Richards Bay)	Culture, memory and trauma

The oral history project which appears on the OHASA (2018) website is the one named the Coffee Table and is targeting the stories of South African women. Then under the news section of the OHASA (2018) website, Limpopo's first Provincial Oral History is reported on. Also the 4th Oral History Conference held at Ermelo in Mpumalanga Province is reported on. This then shows that it appears Limpopo and Mpumalanga so far are the only provinces having provincial oral history conferences.

The content analysis of the old constitution of OHASA (2004) revealed that there is only one objective which is "to promote and facilitate the recording, preservation, access, popularisation and study of oral history in South Africa. This includes poetry, music, oral praise, oral performance and oral traditions". OHASA (2016) Constitution as amended in Thohoyandou on the 12th of October 2016 at Thulamela Sports Centre outlined the aim of the OHASA being that of promoting and developing oral history as a formal and distinct discipline. In order to achieve this aim, the association's main objectives are:

1. To promote the research and dissemination of oral history in South Africa in the various official languages.

2. To promote the usage of oral history in schools and other institutions.
3. To liaise with Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) holders in the promotion of oral history.
4. To establish partnership with institutions, bodies, associations pursuing similar objectives and practices.
5. To promote collection management and accessibility of oral history.
6. To organise and host annual OHASA conferences.

Its membership, according to the OHASA Constitution (2016) is open to any individual person, public institution or community based organisation which actively supports its aims and objectives.

According to the OHASA (2016:2) Constitution, the office bearers shall include a President, Deputy President, Treasurer, Secretary and Deputy Secretary, Partnership and International liaisons, Editor, Promotions and Publicity, Research and Development. This thesis is mainly interested in analysing the roles of promotion and publicity, editor and research and development as they have a bearing in this study. According to the OHASA Constitution (2016:4) Promotion and Publicity would promote the brand and image of the organisation, update the website, newsletter, and enhance visibility and awareness of the Association to the public and design brochures to be distributed at other conferences. The OHASA' Constitution (2016) stated that the Editor would look into the publication of conference proceedings, edit the new conference proceedings and publication of the academic journal. The OHASA Constitution (2016:5) outlined the roles of Research and Development as follows: train young oral historians (presentations, workshops, conference abstracts among other things)

1. Encourage, promote and support emerging Oral History projects.
2. Encourage and promote discussion and debate around alternative methodologies in Oral History and indigenous knowledge systems.
3. Coordinate and evaluate abstracts.
4. Maintain the data base of the oral history research.

5. Maintain the data base of speakers and organic speakers.
6. Liaise with National Archives in relation to training of learners in Oral history project.

According to OHASA (2015:1), Lekgoathi the former President of OHASA writing in OHASA Newsletter, argued that:

> We have done a remarkable job in terms of popularising Oral History across our nine provinces, as well as in terms of supporting provincial initiatives. Our conference proceedings have been published and the oral history journal of South Africa – the first of its kind on the African continent – has been established … This association has encouraged Oral History in schools and ensured that learners are given space to participate at our annual conferences. But OHASA has also experienced some challenges in terms of making sure that the Oral History interviews conducted by the researchers and learners make their way to the archives (both provincial and national) where they would become accessible to the public.

OHASA (2015:1) cited Lekgoathi who also raised the issue of financial independence of OHASA by arguing that "we have not been very successful in our fundraising ventures which would ensure that in the long term we become financially sustainable and less dependent on the Department of Arts and Culture".

OHASA Newsletter (2016:1) talks of Mpumalanga Department taking oral history to greater heights by its oral history conference under the theme "Capturing Memories, History, Heritage and the Pride of Mpumalanga Province". The OHASA Newsletter (2016:1) went further to state that the aim of the conference "was to amplify silent voices, expose emerging stories which have found space because of the democratic dispensation we are enjoying today…". The OHASA (2016:1) continued to narrate that the issue of "disparities in affording equal status to all languages in the province came out sharply. Speakers such as Mr P Mnisi and Mr G Mashego made presentations calling for the recognition of marginalised languages of Mapulana, Amashangane and VaHlanganu".

OHASA (2016:2) cited Mahalefa the former Deputy President of OHASA who observed that the "partnership between the national Department of Arts and Culture, OHASA, Witwatersrand History Workshop, and different provinces is working very well to promote oral history in the country…I am happy to announce that one of the grand outcomes of such projects is the book by Harold Lekhuleni" (A book about the history of his former school).

OHASA (2014: 2) cited Ntsimane, the former Deputy President of OHASA who noted that "the part played by organic intellectuals in our gatherings since the Mpumalanga conference has enhanced the value of our meetings tremendously". OHASA (2018:2) referenced Zulu, the acting Editor of OHASA' Newsletter, as having said "we have engaged on a number of issues concerning oral history but we are far from holistically covering all the aspects of oral history. We are soldiering on …at the same time also tapping on marginalised areas which are in remote areas of our country".

The OHASA (2014 – 2018) Newsletters illustrated that most of the oral history projects being done by OHASA are those that involved the training of educators and learners in oral history methodologies. OHASA Newsletter (2014:5) showed that the Mpumalanga Department of Culture Sports and Recreation was working in partnership with the Department of Education to make its training workshops available to educators. There were 30 History/Social Sciences subject advisors who came from nearby districts. They were trained by OHASA on oral history methodologies.

OHASA' (2014:6) Newsletter revealed that in some provinces the Department of Arts and Culture has established oral history units to consolidate and take forward the oral history initiatives that have been going on in a piecemeal fashion within its Archival Services sub-directorate. Such is the case at KwaZulu Natal Archives and the Oral History Unit. OHASA (2014:6) Newsletter stated that "the task of the Unit is not dissimilar to the work done in the regional archives' repositories in Ulundi and Pietermaritzburg within the province. The other provinces have also adopted oral history to add on the information already archived and to improve on the weak

documentation available". The OHASA (2014:6) Newsletter revealed that the Unit has so far conducted interviews on the following topics: Struggle Veterans mainly in Mpumalanga near Hammarsdale, Political Violence, Traditional healing (IKS) in Port Shepstone area, Traditional leadership of Amakhosi in Nkandla, Greytown and Ixopo, and the American Board Mission church in Durban especially the biography of Reverend BK. Dludla who was about ninety years of age.

OHASA (2014:7) Newsletter publicised New Oral History Documents at Alan Paton Centre and Struggle archives. The Newsletter stated that Sinomlando Research Centre for Oral History and Memory Work in Africa once again handed over two important documents to the Alan Paton Centre and Struggle at the University of KwaZulu in Pietermaritzburg. Previously there have been handovers of the black Clergy under Apartheid, and Women Leadership projects. The 2 April 2014 handover was the culmination of interviews on the political violence that enveloped Mpophomeni Township near Howick in the 1980s and 1990s. Mr Frank Mchunu who heads the Zulu Mpophomeni Township Experience which collaborated with Sinomlando on the project was present to do the hand-over. The OHASA (2014:7) Newsletter further mentioned the second project which handed over memories of AIDS which was a collaboration of the three professors at UKZN School of Religion and Classics namely Philippe Denis, Isabel Phiri and Beverly Haddad. These two projects even not initiated and done by OHASA but their presence in official handover shows the interest of Association in all oral history programmes taking place in the country as the Newsletter stated.

Another interesting oral history project reported on OHASA Newsletter (2014:8) was that of Galeshewe 8th September 1980 Memorial Project which was commemorated by the community and the three local schools. The theme that governed the three-day event was "34 Years on: Telling our Story". The organisers wanted today's learners to appreciate the history from those who had first-hand experience when students rose up in boycott on 8 September 1980 due to the multiple challenges over the education system. OHASA (2014:10) also reported on the Oral History Elderly day in North West. The Annual Oral History Elderly Day event intended to gather significant history from communities around the North West Province. It also aimed to gather as much

information and knowledge from senior citizens identified to share their history dating from forced removals to indigenous knowledge systems. The Provincial Archives documented the presentation by selected elderly citizens who presented on various topics and what stemmed out of the presentations was the issue of forced removals from the initial residential area to the area of Madibogopane where they now reside.

The OHASA (2015) Newsletter reported on the Second Mpumalanga Oral History Conference, equipping the North West Educators with Oral History Research Skills (On 8 September 2015, 60 participants consisting of educators and eight learners took part in the oral history training workshop organised by the Archives Unit of the North West Provincial Government in Mafikeng), OHASA fundraising drive, oral history training (KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Archives and the National Archives hosted 50 learners from five schools in uMgungundlovu District for Oral History training…These schools were selected because they are a part of the Family Tree Project initiated jointly by the KwaZulu-Natal Archives and KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education), the Eastern Cape Learners Training Workshop (In May 2015 the officials from the National Archives of the Department of Arts and Culture facilitated an oral history training for learners in King Williams) and Nkosi Albert Luthuli Oral History Competition. Singh (2015:8) who was one of the Executive members of OHASA described the Nkosi Albert Luthuli competition in the Newsletter in the following words:

> This competition helps to build confidence among learners and educators alike. The competition is hosted by the Department of Basic Education (DBE) annually. The competition encourages learners to research topics [oral history topics] that they are interested in from the array of topics provided. They need not go far as we can use the resources from within their community.

Singh then noted the weakness of the iNkosi Albert Luthuli Oral History Programme by observing that those participating in this competition are mainly coming from the "urban areas closer to where the DBE offices are located. It is crucial that such opportunities are not denied learners from areas far away from the urban centres. Educators from rural areas should engage in such projects to expand the horizons of the learners"

The OHASA (2016) Newsletter mentioned the following oral history projects done: Mpumalanga Oral History Conference; Training Limpopo Learners in Oral History Methodology (The National Archives and Records Services of South Africa in partnership with the Limpopo Provincial Archives trained 46 learners from the Vhembe and Polokwane area on the methodology of Oral History); KwaNdancama Project in the Eastern Cape; North West Workshop for Educators; Coffee Table Publication and a book on Ngwaritsane School published by one of OHASA's members using oral sources.

The OHASA (2018) Newsletter mentioned the following oral history projects done: Mpumalanga's fifth oral history conference; Limpopo Annual Provincial Oral History Conference and Tell your Mother's Story, an OHASA Coffee Table Publication. This Coffee Table Publication "Tell your Mother's Story" was reviewed by Hingston (2018: 47) in the following words:

> There is a dearth of women's stories and a few that are told usually focus on renowned and public-figure women. The stories of ordinary women are left untold, giving the impression that they have not made any meaningful contribution to their societies. This is what makes these compiled stories unique. They detail the lives of women whose stories may not have been told and whom many will perceive as ordinary.

The general analysis coming from the OHASA Newsletters is that there is much on conferences and learners programmes but few on oral history programmes in the form of case studies with the communities. The exceptions are KwaNdancama Project in the Eastern Cape and the Coffee Table Project which is encouraging women to tell their stories.

4.2.1.2.4 The learner's oral history programme

One of the participants in charge of the learner's oral history programme was interviewed. The participant mentioned that one of the objectives is to improve the

research skills of all learners taking Social Sciences and History as a subject throughout the country. This programme is coordinated in the form of a competition that takes place at circuit, district, provincial and end up at national level. Teachers and subject advisors support schools by assessing their research step by step.

Asked about what the programme entailed, the participant indicated that:

> A National theme for the year (for example centenary year of Nelson Mandela) is used to come up with the different topics to be researched in line with the general steps of conducting an oral history research. Topics are sent out to provinces beginning of the year, competition takes place at different level until the number is scaled down to eight learners going to the national competition.

The following were provided as some of the themes that have graced the programme:

Main Theme: Centenary year of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela

Sub-themes:

1. Life story of a former activist(s) in my community who emulated the values of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela in addressing issues of gender equality, non-racialism, socio-economic equality as well as to better the lives of the people in their community.
2. Life story of a former worker in the 1970's who took part on the 1973 Durban Strike and how their actions contributed to the current worker's rights in South Africa.
3. The 1954 Women's Charter says: We, the women of South Africa, wives and mothers, working women and housewives, African, Indians, European and Coloured, hereby declare our aim of striving for the removal of all laws, regulations, conventions and customs that discriminate against us as women, and that deprive us in any way of our inherent right to the advantages, responsibilities and opportunities that society offers to any one section of the population.

4. Freedom, democracy and history of my school: how my school experienced apartheid and the changes since the advent of democracy in 1994.
5. The Native Land Act of 1913 passed by the Union Government decreed that blacks were to hold only 7% of the land. This piece of legislation also deprived black's people of owning land and was a precursor to other more repressive laws such as the Group Areas Act of 1950.

The participant said these sub themes touch on the histories of minorities like women and also record those unknowns who are there in the communities but have a historical story to tell that would feed to the national narrative.

Asked about where they keep the oral history recordings which learners come up with, the participant said "provincially we don't keep the learners product, they take it back to school after the competition. I am not sure with National but learners' files are given back after the Competition" and access is only when the adjudication process of the competition is being done and then learners keep them as their personal product.

In terms of documenting the minorities the participant specified that "there was once the unsung hero sub- theme that was previously included as part of the competition". The strengths and weakness of the programme are clear from the following participant's response: "Learners are doing well in terms of finding untold stories or information in their communities although the department does not have a proper way of archiving the information. It is only used for competition purpose". The participant added that this means that such rich collection of community histories is lost because of the lack of strategy in archiving it.

4.2.1.2.5 Provincial archives in South Africa

In terms of the South African Constitution Schedule 5 "archives other than national archives are a functional area of exclusive provincial competence". Ngoepe (2017) then indicated that by virtue of this provision, each province is required to promulgate its own Act on archives and records services, as well as establish and maintain its own archival infrastructure. It is from this devolved governance system of South Africa

(unlike the centralised governance system of Zimbabwe) that led the researcher to analyse some of the provincial archives separately from NARS. All the provincial archives of South Africa were targeted but only the following responded to the call of participation.

4.2.1.2.5.1 Free State Provincial Archives

The participant revealed that oral history programmes at Free State Provincial Archives began in 2003 and they focus mainly on community, political, traditional and contemporary history. The participant said normally these oral history interviews are transcribed and stored in strong rooms.

In terms of national or provincial government supporting the oral history programmes in the province the response was as follows: “It is not supported much but since it is planned for and financial support provided during travelling, one can say ‘yes’ there is support but minimal”. In relation to the question of “to what extent are you satisfied by the support you get from the Government, be it National or Provincial? The response was that “I am partly satisfied but the more I engage the Department, more availability of funds and other resources will be made available”. The oral history programmes mentioned as being supported by the government are the National Archives Awareness Week and the Oral History Conference which is done annually.

In response to the following question “Which specific oral history programmes has your institution initiated to collect the testimonies of minority groups? (Minority in terms of ethnicity, political/economic and social clout) the answer was as follows: “The history of Botshabelo, 50 east of Bloemfontein. There were quite number of activities in the early 80’s and early 90’s”.

Mentioning some of the challenges of working with the minority groups in collecting their oral history, the participant stated that even though some people are coming forward to be interviewed there is still a group of people who refused to be interviewed. Specifically, on other political formations which are not in power, like the Khoi and the

gay and lesbian community the participant said nothing has been done in terms of documenting their history.

4.2.1.2.5.2 North West Provincial Archives

The participant said that the oral history programme at North West Provincial Archives began in 2010 and it is concentrating in oral history workshops and community histories. The participant said they store their oral collection at the registry. In terms of financial support, the participant said “we do have a budget but not enough for other required needs to conduct oral history”. One of the oral history programmes supported by the government as mentioned by the participant was that of Inkosi Albert Luthuli Oral History Competition. The oral history strategies/methodologies used are that of conducting interviews, hosting workshops and awareness programmes. The participant said they collect mainly community history.

In answering this question “besides collecting oral testimonies of main political party in your country what has your institution done in terms of documenting political parties which are not in power or which were never in power?” the participant said “we have not yet started to collect political parties history”. In relation to the Khoi the participant said these are mainly found in Northern Cape so they haven’t done much. For the other groups like the women, gay people, traditional churches of African origin or other groups that seem not to be represented in mainstream archives the participant revealed it is part of the long term strategy to cater for them.

4.2.1.2.5.3 Limpopo Provincial Archives

The participant stated that the oral history programme at Limpopo Provincial Archives was established in 2016. The participant noted that the oral history tapes and videos are currently copied on CDs and stored in cabinets. In terms of government support the participant said as a government entity they are considered in the budget even though the budget is not enough. The oral history programmes in which the Limpopo

Provincial Archives is involved in are that of training learner's oral history methodology and being part of annual oral history programmes.

The motivation behind oral history programme in the Province is the preservation of the Province's heritage which is being lost as the participant said and so the oral history collected is that with provincial significance. The participant mentioned that one of the challenges of collecting local community stories has been language and cultural barrier. The participant said the programme is still new so it has covered not much on minority groups. In terms of community archiving the participant favoured the concept by stating that "we encourage that stories be told in their true nature and are documented as such". When asked how they then relate with communities' oral history programmes the response was as follows: "only through presentations of oral history papers by community members during the conference organised by our institution".

In regard to the comprehensiveness of their collection the participant said they "have not yet started with documenting as such" and they have not yet developed any policy in relation to the custody of community archives but they are willing to assist in any way they can.

4.2.1.2.5.4 Western Cape Provincial Archives

The participant stated that the oral history programme was introduced in 2015 and the focus of the programme is to identify gaps in historical records within archives and museums; identifying community members to interview; capture stories and edit and provide access from the archive, museums and libraries. The participant said oral history collection is stored with other audio visual material.

In relation to Provincial Government's support of oral history the participant said the funding and marketing are provided and he or she is 100 percent satisfied. The participant further argued that "all archival programmes are supported by Provincial and National Government as evident in funding and participation by political principals.

When asked which specific oral history programmes target the testimonies of minority groups the participant outlined that there is Oral History Initiative which seeks to introduce oral history in all communities in the Western Cape including the Khoi. But the participant noted that for the meantime oral history is not focused on political parties. The participant argued that they are having no challenges in working with the minority groups or local communities in collecting their stories. The participant emphasised that oral history programme is inclusive of all communities and quoted as saying "public archives are community centres and their role is to preserve and provide access to history, whether oral or written. Communities in the Western Cape have embraced this initiative as they see it as an opportunity for their voices to be heard".

In terms of the comprehensiveness of the collection of local communities in their custody the participant revealed that "oral history has just been started, the collection is, therefore, not yet comprehensive". When it comes to the visibility of the institution the participant responded by saying that "it is visible enough and there are outreach programmes in place that create awareness to our services". Also the availability of webpage and Twitter Handler were mentioned.

The Western Cape Government appears to have one of the detailed website than other provinces in terms of oral history coverage. In their website there is a document titled The Transversal Oral History Framework of the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport dated September 2015. Snippets from this document revealed an interesting background of oral history in South Africa generally. For example that "oral history has become a transformational mechanism through which past imbalances are addressed, as well as a therapeutical mechanism to deal with South Africa's turbulent past".

The Transversal Oral History Framework of the Department (2015:6) also make the following suggestions that interviewees should not be paid for their intellectual property or time spent on the interview as oral history should remain voluntary and no expectations of payment must be made by researcher. The document again highlighted that all oral history interviews must be transcribed and it is the researcher's

responsibility to transcribe the oral interviews and submit the transcription together with the recorded interview to the Western Cape Archives. Emphasis is made on Western Cape Archives Service to develop and maintain the database of oral history interviews and link it to the existing national database of oral interviews and transcripts of such interviews are to be made accessible electronically.

The Oral History Initiative is mentioned in Western Cape Government (2018) website as aiming to integrate the various components within the Department by capturing and documenting the stories of communities with the Western Cape. The initiative is aimed at affording local community members including sports legends, a chance to share their personal stories with each other.

Document analysis of annual reports of Cultural Affairs Department in Western Cape Government covering the period of 2000 to 2018 revealed statistics of the oral history programmes that had been done. These were found on the Western Cape Government website. The Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport Annual Report (2017/2018) revealed that there were no oral history programmes done in 2014/2015, 2015/2016. 2016/2017 revealed that four oral history programmes were done and five were done in 2017/2018. The Annual Report further went on to highlight that oral history interviews continued to be recorded during the past year across the Province. These interviews, from a cross-section of people, capture untold histories that have shaped communities over time. They are available at the Provincial Archives and some community libraries and museums for future research.

The Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport Annual Report (2015/2016: 66) explained the Oral History Initiative as aimed “to integrate the various components within the Department by capturing and documenting the stories of communities within the Western Cape. The initiative is aimed at affording local community members, including sports legends, a chance to share their personal stories with each other”. The Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport Annual Report continued (2015/2016: 66) to highlight that the Department promoted social inclusion by conducting archives awareness and outreach programmes to all communities with specific emphasis on

the youth…" The Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport Annual Report (2004/2005: 38) showed that archival services function in 2004 and going backwards were still under the National Department and not yet transferred to Provincial Department. There is an ominous silence in these Annual Reports about oral history from 2014 going backwards. Nothing is said about oral history in these years meaning no oral history programmes were done by the Provincial Archive. This echoes the words of the participant who was interviewed and said oral history programmes began to be done at Provincial Archives or by Provincial Government in 2015.

4.2.1.2. 6 Private 'mainstream archives' on oral history methodologies, strategies and approaches

In South Africa it appears from literature review that there are many players involved in oral history programmes such as universities and independent/private archival institutions. Examples include Alan Paton Centre in KwaZulu Natal University, Western Cape Oral History programme now the collection being housed at the Centre for Popular Memory in University of Cape Town, the list goes on. It becomes clear that it is not only the public archives playing the major role in oral history programmes. Therefore, this section looked into two such private 'mainstream archives' and these are Sinomlando Oral History Programme and South African History Archive. Sinomlando was chosen particularly for its bias towards documenting the stories of the once stigmatised HIV/AIDS minority group. South African History Archive was chosen for its 'successful' community oral history project at Tembisa Township and of it being the 'refuge' archive repository for the endangered archives of some of the minority groups in Southern Africa.

4.2.1.2.6.1 Sinomlando Centre for Oral History and Memory in Africa

The Sinomlando (2018) website revealed that The Sinomlando Centre for Oral History and Memory Work in Africa started at the School of Religion and Theology, University of KwaZulu-Natal, in 1994 with the mission to add indigenous oral history to the records and Sinomlando tries to recover the silenced memories of the Christian communities, particularly those who suffered under apartheid. Gradually, however, the

scope has broadened as there is a need for oral history in all sectors of society. This led them in 2000 to set up its Memory Box Programme, inspired by similar projects in Uganda and Tanzania. The aim was to give psychosocial support to families and specifically to orphans affected by HIV/AIDS. The Sinomlando Centre claimed that they have since become one of the leading research and training institutions for Memory Work in South Africa hence it is being purposively sampled in this study.

Concerning their independence from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, the participant explained that the Sinomlando was operating under the KwaZulu Natal University but it had recently begun running parallel to the University. Further probing what the participant meant, the response was that it is not private or independent but runs parallel to the University and it is now a bit free from the red tape of the University of KwaZulu Natal.

One of the participants interviewed said the Sinomlando Centre for Oral History and Memory Work in Africa started as a small oral history project when Professor Philippe Denis was employed as a lecturer of History of Christianity at the School of Religion in KwaZulu Natal University. Philippe Denis then discovered that there was a shortage of sources, especially those written by black authors in relation to indigenous clergy. He then worked with some of his students to collect those oral histories of indigenous clergy. The interviews collected were transcribed and stored at Alan Paton Centre. Then the scope of the Sinomlando Centre continued to grow. It then incorporated memory because oral history uses memory but in this case it was memory for development as the participant said. The participant further mentioned that the Centre now became “more of memory work and less in oral history”.

In their vision statement they said “Sinomlando's vision is that people with forgotten, silenced or traumatised memories retrieve their history and develop resilience” (Sinomlando, 2018). They described their mission in the following way: “Sinomlando's mission is to build capacity in oral history and memory work in partner organisations reaching out to communities” (Sinomlando 2018).

The aims of oral history programmes conducted by Sinomlando are meant to empower communities with the skills required to record and document their own histories as the website stated. In the (Sinomlando 2018) website, memories of AIDS and their relationship to history are described in the following way:

> HIV/AIDS is a bio-medical phenomenon with social, cultural, economic, political and spiritual dimensions, and has thus become part of South Africa's cultural heritage. Documenting the history of the epidemic as it unfolds under our eyes will help future generations to understand where they come from and in this way develop a sense of identity and strength in the face of massive adversity.

Sinomlando (2018) argued that “oral history is eminently suitable for documenting the day-to-day, subjectively apprehended and culturally appropriated reality of the epidemic”.

According to the Sinomlando (2018) website, in 2008 the South African National Research Foundation (NRF) awarded a grant to the Sinomlando, for a project called "Memories of AIDS" which aimed at recording the experiences of NGO workers and pastoral agents involved in the fight against HIV/AIDS in uMgungundlovu District and over a period of three years more than 40 interviews were conducted and transcribed by a group of postgraduate students.

Sinomlando (2018) website added that in 2011 the South Africa Netherlands Research programme on Alternatives in Development (SANPAD) awarded a grant for the continuation and extension of the Memories of AIDS Project over a period of a further two years and four key areas were investigated: power, sexuality, faith and stigma. This led to 65 members of home-based care organisations, some of them in partnership with Sinomlando, of HIV/AIDS support groups and other community-based organisations interviewed and 11 focus group sessions took place. These interviews were transcribed and, where applicable, translated from isiZulu to English and the plan was to hand all these material to the Alan Paton Centre, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

The other memory AIDS project done by Sinomlando is the one where they partnered with the Thandanani Children's Foundation for a project entitled "Improving access to

holistic care and psychosocial support for HIV positive children on ARV treatment, other OVCs and their families" (Sinomlando 2018). The project is also known as *Onjengami.* In this *Onjengami* Project, Sinomlando said the children particularly valued the chance to talk about their experiences and treatment, and they facilitated contact with other children who were HIV positive as many had thought that they were the only children or teenagers who were infected.

The Sinomlando is not only involved in Memories of AIDS as can be seen by its involvement in documenting the liberation story of Mpophomeni which also involved the year 1993 which were characterised by the Inkatha conflicts. In this project the Sinomlando had teamed up with the local community group called Zulu Mpophomeni Tourism Experience (ZMTE) which was working towards the establishment of an Eco-Museum in the Montrose farm, a late 19th century building expropriated by the apartheid government to create space for the township (Sinomlando 2018). Since 2005 the Sinomlando Centre has been involved in this project and its main role consists of training community residents in oral history methodology. In April 2010 ZMTE and Sinomlando signed a partnership agreement in terms of which the ZMTE would receive part of a National Lottery grant to collect oral history testimonies on the history of the Mpophomeni (Sinomlando 2018). The grant was also used for the restoration of the Montrose farm. Subsequently more than 20 Mpophomeni residents or people associated with them were interviewed, three group interviews were conducted and various exhibits were collected. In December 2011 two volumes of interviews, one in English and the other one in isiZulu were presented to the community on the occasion of the pre-launch of the Mpophomeni Eco-Museum (Sinomlando 2018).

In February 2008 Sinomlando signed a partnership agreement with the Greater Edendale Development Initiative (GEDI), a project of the Msunduzi Municipality, for an oral history project on the history of the Edendale area. The history of the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa, also known as Fedsem, described as a symbol of ecumenism and exemplifying the churches' resistance to apartheid has been documented by Sinomlando.

Researchers from the Sinomlando Centre have documented the stories of survivors of the civil war that started in 1987 between the African National Congress and the Zulu traditional movement Inkatha in a tribal area called Nxamalala, on the outskirts of Pietermaritzburg. The Sinomlando researchers gained access to this community through the assistance of the Programme for Survivors of Violence, also known as Sinani, a Pietermaritzburg-based organisation which endeavours to bring reconciliation and healing to communities formerly affected by political violence (Sinomlando 2018).

One of the interesting projects done by Sinomlando in conjunction with the School of Religion and Culture of the former University of Durban-Westville is that which targeted women Christian's organisations. More than 30 interviews were conducted with women leaders in Sobantu, Imbali and Umlazi. This project was completed in 2002. Sinomlando argued that traditionally, the exploration of black church leaders in South Africa has been focused on the clergy, that is, the male leaders of the various churches. While this is one aspect of the topic, it does not give a complete picture of black leadership in the churches, as it fails to recognise the role played by women in the churches of South Africa (Sinomlando 2018). This was the criticism raised against the Sinomlando Centre upon the completion of its project entitled "Black Clergy under Apartheid in the Natal Midlands" (Sinomlando 2018).

These are some of the oral history projects which appear on the Sinomlando website and they are very interesting in how they have tried to document the stories of those affected and infected with HIV and, in the process, providing some therapeutic healing and psychosocial support. One of the oral history methodologies used is that of the "memory box" in which the memories of families are kept in a box which contains the story of deceased relatives as well as personal objects and memorabilia. What has been glimpsed through the website is that the Sinomlando approach to oral history is that of partnering with international and local organisations and also working very close with local people. This has the effect of coming up with social history which concentrates on the grassroots of the communities including minorities in the form of

those affected and infected with HIV/AIDS, black women clergy and some of the unrecorded liberation history.

4.2.1.2.6.1.1 Personal touch to the origins of Sinomlando

The participant mentioned that the founder of Sinomlando traces his religion from being a Dominican monk. During that period, the founder of Sinomlando and other members supported orphans from a certain orphanage. So they would visit these orphans at this certain orphanage and they became close to them. So when the orphanage closed they adopted some of these orphans. Before you adopt someone you have to know who you are adopting. So interviews begun and the participant said the founder remembered that one of the orphans only could recall one incident of seeing his father bringing him potato chips. The participant argued that it is from this background that the founder explored this concept of memory which they are now using as a memory methodology in regard to orphans at Sinomlando.

4.2.1.2.6.1.2 Sinomlando oral history methodology in detail

The participant stated that the memory work approach targeted the orphans whose parents have died of HIV/AIDS-related diseases. So these orphaned children were interviewed and their stories were put in a book format and also in audio format. These were then given to the children in the hope that if they read and listen to their stories they would then know themselves better and understand their status. They would begin to know who their parents were and what role they played in the community before their demise. The participant said the Sinomlando method generated positive interest among the local and international donors to the extent that the Americans gave them a lot of money on the condition that they use the same method in seven poorest provinces of South Africa. The participant mentioned that they chose all the South African provinces with the exception of Gauteng and Western Cape. The participant added that as a research centre they did not work directly with the orphans but they came in as a support structure. They trained social work groups or community support groups in Sinomlando method and these would then go back to their communities and use the method and even replicate it to others.

One of the challenges mentioned by the participant was that initially they used to give stipends to the trainees and this led to these people becoming too pompous and proud and this affected their performance when they went back to their communities to implement the Sinomlando method. The community support groups who seconded these trainees also began to feel jealous that these trainees were getting stipends at their expense. When the Centre received the grant from America they decided to cut these stipends and instead gave them to the community support groups instead of individuals. This again created disgruntlement and led to some of the trainees not finishing their training because they were no longer getting money. Another challenge mentioned by the participant is that some of the community support groups and individuals would then go out to some organisations and say we have this knowledge that could help the orphans so that they would be paid and then take the money for their personal needs. In other words, the knowledge they gained at Sinomlando was now being used for fund raising by community support groups and individuals.

The participant further argued that in South Africa generally there is a tendency of people coming up with community museums which they want the Government to adopt so that at the end they can make money for themselves. The participant argued that this new method of giving money to organisations rather than individuals strengthened the organisations.

The participant further argued that most of community support organisations began to learn the importance of psychosocial support. Instead of having headaches of over how there were going to provide financial support to the orphans, they now realised that while waiting for money they could just interview the orphans for psychosocial support. The participant explained that the Sinomlando method was mainly focused on identity, that is, knowing yourself and being able to say I am (identifying who you are, what your origins are despite your status as an orphan), I have (being able to identify what you have for assistance, for example having relatives, school and police who can assist you despite your condition), I can (identifying something that you have achieved).

4.2.1.2.6.2 South African History Archive

The South African History Archive (SAHA) is one of the cases of this study. It was purposively sampled because it documented those histories that were being neglected by state archives in South Africa. Not only did it limit itself to South Africa, it also became a repository of some community archives of Zimbabwe such as the Mafela Trust which consists of ZPRA archives.

The SAHA (2018) website described SAHA as an independent human rights archive dedicated to documenting, supporting and promoting greater awareness of past and contemporary struggles for justice through archival practices and outreach and the utilisation of access to information laws. Formed in the 1980s by anti-apartheid activists of the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the African National Congress, its objectives are captured in the SAHA (2018) website in the following way:

1. Recapturing lost and neglected histories;
2. Recording aspects of South African democracy in the making;
3. Bringing history out of the archives to schools, universities and communities in new and innovative ways;
4. Extending the boundaries of freedom of information in South Africa;
5. Raise awareness, both nationally and internationally, of the role of archives and documentation in promoting and defending human rights.

The participant in her interview said SAHA was formed in 1988 and became operational in 2000. The anti-apartheid material collected was transferred to Zimbabwe and, in conjunction with People's History Trust, it was kept there until the South African political environment was favourable.

The participant said SAHA cannot be described as a community archive per se but is more of a human rights archive. The participant mentioned two programmes mainly done by SAHA. The first one is that of struggles for justice programme where she explained that they collect, document and preserve struggles for justice both historical and contemporary. The other one mentioned by the participant is the one that deals with freedom of information and uses access to information legislation Act 2 of 2000. And through that process, they are able to build an archive accessible to public composing of those materials.

The participant said SAHA came into existence because it was collecting materials that were viewed as contraband such as the posters produced by liberation parties and usually confiscated by the police during the anti-apartheid protests. In the words of the participant “SAHA is seen as the ‘other’ or the marginal or the hidden archive, not the official archive and this is how SAHA has positioned itself, always concerned with issues of social justice, accountability and human rights”.

In regard to the documentation of liberation parties such as PAC, the participant said the PAC Archive was donated to the Fort Hare University Archive. The participant said they used to be competition within emerging archives such as Historical Papers, University of Witwatersrand, SAHA and Mayibuye in acquiring the liberation archive of South Africa. However, this was resolved by finally agreeing that all liberation archives in South Africa should be stored at the University of Fort Hare Archive.

The oral history collection found at SAHA as shown by the SAHA (2018) website is as follows:

> The Julie Frederikse Collection; the SAHA Exiles Project; the 1981 Detainees Oral History Project; The Tucker Foundation Oral History Project; the TRC Oral History Project; the Forgotten Voices of the Present Collection; the Sunday Times Heritage Project (STHP) Collection; the De Wet Potgieter collection; the Department of Education Nkosi Albert Luthuli Young Historians' Oral History Collection; the Forced Migration Studies Programme on Xenophobic Violence Collection; 'Voices from Below': An Oral and Photographic Community History

of Tembisa Project" Collection; the Mafela Trust collection; the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF) collection; the ZAPU/Zenzo Nkobi Oral History Project Collection; the Land Act Legacy Project Collection; the Constitution Hill Trust Collection; the Shifty Records Project Collection; the Constitution and Civil Society Project Collection.

Out of these oral history collections the ones of interest are 'Voices from Below': An Oral and Photographic Community History of Tembisa Project; the Mafela Trust Collection and the ZAPU/Zenzo Nkobi Oral History Project. These can be defined as community archives now housed at SAHA.

The participant at SAHA during the interview spoke at length about one of their key functions of recovering the neglected history. She said that is where oral history comes in. She observed that as SAHA they have also targeted those neglected histories and an example of 'entering Tembisa Oral history project' was mentioned in which the rich history in terms of social life and liberation struggle was documented through photographs and interviews. The products of this exercise, she said, was the virtual exhibition, publication of the book and some community members who were part of the team were later employed by SAHA. So in terms of capacity building the participant said the programme was successful. On how they worked with the Tembisa community in the project, the participant said that it is very important in such projects to have stakeholder meeting where the benefits of the project would be explained to the community and their input considered. The participant described the programme as successful because the publication is still in demand to this day and it is also made available to schools.

Concerning the Mafela Trust keeping its collection at SAHA the participant talked about the relationship between SAHA and Zimbabwe dating from long back. She narrated that during SAHA's initial stages it used to operate in Zimbabwe and it is then that strong relations have been built with many organisations in Zimbabwe, and these relations have been strengthened in the last thirty years. The SAHA (2018) website revealed that the Mafela Trust collection is composed of paper-based materials; digital

materials; photographs; audio and video materials. The abstract of the collection from the SAHA (2018) website reads as follows:

> Established in 1989 by a group of freedom fighters of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) to research and document the lost history of ZAPU and its armed wing, the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZPRA) during the liberation war in Zimbabwe, the Mafela Trust launched numerous national projects in an attempt to recoup what has been lost. The Fallen Heroes project - an identification and commemoration of those who died during the liberation war, and the War Graves project – the location and subsequent exhumation of war graves, as well as further research and oral history projects bear testament to the Mafela Trust's determination to recover the ZAPU/ZPRA history, including documenting the history around the formal alliance with Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), the military wing of the African National Congress (ANC). The materials produced as part of these projects form the bulk of the Mafela Trust collection at SAHA and include paper-based and digital materials, photographs, oral history interviews and video material. These materials, identified as endangered in the course of a research, digitisation and oral history project conducted by SAHA in 2010 and 2011, were relocated to Johannesburg in 2011 for comprehensive archival processing. A selection of materials in this collection has been digitised.

The silence of women at archives is also being remedied by SAHA through rolling out those programmes that attempt to document their stories. The participant recalled that in 2017 they had an exhibition during women’s month that focused on the role of women during the liberation struggle.

Turning to the issue of funding the participant said because of the nature of their work which values social justice, human rights, access to government information and accountability, they are sometimes on a collision course with the government to the extent that they do not get any funding from the State. However, she said National Lotteries has sometimes offered them funding.

4.2.2 Hindrances and enablers to oral history programmes at national and other mainstream archives in Zimbabwe and South Africa

This section looked at the factors that hinder and enable the documentation of minority groups using oral history methodology. Cases studied to that effect were NAZ, ZMYSAR, NARS and provincial archives, OHASA, Sinomlando and SAHA.

4.2.2.1 Zimbabwe

In the NAZ (2011) Report on the oral history project held in Chipinge, Manicaland District on the Ndau culture from the 28th November to the 5th of December 2011 the following challenges were cited:

1. Time constraints, all the targeted areas could not be covered.
2. Bad weather, heavy rains rendered some places inaccessible specifically Chief Garahwa area.
3. Manpower, there was only one male interviewer and this negatively had an impact on the output as some men were not comfortable being interviewed by women. As such some potential male informants could not be interviewed (Same problem was also noted in Bulilima and Mangwe especially when it came to dealing with male spirit mediums).
4. Lack of gifts and tokens: while it is appreciated that carrot dangling has no place in oral history, there are some places which are sacred with ritualistic ceremonies that cannot be visited empty handed. Such things as beer, *nhekwe yefodya* (snuff), cloth are a requisite when visiting these places.

The NAZ (2010) Report on the oral history project done in Chiredzi recommended that people should be given brochures, pamphlets and posters so that they know about the National Archives and its functions during the reconnaissance exercise so as to avoid delays as was witnessed at Chief Tshovani where the team spent about two hours trying to explain to the Chief and the people about NAZ and the oral history Unit and its functions.

Some of the challenges faced by NAZ in conducting oral history on minority groups by including its provincial centres are mentioned in participant's own words as follows:

1. The major challenge is securing access to the minority groups or local communities. It is very difficult to have access to the local communities unless it is approved by government structures. Cumbersome procedures would have to be followed before such access is provided. In some cases, informants would be purposively given and in the end they provide official versions pertaining to such local communities or minority groups.
2. The provision of financial resources for the oral history programmes is not satisfactory. For the past decade the Centre has not received any support for oral history programmes. To a larger extent the support has not been satisfactory especially in the last decade (that is a response from the provincial centre).
3. Financial, human and material support are not adequate.
4. They are normally hesitant to open up/ language and cultural barriers (minority groups).
5. Language challenge.
6. Their complex cultural beliefs.
7. Language barriers but mostly they were cooperative.
8. Resources are a challenge.
9. Self-censorship for fear of government reprisal if one asks 'politically incorrect' interview questions.
10. Political bias mainly in the form of concentration on the ruling party's liberation history of the struggle and forced silence on the wrongs committed by the same and the history of opposition politics.
11. Dealing with politicians and political party members in the fieldwork.
12. Abuse of per diems systems in which employees prioritise claiming government or donor money at the expense of properly planned oral history programmes.

13. Very unbalanced NAZ workforce in terms of ethnicity.

Factors that hinder the documentation of the oral history of minority groups by ZMYSAR were narrated by the participant who explained that they cut across the whole cultural centres they are working on. The one that is prominent is the documentation aspect as sometimes the communities do not have equipment to do that. Sometimes, and in most cases, the archiving expertise is very lacking. The participant further clarified that sometimes the community is not aware of how to store what they have gathered, therefore, there is need to close that grey zone by working with the NAZ. The participant also mentioned that if there is no unity within the community the whole concept of community cultural centres may come crashing down like a tumble of deck cards as was witnessed with the Masendu Multipurpose Cultural Centre. What is only left in Masendu Multipurpose Cultural Centre are government offices such as the Registrar's office and humanitarian exercises such as provision of aid whilst the part that dealt with the culture and historical aspect is now idle. However, the participant said there is hope of revival since something is being done on that aspect.

Another challenge mentioned by the participant is that their Department of Arts and Culture has always been moved around different ministries, it was once in Education, then moved to Sports, Arts and Culture, then to the Ministry of Rural Development, then a short stint with the Ministry of Local Government and finally now with the Ministry of Youth, Sports, Art and Recreation. These movements also led them as cultural officers to being moved around and sometimes made to change jobs leading to culture policy failure and also the miscarriage of their programmes.

4.2.2.2 South Africa

When asked about the challenges faced by NARS Oral History Section the participant mentioned the following:

1. Access (The participant said there are very few people utilising the oral history sources. The estimated statistics given were that out of 10 researchers visiting NARS only two would request for oral sources).
2. Payment of stories (The participant said this has become a problem. In the words of the participant “some people become difficult in giving their stories because they want money, even if they don’t have a story they tell you a story to try to make money, but we do not give money”.
3. Reluctance of some minority groups to tell their stories: The participant narrated the personal experience in this regard in which a group of former liberation soldiers of Angolan origin became ‘traitors’ after abandoning their African liberation parties and were used by the Apartheid Government to fight their fellow comrades. Now they are shunned by both Governments. This community is now refusing to give their stories even though they have initially agreed (The participant said this force was called 32 Battalion). The participant said when the scheduled day of interview came they would find only silence in their homes (the participant said they now stay in disused asbestos mine at Pomfret) of these people and almost all houses would be locked.

The Sinomlando Project is also cited in which the participant claimed to have heard that Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) members are also some of the groups that are not willing to give their oral testimonies in that Project.

On some of the hindrances faced by OHASA, The President’s Report (2017) touched on how invisible OHASA is by mentioning that:

> During the course of the workshop I was offered an opportunity to give a brief presentation about OHASA and its activities. The educators, majority of whom claimed to have never heard of OHASA before, were pleased to learn about the Association and the fact that it has a journal. To me this says, as the Association, we need to step up and vigorously publicise our activities.

There is a definitely a problem of low membership. This is noted again in The President’s Report (2017) which lamented low membership by stating that:

> Another nagging concern that OHASA would have to seriously investigate and resolve is the dwindling number of members in good standing. According to the credentials report tabled by our deputy secretary Mr Ntuthuko Khuzwayo last year, OHASA had 34 members in good standing (i.e. members who had paid their membership fee) and these were divided into two categories: 13 individual membership and 21 institutional membership.

It was observed that most of the members of OHASA are government departments and academics with very few local community members. The annual OHASA conferences are again attended by representatives from different government departments, academics, learners and politicians. Very few local people from local communities attend or are invited.

The 2018 President's Report revealed that the production of the oral history training manual is back on track; slow progress in the accreditation of the Oral History Journal of South Africa and the fact that OHASA has not vigorously and consistently persuaded researchers not only to submit their academic papers for the OHJSA but to also donate their research findings in the form of interviews, transcripts and archival material to the NARS.

The Transversal Oral History Framework of the Department of Cultural Affairs (2015: 1) revealed a glimpse of challenges faced by oral history programmes in South Africa by the following quote:

> The proliferation of oral history methodology influenced various components of the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport and other departments of the Western Cape Government to utilize oral history in order to accomplish their mandates and to ensure that their work was not divorced from current societal and academic patterns. While the use of oral history is well defined and structured in the academic environment, this has not come into fruition in the public domain in South Africa. As a result, museums, archives and other institutions have not developed a framework to guide the production, utilization and storage of oral history material. The recording, storing and subsequent use

> of oral history by components of the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport and other Departments of Government of the Western Cape has been largely haphazard, in certain instances incoherent, and not effective. This has resulted in a situation where oral history materials are not shared within the department and with other stakeholders. Issues of ownership, copyright and storage remain extremely obscure and unmanageable in terms of the records management regulations, the Western Cape Provincial Archives Act (Act 3 of 2005) and the National Archives of South Africa Act (Act 43 of 1996).

The Transversal Oral History Framework of the Department of Cultural Affairs (2015: 2) further proposed to "establish a provincial database of oral histories which is linked to the National Automated Archival Information Retrieval System (NAAIRS) of the National Archives of South Africa". The Transversal Oral History Framework of the Department of Cultural Affairs (2015:3) also positions and clearly outlines the role of Western Cape Provincial Archive in terms of the Province's oral history framework in the following way:

> Given the current distribution of material resources, the Western Cape Archives and Records Service does not have the required expertise to fill the gaps. Therefore, its role shall be in the provision of storage, conservation and management of the oral histories that are collected by other components. The Western Cape Archives and Records Services shall become the official repository of all original oral history material collected by staff of the Western Cape Government. It shall be responsible for storage, conservation and management of access, intellectual property and copyright of oral histories.

4.2.3 Selected community archives' oral history programmes

This section looked at the selected community archives' oral history programmes in Zimbabwe and South Africa as per one of the objectives of study. The sub objectives or research questions which were addressed in this main objective of analysis of the selected community oral history programmes initiated by minority groups are that on politics of identity regarding ethnicity, organisational structures, archival holdings,

preservation, funding, collaboration, accessibility, adoption of ICTs and the use of social media. Some of the issues that were analysed are the driving forces behind their formation and how they conduct their oral history programmes especially vis-à-vis mainstream archives. In other words, the broad research question which was being answered is: How organised are some of the oral history programmes initiated and run by the minority groups in both Zimbabwe and South Africa?

4.2.3.1 Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe there are communities which are collecting their own histories. They come in different formats. Others call themselves museums, language associations, trusts among other terms. There are none or very few who call themselves community archives, most of them, their objectives show that in their organisation or association there is community archiving. Some of them mix library, archives and museums. Therefore, the following section examined into detail these community case studies that are the BaTonga Museum, Nambya Museum, Kalanga Language Cultural Development Association (KLCDA), Gaza Trust/Centre for Cultural Development Initiative (CCDI), Tso-ro-tso San Development Trust (TSDT) and the Mafela Trust.

4.2.3.1.1 The BaTonga Museum

The BaTonga Museum caters for the BaTonga people who are mainly found in Binga, Hwange and Gokwe. Long back they used to live closer to the shores of Zambezi River. However, in the 1950s they were displaced paving way for the construction of the Kariba hydroelectric power Dam. The areas they reside in are known to be underdeveloped and the use of their mother tongue language has been undermined in many instances. Tonga language is widely spoken in the Zambezi Valley covering Binga and Hwange districts in Matabeleland North Province, Gokwe North and Nyaminyami districts in Mashonaland West Province. The Tonga language and culture has over the years been marginalised in Zimbabwe where two vernacular languages-Shona and Ndebele were recognised as “national” and Tonga children have been taught in those languages. However, with the new Zimbabwe Constitution ushered in

2013 there was a change since all Zimbabwean languages are now recognised. It can be seen from this background that like other ethnic groups the Tonga are victims of 'cultural genocide' from the majority groups and government policies that used to undermine the vehicle of their culture which is Tonga language. The National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) then came up with this idea of community museums in order to restore the dignities of the minority groups. These are the BaTonga Museum, the Nambya Museum and the Budya Museum.

4.2.3.1.1.1 The historical development of the BaTonga Museum

The participant said the BaTonga people respect their culture and that it has remained intact because of the isolation of their areas which are usually far away from major towns. The participant said the introduction of schools in these areas came later and that the historical story of the BaTonga has largely remained oral. There are very few books documenting their history. The BaTonga have also been subjects of negative stereotyping, for example that they live on trees among other things. This then led to the creation of the BaTonga Museum under the guidance of NMMZ. The participant said "the BaTonga Museum then became a rallying point for self-assertion and highlighting of their self-esteem".

The participant noted that before the creation of the BaTonga Museum there was a realisation that the internationally well-known BaTonga artefacts (especially basket making) were being exploited by the international community which was visiting them in their homes to buy the products at a cheap price. This then led to the formation of the BaTonga Craft Centre to avoid that exploitation. So after the creation of the Craft Centre there was a boom in the purchase of their artefacts, however, the BaTonga were worried that the international buying power always comes with its own demands that may later lead to loss of authenticity of their artefacts. So in order to mitigate that they came up with the concept of a BaTonga Community Museum that would assist them in preserving their culture in the face of global markets and its demands.

So the BaTonga people, with the assistance of Rural Binga District Council and MS Zimbabwe (a Danish Association for International Co-operation) started building the Museum. Later they noted that without the knowledge in museology they would face challenges. So they approached the Government of Zimbabwe which then directed them to the NMMZ. So the curator at BaTonga Museum is now an employee of NMMZ. However, it should be noted that as the participant argued that “the museum programmes come from the community not the curator”.

4.2.3.1.1.2 Oral history and the relationship with NMMZ

The participant explained that they engage oral history in the BaTonga Museum when tracing the history of the BaTonga and also their oral traditions. They also have a lot of videos documenting the indigenous knowledge systems of the BaTonga people. However, their approach is that those oral interviews are used to augment the artefactual story of the BaTonga people. The participant said there is more emphasis on exhibiting than the preservation of those oral histories.

The relationship between the NMMZ and the BaTonga community was described as excellent by the participant. In fact the participant argued that there is a very thin line between the community museum and the community itself because sometimes if there are cultural festivals they want to do they usually come to the museum and borrow some artefacts because it is their museum. When the curator decides on outreach programmes with the schools he just take community members to do the work. The participant said the community really appreciate the western scientific approach to the management of their museum because museums are a western concept anyway. The participant was quick to say that the coming in of NMMZ into the BaTonga Museum did not mean that the BaTonga have no preservation skills of their own. They have because that it is why their artefacts were still there and even their own oral histories and oral traditions. So NMMZ just came in to show them how they can present their artefacts to the world.

4.2.3.1.1.3 Challenges

The participant highlighted the assumption that there is always consensus within the community when it comes to the running of their museum which is wrong. The reason being that some community members think they are better than others, so they would like their own voices to dominate. Another challenge mentioned by the participant is that sometimes communally-owned structures may become white elephants because there is no individual that is strictly responsible. An example was then given that the thatching grass at the Museum is getting worn out so if no one comes in and donates, things may fall apart. However, the participant was quick to say that the same community may come together and do wonders by working in unison.

Another challenge mentioned by the participant is that communities are not homogenous. For example in Tonga there are dialects and some cultural objects may be called by different names within the same community. So naming of artefacts in the BaTonga Museum was creating contestations to the extent that the artefacts are named by all names found in the community in order to accommodate everyone. The participant argued that there is a very thin line between community museums and tribalism. Some ethnic groups not catered for in these community museums may feel aggrieved. The participant, however, said because of the isolation of Binga and it being predominantly Tonga in a very large scale has meant that tribal undertones are silent compared with Nambya Museum in Hwange which is a mining place and a melting pot for different ethnic groups. The lesson given by the participant was that community museums do not necessarily need to assume an ethnic name.

4.2.3.1.2 Nambya Museum

The Nambya Museum is following on the concept of BaTonga Museum. It is located in the urban Hwange area. There is a closer proximity in terms of geographical space and language between these two groups of people, that is, the Nambya and BaTonga. The Nambya's as a people also have the same cultural challenges like the BaTonga when it comes to the documentation and preservation of their history, traditions and culture. This sub section, therefore, presented and analysed data collected from the participant at Nambya Museum and a former member of the Nambya Cultural Association.

4.2.3.1.2.1 Historical development

The participant described the Nambya Museum as under NMMZ. It was conceived from the BaTonga Museum concept. The participant even called it a sub office of community museums, the head office being the BaTonga Museum. The participant said its date of inception was around 2005 at that time there were no structures and artefacts. This then led NMMZ and Nambya Advisory Board to approach Hwange Colliery Company who then gave them a sports pavilion building which was no longer in use. This building was very dilapidated and neglected. After that first step, assistance was then sought from MS Danish donor that was involved in the development of the BaTonga Museum. This is how close the development of the Nambya Museum is linked to the BaTonga Museum. The donor then came through supporting outreach programmes by the Museum and also the collection of artefacts. The contract with the donor was supposed to end in 2011 but it was terminated in 2008 because the donor pulled out of the country because of the violent, volatile and hotly contested national elections in that year. Then the development of the museum stalled and started to move at a snail pace as the participant narrated.

4.2.3.1.2.2 Oral History and the role played by Nambya Cultural Associations

The participant averred that there is no way of ignoring oral history in the growth of Nambya Museum. This is so because nothing much is written about the history and IKS of the Nambya people. The participant then said oral history tapes relating to the history of the Nambya people are attributed to these Nambya associations especially the Nambya Cultural Association (NCA) and Nambya Development Organisation Trust (NDOT). One participant from NCA stated that the Association was formed in 1960 and some of its objectives are the promotion of the use of Nambya language and community awareness of their culture. The participant added that the NDOT was then formed in 2008 mainly to mobilise funds, promote Nambya literature writing and in 2009 they managed to get UNICEF funding which was meant to assist in the promotion of indigenous languages.

These Nambya associations have finally managed to produce literature in Nambya and in 2016 the first Nambya Ordinary Level national examination was done. In regard to oral history and IKS the participant explained that during cultural festivals especially those conducted at Bumbuse and Shangano ruins, the Association is able to document their past by interviewing the older generation which would be in attendance and some of these tapes find their way to the Nambya Museum. This was corroborated by the participant from museum who said oral history tapes at the museum are mainly from the Nambya associations. However, the Nambya Museum is yet to function fully as it is still being refurbished, so in other words, these oral history tapes and some of the videos and artefacts are yet to be well preserved. These Nambya associations work hand in hand with the Nambya Community Museum and some of the members are part of the Nambya Community Museum Board.

4.2.3.1.2.3 Challenges

Politics of naming! The participant mentioned the issue surrounding the contestations around the naming of the museum. Since the museum is located in Hwange where there are so many ethnic groups, some of these feel discriminated against and they are likely not to participate in the growth of the museum.

The financial challenge was mentioned by the participant taking note of the fact that the building was donated in 2005 but up to now it is still being renovated and this is 2018 and the museum is yet to fully function.

In the BaTonga Museum it appears there is a strong symbiosis with the Rural District Council of Binga but when asked about the relationship between Hwange Town Council and the Nambya Community Museum the response was negative. The participant attributed this to the fact that they are yet to operate fully and their infrastructure is still being renovated. However, there is hope from the participant that in future the relationship would be strong because the situation demands that.

On the issue of language barrier taking note that these are communities of minority languages the participant said even though the curator may not be speaking the community language, NMMZ has a tradition of employing the locals when it comes to the tour guards and education officers.

4.2.3.1.3 Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association

The Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association (KLCDA) champions the interests of the Kalanga people. Its objectives are almost the same as other 'minority' groups. It is interesting to note that one can controversial classify the Kalanga as a 'minority group' but this is one of the ethnic groups which has a large population in Zimbabwe. It, therefore, means that the minority label can also be determined on the power relations. The Kalanga have had some of their cultures being subsumed under the Ndebele language and culture. It is common in Zimbabwe to observe that there are many Kalanga people who are not able to speak their language but are very fluent in Ndebele mainly because of 'cultural genocide'. It is from this background that such associations like the KLCDA were born. This section would therefore, present and analyse the data collected through interviewing two participants who are members of the Association. The main thrust of the questions; are how they document and preserve their oral histories and oral traditions.

4.2.3.1.3.1 Historical development

KLCDA has undergone many transitions in terms of name. It was once part of the Venda, Tonga and Kalanga Association (VETOKA) which pushed very hard for the recognition of these languages in the 1980s. Currently the Kalanga people have the KLCDA. The participants said the objectives of KLCDA are to ensure that the interests of the BaKalanga people are uplifted. They added that their language which is a vehicle of culture was becoming extinct meaning their culture was dying. This then called for the revival of the BaKalanga culture as the agenda being pushed by the KLCDA. The other objectives of the KLCDA as articulated by the participants are to produce literature and language books for the teaching of the Kalanga language in

schools. So in order for this to be achieved the KLCDA is involved in building the capacity of individual writers. The Association has also been involved in the writing up of the Kalanga orthography.

4.2.3.1.3.2 Oral history

The participants said that in order to revive and promote their culture the KLCDA usually holds cultural festivals. The most common one is the Luswingo Annual Festival. During this festival, which is also attended by older indigenous knowledgeable people, cultural activities including the recording of historical testimonies and traditions are narrated by the elders. Traditional dances and other traditions are documented through videos. The participants highlighted that the writers are also in attendance so that the information they get is documented through the publication of books.

When the participants were asked about what happens after the documentation of the oral histories and traditions, the response was that there was no archival infrastructure so most of the oral archive they collect is stored in individual's computers. In one of the participant's words: "we have no capacity or expertise regarding archiving". They said in their strategic plan there is a proposal in which the BaKalanga village would be built but because of the shortage of resources the plan has stalled. They said whilst they may donate their collection to mainstream archives such as NAZ their intention is to have their own cultural village that would also act as an archive. It was interesting to note how one of the participant was confusing NAZ and NMMZ. The participant said he was familiar with NMMZ more than NAZ and that to him NAZ is invisible in rural communities.

4.2.3.1.3.3 Challenges

The challenge which is stalling most of the KLCDA programmes is lack of funding. The Association does not even have the office space to operate in. When the participant

was asked that considering that Kalanga ethnic group is one of the most populous in Zimbabwe and has influential people in politics and business then why is it struggling in terms of resources? The participant averred that one of the reasons is the tag attached to such minority groups, the tag of tribalism especially when they want to ascertain their identity. Therefore, those of Kalanga origin who are in influential positions then distance themselves from the project lest they be labelled tribalists and face victimisation from those who butter their bread as the participant explained. The participant also argued that some of the community members do not see the immediate benefit of such community associations' projects. For example they do not see the immediate benefit of why their children should learn in Kalanga language hence their uncooperative behaviour.

It is common reasoning that in such projects one would expect the involvement of traditional leadership but the participant said that they are not getting much support from some of the traditional chiefs in Bulilima and Mangwe. The participant attributed this attitude to the politicisation of traditional leadership in Zimbabwe by the Government. So if the Government views such association with suspicion then the traditional chiefs who are mostly aligned to the ruling party would then distance themselves from such projects as the participant explained. The participant then revealed that in order to mitigate this problem they have tried to visit all traditional chiefs in Bulilima and Mangwe to explain their cause and try to convince them for their support.

Another challenge mentioned by one participant was that whereas the BaKalanga may look homogenous that is not the case as there are clans that may be documenting the BaKalanga history from the perspective of their clan rather than the BaKalanga as a whole. This has led to some of BaKalanga cultural centres failing to continue in existence and others being criticised on that ground. The participant indicated that this is worsened by the politicisation of such cultural centres.

4.2.3.1.4 Gaza Trust/Centre for Cultural Development Initiative

Gaza Trust is an organisation that has interest in the documentation of the Shangaan people mainly found in the Lowveld areas of Zimbabwe such as Chiredzi. These are some of the ethnic groups referred to as ‘minorities’ in Zimbabwe. The Gaza Trust in its one of their objectives is the documentation of the oral history and traditions of the Shangaan people as the participant stated. This section, therefore, looked into how they are documenting their oral history and traditions.

4.2.3.1.4.1 Historical development

Gaza Trust and its trading name being Centre for Cultural Development Initiative (CCDI) was registered on September 2011 as the participant said. It works with the community in Lowveld areas of Zimbabwe such as Chiredzi of which part of that community are the Shangaan people and it operates under the guidance of a Board. The participant outlined the objectives of Gaza Trust as that of development through culture. That is looking into all aspects of development and embedding them into local culture. The participant further stated that there are promoting, documenting and preserving the traditions and culture of the Shangaan people but there are not restricted to that group only.

The participant also referred to themselves as the Tsonga people. In fact the participant said they preferred to be called the Tsonga than Shangaan. This looked like identity crisis. In an interview with a historian from the Midlands State University on clarification of the Shangaan identity in Zimbabwe, the participant argued that the people in Chiredzi who are now calling themselves Tsonga are in fact the Hlengwe. This confusion clearly shows that there is inadequate documentation about the ‘Shangaan’ people in Lowveld areas of Zimbabwe as the participant said. So for convenience sake in this thesis we are going to call them the Shangaan people.

4.2.3.1.4.2 Oral history

The participant mentioned that they are currently involved in the documentation of the Shangaan IKS. He said they started this project of documentation very recently. One

of the mentioned projects was the documentation of indigenous knowledge surrounding the use of herbs in the Chiredzi community where the Shangaan people reside. The project was aimed at demystifying the use of herbs as some in the community were associating it with witchcraft. The participant said they also collect the history of the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe considering that one of the most inhabitable detention centre Gonakudzingwa built by the Rhodesian Government is located in Chiredzi. This is the detention centre where the likes of former President of Zimbabwe Robert Gabriel Mugabe and his Vice President Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo were detained. Also the older people are interviewed concerning the history of the Shangaan people.

Despite all this hard work the participant highlighted that they have a challenge of packaging the final product. So most of their oral archive is just stored in individual's computers and there is no back up. The participant said they did not have expertise in archiving that oral collection and also in exhibiting it professional. The participant also stated that they do not have proper oral history recording machinery and they end up resorting to using their mobile phones.

The participant mentioned that during their annual Great Limpopo festival, their cultural life is showcased especially at the Great Limpopo Cultural Village. This cultural village act as their community centre which consists of four huts, cultural conference centre, farm and a well. The participant revealed that they intend to make the cultural village a living village than the present situation in which it becomes alive only during annual festivals. When asked about whether it would be fine with the Trust if their oral archive is transferred to NAZ or any other mainstream centre the participant argued that the best location of their collection is their community village where the members of the community would have access. He argued that these mainstream centres are far from the community so at the end the community would not be able to access its archive.

The participant talked about the partnerships they have as a Trust. NMMZ, Chinhoyi University of Technology (CUT), International donors such as European Union, Sweden embassy and local donors such as Chiredzi Rural District Council were

mentioned. From these groups the participant said they now have a stable office of operation for the next three years manned by four members of staff after signing a contract with EU and Sweden. There are again envisaging to come up with a website of their Trust during this period. Chiredzi Rural District Council (CRDC) was mentioned as an all-weather friend who has been supporting the Trust for a long time. The CRDC as the participant outlined, has constructed the road to the Cultural village, it sponsors their annual festivals and has donated land to the Trust. However, the participant was not happy with one of the national broadcasters who has taken videos of their annual festivals because they had lost all copyright.

4.2.3.1.4.3 Challenges

Lack of financial support was mentioned as one of the major challenges facing the Trust. The Trust have big plans such as coming up with the Lowveld Museum which would cover the liberation history in that area, sugarcane history since this is the region where sugarcane is being grown, wildlife history since this is one of the richest areas in terms of the big five and other animals, the cultural history of people living in the Lowveld among other things. However, these plans are stalled by the financial challenges as the participant narrated.

Lack of expertise in archiving and museology has also affected the polishing of their final product of their culture. Their oral history tapes are not archived and their cultural practises are not packaged. The participant then said this challenge can be sorted out by partnering with such organisations such as NAZ, NMMZ and certain academic institutions such as Chinhoyi University of Technology (CUT) among others.

4.2.3.1.5 Tso-ro-tso San Development Trust

TSDT is one of the organisations looking into the welfare of San people. They are one of the indigenous ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. They are mainly found in Bulilima, Mangwe and Tsholotsho Districts. One of the members of TSDT was interviewed and

in the process data was collected which spoke to the historical development of the organisation and its treatment of oral history and traditions.

4.2.3.1.5.1 Historical development

The participant outlined that the TSDT was formed in 2010 and registered in 2014. Its objectives were to empower the San in terms of development and revival of their cultural heritage including their language. The participant then said that it TSDT comprises of a Board of Trustees and then the Secretariat. It was observed that to a large extent most of the Secretariat members are of San origin. One of the founding members said his grandparents were of San origin. Her mother was San and his father a Ndebele. This founding member is now married to a San woman. The founding member also grew up in Tsholotsho interacting with the San people. This is one of the person who founded the TSDT.

4.2.3.1.5.2 Oral history

The participant argued that they use ethnographic studies in documenting the history of the San people including their culture and traditions. The participant said he usually goes to the community and live within in order to collect oral history. In some of these studies they would be collecting information regarding place names and places of interest that relate to the San people in Plumtree and Tsholotsho. However, the participant noted that they do not have enough manpower to fulfil their objectives. Asked about how they preserve the collected material the response was that the “data collected is all over the place, sometimes you struggle to locate it when you need it, we do not have expertise in archiving”. The participant added that they do not have storage facilities for their collected material. Nevertheless, it was mentioned that in their strategic plan there are envisaging themselves having a proper office with a gallery and an archive.

Funding for their documentation programmes the participant said they rely on the kindness of individuals, villagers, local businessmen in Tsholotsho and some NGO’s

such as OSISA and Plan International. One of the programmes explained by the participant was that of the *ibhoro* dance festival in which the elders interact with the younger generation and in the process impacting knowledge on their cultural practices which would be recorded and documented including the *ibhoro* dance itself. In their documentation exercises the TSDT has worked with many different stakeholders including the following: District Administrator's Office in Tsholotsho, Plan International which has a school in the village of Umtshina in Tsholotsho which is utilised by the San and others, Heal Zimbabwe, Matabeleland Humanitarian NGO, Institute of Endangered languages from America to come up with the talking dictionary, Stellenbosch University to come up with learning resource material for the San learners, Ministry of Justice to translate the Constitution of Zimbabwe from English to San, Ministry of Education for curriculum development and Ministry of Sports and Culture. They also as a Trust managed to come up with the Tjwao orthography. This prompted the interjection from the participant that there are more cultural and language activists than archivists.

4.2.3.1.5.3 Challenges

The lack of financial resources was mentioned as one of the challenges hindering the fulfilment of some of the TSDT objectives. On the issue of ICT's and social media the participant said they have Twitter and Facebook accounts which have helped them to connect with other regional Khoisan groups in Southern Africa but they do not have a website and this in turn affects their visibility.

Another challenge mentioned by the participant is the mistrust the Government of Zimbabwe sometimes have on their programmes. The participant explained that there are times in which they have to clearly explain the objectives of their programmes to the security arms of the State.

4.2.3.1.6 Mafela Trust

Mafela Trust was formed in 1989 by some of the ex-combatants of ZAPU. Its main objective was to research and document the history of ZAPU/ZIPRA and also to commemorate those who died in the liberation struggle. In this study the Mafela Trust has been treated as a minority group because of a well-known public fact that their history has been side-lined and marginalised in post-independence era by the ZANU PF ruling government. In order to understand how the Mafela Trust is documenting their history, one of the officials was interviewed and provided information on historical development, oral history methodologies and the challenges.

4.2.3.1.6.1 Historical development

The participant reiterated that the Mafela Trust was formed in 1989 when it was noted that their history was being side-lined, distorted and marginalised by the 'victors'. The following ZAPU/ZPRA ex-combatants, that is; Lookout Masuku, Swazini Ndlovu, Richard Dube, Dumiso Dabengwa, Joshua Nkomo and Jeremy Brickhill are cited as the ones who formed the Mafela Trust. These were high ranking officers in the structures of ZAPU/ZPRA, for example, Joshua Nkomo was the president of ZAPU whereas Lookout Masuku and Swazini Ndlovu were once the leaders of ZIPRA and Dumiso Dabengwa was the intelligence supremo. The participant claimed that they are a legally registered Trust and they have cabinet approval meaning they can work with any government ministry and vice versa.

The participant's response to the objectives of the Mafela was that there are recording, preserving, documenting and providing access to the ZAPU/ZPRA history. Other objectives mentioned by the participant are that there are a number of cadres who never returned from war and whose graves were unknown, therefore, the Trust is trying by all means to commemorate them in order to bring peace to their souls and also peace to the living. The other objective mentioned is that of providing inspiration to the younger generation by explaining how the freedoms they are enjoying are associated with the liberation struggle.

4.2.3.1.6.2 Documentation of the liberation history

The participant revealed that oral history has been used a lot to document the story of ZAPU/ZPRA by the Mafela Trust and a lot has been collected. The holdings of the Mafela archive are described in the following manner by the participant: “Mafela archive consists of photographs, biographies, and war dead register, graves locations, operations, combat diaries, information relating to liberation conferences, weapons, statements both from friendly countries, personnel and oral testimonies”. However, the participant noted that they used to have a bigger archive during the liberation struggle which was seized by the government during the Gukurahundi conflict after independence. However, the participant does not rule out another competing theory that these archives may have been taken and expatriated by the Rhodesians under the cover of ZANU PF since immediately after independence they were working together. Whatever transpired the participant said those in charge of seizing the ZAPU/ZPRA archive were mainly motivated by silencing their narrative during the liberation struggle.

The participant highlighted that it is not only about documentation but also showcasing that history. An exhibition called the Mafela Trust Photo Exhibition conducted at the Bulawayo Gallery is mentioned as one of those examples of showcasing the ZAPU/ZPRA history. The participant described this exhibition as ‘successful’ as it attracted visitors all over the world including those from Russia, Latin America, and South Africa among others. The participant also gave light to some of the programmes which are in line to be done but being stalled by the funding challenges. These programmes are the travelling exhibition which would also be taken to rural areas and the creation of a ZPRA National Museum. The other envisaged future programme is the one named ‘Liberation War Legacy History Writing’ a project to bring both ZPRA and ZANLA together in documenting the Zimbabwe liberation history.

The participant was asked about why the ‘Capturing Fading Memory’ oral history programme which was spearheaded by NAZ, NMMZ, University of Zimbabwe’ History Department and the Ministry of Information a bit of failure when it came to the recording

of ZAPU/ZPRA history and he responded by lamenting the fact that the interviewers were using foreign language to the locals hence nothing much was captured because the interviewees were put off. The other reason mentioned is that they ignored consulting and engaging the Mafela Trust which represents the interests of ZAPU/ZPRA members. The participant added that in ZAPU, discipline has been one of their important characteristics during the war. In the participant's words "as ZAPU/ZPRA ex-combatants it's like we make an unpronounced vow which get us captured to the supreme discipline in which we just not share information individually without following procedure," hence, the difficulty of mainstream heritage organisations to capture these stories from individuals.

The participant explained that in their quest to document the ZAPU/ZPRA history they have encouraged the ex-combatants to write their own biographies showing who they interacted with, countries visited, strengths and weaknesses and what actually happened during the war among other issues. The participant explained this would help tell the ZAPU/ZPRA story.

4.2.3.1.6.3. Challenges

The participant noted that the people they are sometimes targeting to interview die or relocate to other countries before they could do that. The other challenges outlined are that of lack of expertise and funds for example to purchase laptops. The participant lamented that it has been an arduous journey as initially in their early stages of the Mafela Trust they used to record with pen and paper without any form of a recorder. They then moved to analogue and they lost a lot of information as they were trying to digitise the information from tapes. Nevertheless, the participant said they have now managed to digitise much of their collection with the assistance of SAHA. Storage facilities are described as being inadequate by the participant as they do not have reliable strong rooms for safe keeping, even stable offices are not there. Therefore, most of their archives are stored offshore, the example being SAHA. The participant said in other words, there have limited grain of confidence with local mainstream archives in Zimbabwe.

When asked about partnerships Mafela has with other institutions, names like NMMZ and NAZ were mentioned. However, the participant said the relationship is more on paper than on the practical side, the argument being that nothing is showing despite the potential that can be achieved practically. The participant continued to aver that they have copied some of their material and donated them to the mainstream heritage institutions but alas the public cannot access such information maybe because it is embargoed or stolen. The participant then argued that this has made them to lose trust in these institutions thereby stopping their donations till that time when attitudes are changed especially to the effect that public servants see beyond the eye of the ruling party and robust access policies are put in place in these institutions. The participant used an interesting phrase, that is, the 'politics of fearing the truth' as a hindrance in some of these partnerships. The participant explained it by arguing that the Zimbabwe history is contested to the extent that some historical 'truths' are in fact 'lies' meaning that there would be people in positions of power who would by all means possible try to maintain the status quo by supressing some of the information.

4.2.3.2 South Africa

Three community archives were purposively sampled in the case of South Africa. These are the Bafokeng Digital Archive, the Jewish Digital Archive Project (JDAP) and the GALA Archive. The reason for this sampling was to tap into the diversity that is reflected from these community archives. The Bafokeng Digital Archive (BDA) represents the black African community of the Royal Bafokeng Nation, the JDAP represents the white minority group that has suffered Holocaust and continue to be victim of anti-Semitism and GALA Archive represents the 'queer', those who are gays and lesbians. Unfortunately, there was no response from the Bafokeng Digital Archive. This, however, had limited impact on the study as some data which was collected from mainstream archives reflected how community archives such as BDA were documenting their histories and IKS. Interview schedules were used to collect data from the GALA and JDAP. A follow up face-to-face interview was done with GALA and some of their archives pertaining to oral history programmes were perused. Website analysis was also done in both case studies.

4.2.3.2.1 Jewish Digital Archive Project

The motivation of selecting the Jewish Digital Archive Project is that it represents one of the white minority groups in South Africa. The Archival Platform (2018) estimated the population of Jews to be about 75 000 out of around 55 million South Africans. Emigration is also suspected to be at its highest in this group (My Jewish Learning 2018). Most of the community trace their history from migration. Of note is the migration mentioned by the South African Jewish Museum (SAJM 2018) of Yiddish speaking immigrants from Lithuania in 1880 and 1910, who docked at Cape Town and these new arrivals were fleeing political persecution and pogroms in Europe leading to South Africa becoming known as a 'Lithuanian colony'. This is a community that has suffered imaginable persecution on the global space to the extent that even the South African Government recognised that and built a Cape Town Holocaust Centre which is the only one established in Africa and working to combat anti-Semitism, as well as all other forms of discrimination and prejudice. The museum compares early Nazi Germany to the apartheid government and explains the Holocaust through the framework of racial injustice (SAJM 2018). It is from this background that the JDAP was selected for the study.

4.2.3.2.1.1 Historical development

The participant narrated that the JDAP was formed in 2011. The participant said the objectives of the JDAP are to digitise and preserve the history of the South African Jewish community and it is registered on the archival platform. The participant indicated that the JDAP is a project that is based on the South African Jewish Museum (SAJM) and funded by the same. On their website, the SAJM was officially opened by the former and late President of South Africa Mr Mandela in 2000. It is by far one of the well maintained museums in South Africa as described in their SAJM (2018) website "boasting high-tech exhibits, interactive multi-media installations and walk-through, historically faithful recreations, the South African Jewish Museum remains the only custom-built museum established in Cape Town in the last 50 years". Therefore, the JDAP is born from such a 'wealthy' background meaning that in terms of financial support there are not having 'problems' like other community museums or

archives as the participant never mentioned funding challenges. SAJM (2018) under its website described the JDAP as,

> a community project located at the South African Jewish Museum in Cape Town that connects people by creating an online home for your old movies and photographs … [and that] the archive integrates the present with the past making it a living archive, ensuring that future generations benefit from stories of the past, and even keep up with the present.

However, a detailed description is from the JDAP (2018) website which described itself as a:

> Project undertaken by the South African Jewish Museum, with the support of the Kaplan-Kushlick Foundation, to preserve the social history of the Southern African Jewish community. JDAP is not an academic archive, but rather a vehicle whereby Southern African Jews are able to secure and explore their shared heritage…JDAP provides a central, internet based resource to do this. Families can explore their heritage and share their own stories. By scanning and uploading photos, documents, films, stories – essentially any historical materials – JDAP members, in a personal manner, add to the richness of our community's past.

The deconstruction of these snapshots from the SAJM and JDAP portrays the JDAP as an interactive digital archive owned by the Jewish community as a whole since any member can upload his or her story on the website. Further, on the issue of ICTs and social media the participant revealed that "we have developed a website which houses our material and regularly update our Facebook site".

4.2.3.2.1.2 Documentation of the community history

In addition to the stories uploaded by the community members the participant stated that they have a collection of photographs, films, interviews and documents such as letters, passports and maps. On how they conduct oral history interviews the participant responded in that:

> We regularly conduct oral history interviews. We co-ordinate interviews with people from various backgrounds with interesting political, social or personal backgrounds. I personally conduct the interviews or we find an appropriate interviewer such as journalists or professors in a specific field that relates to the interviewee.

On the question of manpower in fulfilling their mandate, the participant noted that “we have a small team and also look for support from volunteers”. On the question of the archival storage facilities, the participant explained that “while we do have some physical collections stored in our offices, our aims are to digitise material and then return physical collections to donors” adding that most of their collected material is from the donors. In response to the question of their relationship with the mainstream archives or other heritage institutions, the response was that “we have good relationships with mainstream archives. We have recently joined up with The Archival and Public Culture Network at UCT to help bring our archive to international archival standards using the latest archival software”. The participant again stated that “when appropriate, specific collections are sent to archives such as Special Collections at UCT or The Cape Town Holocaust and Genocide Centre. This depends on the content and condition of the material we receive”. On the issue of who consults the JDAP, the response was that “these are researchers, historians, academics, film makers and people wanting to trace their family histories”.

4.2.3.2.2 Gays and Lesbian Memory in Action

Gays and Lesbian Memory in Action (GALA) is a dynamic archive which has taken various roles such as an archive, community centre, art therapy facilitator, and publisher (Barber, 2017). It provides a theoretical opportunity for understanding queer community archives in global South vis-à-vis global North hence the interest of the researcher in this case study. In this section, data analysis was done from the data collected through an interview schedule which was sent to the participant. A follow-up interview was conducted. Perusal of the GALA archive and website analysis was also conducted.

4.2.3.2.2.1 Historical development

The participant stated that GALA was formed in 1997 and registered as an NPO and the following are its objectives as told by the participant:

> GALA is a centre for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) culture and education in southern Africa. Our mission is, first and foremost, to act as a catalyst for the production, preservation and dissemination of knowledge on the history, culture and contemporary experiences of LGBTI people. The impulse behind our creation in 1997 is reflected in our original name 'The Gay and Lesbian Archives'. We were set up to address the erasure of the representation of the stories and experiences of LGBTI people from official archives, histories and other spaces in South Africa. In the years since then, the scope of our work has expanded significantly to include a range of activities that aim to create dialogue on sexuality and gender identity, educate the public, build community among LGBTI people, and to inspire action. In 2007 we changed our name to Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action (while retaining the acronym GALA) to better reflect this development. However, the archival program remains at the heart of GALA.

In terms of the organisational structure the participant revealed that they have a Board and a Director. Other permanent staff members include resident archivist and administrator. Currently they also have an archive digital assistant, a programmes officer and a writing fellow, as well as various volunteers, interns and a part time finance person. It is a structure that is well represented in terms of archiving because of the presence of a permanent archivist and an archive digital assistant.

4.2.3.2.2.2 Documentation of the LGBTI stories

In response to what type of records GALA keeps, the participant described the collection as consisting of a large number of individual and organisational archival collections dating back to the 1940s that document the history, culture and contemporary experiences of LGBTI people from Southern Africa. Adding that GALA

has over 180 collections, which range in size from one file to over 150 archive boxes. These collections consist largely of organisational material from LGBTI organisations and campaigns (about 50% of material), as well as personal collections (about 30%) which include letters, diaries, photographs and memorabilia. The participant also said they have a large amount of material relating to cultural events and marches, covering events and organisations such as the Out in Africa Film Festival, various pride marches, theatre performances, exhibitions and literature and these are found split over various collections. Adding to that, the participant said GALA also has a press collection going back to the 1980s.

'Archiving Gala' is another mentioned substantial collection in itself as well as various GALA projects that have their own individual collections, showing GALA's tremendous research and project activities (approximately 20% of archive material). The participant explained how they are accumulating such a massive collection by declaring that some of the projects often start out as archive oral history programmes and then lead to exhibitions and book publications, which then feed back into the archive.

Other sources mentioned by the participant from which GALA accumulates its archive are largely donations from both individuals and organisations (mostly those that have ceased to function). Significant individual collections include those of activists such as Simon Nkoli, Edwin Cameron, Beverly Ditsie and Zackie Achmat. Their organisational records include those of the National Coalition for Gay & Lesbian Equality (NCGLE), GALA's largest collections, as well as South Africa's first black gay and lesbian organisation, GLOW, and that of the Gays & Lesbians of Zimbabwe (GALZ), which is housed with GALA for safekeeping due to the political climate in Zimbabwe. Organisational records include meeting minutes, campaign documents, newsletters, promotional material, posters and T-shirts.

The participant further argued that as the only LGBTI archive in Africa, GALA has increasingly expanded its focus to the southern African region, and they have several countries represented in their archival holdings, as well as in their research and

workshop activities – these include Zimbabwe, Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia. The participant continued to argue that it should also be pointed out that there is significant cross-over between collections, for example, individual activists often belonged to several LGBTI organisations and these records are represented in their personal collections. Similarly, organisations often kept records from other organisations.

On the format of records, the participant said that:

> The majority of our collections are paper-based and can only be accessed by visiting the GALA offices at the University of the Witwatersrand, however, we are attempting to digitise some of our most used collections as well as visual material such as photographs and posters. GALA is also attempting to better capture 'history in the making', with a focus on what we call the Contemporary Archive', thereby not waiting for individuals and/or organisations to donate material, but to capture events as they happen, as far as capacity and funds allow.

For the motivation of using oral history at GALA it is better to cite participant's words verbatim. The argument is that:

> Until the mid-1990s, LGBTI activism in South Africa was largely dominated by white activists and organisations and the natural consequence of this is that these people and organisations have a larger presence in the GALA archive. We are an archive in South Africa and therefore, the politics of race is heavily present and cannot be ignored. GALA has actively sought to try to flesh out our white dominated history with the roles and stories of black activists, as well as the everyday lives and experiences of queer black South Africans. Due to lack of formal organisations as a consequence of the realities of apartheid, there is little in terms of tangible archival history, unlike for white organisations like the Gay Association of South Africa (GASA). GALA has therefore, undertaken various oral history projects to try to record these stories before they are lost.

With regard to oral history methodologies used, the participant averred that their oral histories are usually connected to specific projects they are working on. Often these form the basis for their exhibitions and book publications. They try to use interviewers that they think the interviewees will be most comfortable talking to, and who have a relationship with the organisation or group of people being interviewed. They also try to allow people to be interviewed in the language of their choice, when possible. Interviewees also can choose to have a time embargo placed on their interviews and/or to use a pseudonym. The importance of protecting people's privacy while also capturing their stories was emphasised by the participant. Two of the most recent oral history projects conducted by GALA are listed as follows by the participant:

1. Fees Must Fall – capturing stories of queer and feminist students involved in the recent student protests, their roles, feelings of exclusion among other issues.

2. Holy Trinity Church – Group of LGBTIQ migrants who have a group that meets at the Holy Trinity Catholic Church in Braamfontein – their stories as queer migrants in Johannesburg, relationship with the Church among other things.

4.2.3.2.2.3 Partnership at GALA

On partnership with the other mainstream heritage institutions the participant revealed that "we have a good relationship with universities as well as the South African History Archives (which Gala was once part of), but not much of a relationship with the National Archives". The GALA engages on an ongoing basis with the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development Task Team addressing hate crimes against LGBTI people. The participant also indicated that GALA is part of the Hate Crime Working Group and its efforts to include hate crimes within legislation and to acknowledge sexual orientation as a basis of vulnerability.

Asked if they may donate their material to mainstream archive, museum or university, the response was cited verbatim as saying:

> GALA started as a project of the Witwatersrand Archives (Witwatersrand Historical Papers) but we grew too large to remain there. We do still receive

> support from Witwatersrand in terms of low rent on campus, use of university internet and a relationship with various departments with whom we often collaborate on projects and events. As long as GALA is able to sustain itself we would like to remain independent, as we are not only an archive, we also conduct oral histories, curate exhibitions, publish books and conduct education and youth programs and workshops. We feel these other important areas would be lost if we were to send our material to national archives, and also that the material might not be dealt with the sensitivity it needs. There is also the concern that new material would not be added. GALA also has a library which acts as a community space, a safe space for LGBTIQ people, mostly students and youth from surrounding areas. Again, if we were to merge with another archive, this would be lost.

4.2.3.2.2.4 Challenges

The following challenges were listed by the participant: Respecting privacy, being able to refer people for counselling when they have told us a traumatic story, storage of audio-visual material, getting good transcribers, translators and finding the right people to conduct the interview. In relation to funding the participant indicated that:

> GALA is completely donor funded, much from foreign donors. A large amount of our work is fundraising. Getting core funding for staff and institutional running costs is a constant battle, as many donors prefer to fund specific projects, rather than core funding. But we have been going for over 20 years and we have been fortunate in the generosity we have received.

When asked about how homophobia is affecting their work, the participant indicated that:

> We are fortunate to live in a country where sexual orientation is protected in our Constitution. However, the attitudes and prejudices of the public are not always in line with this. For the most part, we don't have difficulty conducting our work (except for capacity and funding constraints). Part of our mission is to educate the public, empower our youth and get LGBTIQ voices and stories into the

public domain, to encourage acceptance and further the rights of LGBTIQ people.

4.2.4 Access to oral history holdings of mainstream and community archives

The motivation behind coming up with this objective was that access is viewed as one of the most basic services that make archives to be archives. Without access to archives, others may think there is no need to build a collection. This section, therefore, looks at how accessible the oral history holdings in both mainstream and community archives is. One of the questions being addressed is “are there significant number of researchers who are interested in oral history collection? The effectiveness and efficient use of ICT’s, websites and social media in providing access to oral history collections is also scrutinised.

4.2.4.1 Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe, the cases that were researched on in regard to accessibility of oral history collection proffered different responses on how they provide access to their collections. Their responses are therefore, listed in the following two sub sections of NAZ (4.2.4.1.1) and community archives (4.2.4.1. 2).

4.2.4.1.1 National Archives of Zimbabwe

The following are participant’s responses on the question of accessibility to oral history collection at NAZ. Questions asked were the following:

1. How visible is your institution to the local communities you are supposed to be serving?
2. How are you using internet, social media or ICT’s to get closer to the communities you are serving?

Responses to the questions from Provincial Record Centres and NAZ in Harare:

1. The department is largely invisible to the local communities except for a few individuals who visit the department with personal issues.
2. Such interactions between the centre and local communities via the mentioned ICT tools are non-existent.
3. Very remote.
4. There is an Oral History section in NAZ website and it has done a lot to sensitise the oral history programme, though not much can be read into how many clients are making use of it.
5. Very invisible.
6. No internet connection at the centre.
7. Not much visible.
8. At zero per cent because there is no internet connectivity.
9. Large area covered by the institution (three provinces) meaning we are not visible to all local communities.
10. Nothing much about Provincial Archives and Records Centres on NAZ website.
11. More awareness campaigns needed, however, we think we are doing better even though much can be done. I say we are doing better because sometimes 30 transcribed interviews are retrieved for researchers per week. Mostly those who request for these transcribed oral sources are university students, lecturers and other academic researchers. Preference of using transcribed interviews is that there are cheaper as it cost $US1 to use them per day compared to $US5 charged in using the original tape.
12. Information is put on the website.

4.2.4.1.1.1 The usage patterns of oral history sources at BARC from 2006 to 2017

Document analysis was carried out on the inquiry sheets which are filled by the researchers and these inquiry sheets show the type of search and also whether they

were successfully assisted or not. This document analysis of these inquiry sheets covered the years from 2006 to 2017. The main objective of this document analysis was to find out what subjects of inquiries the researchers are mostly interested in. Special attention was paid on those researchers who were satisfied by the use of oral history collection which is housed at NAZ in Bulawayo. The patterns or trends that emerged from this document analysis were critically evaluated to see how the use of oral sources of information fare when compared with the use of traditional archives such as manuscripts and others.

The Table 4.3 shows the trends and usage patterns of BARC holdings from 2006 to 2017:

Table 4.3 Use of oral history sources at BARC vis-à-vis other sources

Subject researched on	**Number of researchers between the years 2006 - 2017**	**Sources of information provided**
Newspapers	141	newspapers
Records, archives and library university students researching on their course subjects	75	Library books
Family history/genealogy archives including deceased estate files	115	archives
Civil case files	61	archives
Traditional Chief's and headmen's archives (delineation reports)	38	Delineation reports (oral history sources about traditional chiefs which were mainly collected by the Ministry of Internal

		Affairs during the colonial period
Zimbabwe colonial and liberation history struggle	50	Library sources and archives
Ndebele, Shona, Tonga, Babirwa, Mutapa, Kalanga cultures and history archives and library material	46	Library sources and archives
Legislative Acts of Law	31	Library sources
Government Gazettes and Statutory Instruments	32	Library sources
Religion and Christianity	12	Library and archives sources
Marriage certificates	19	archives
Death certificates	20	These are not available at BARC
Old pictures in the BARC Gallery	18	Library sources
Adoption Files	11	archives
Baptism certificates	02	archives
Matobo National Park; Kezi; Njelele shrine	11	Archives and library books
History of Bulawayo	18	Archives and library books
Agricultural and land issues	12	Archives and library books

Hospital records	09	archives
Birth certificates	20	Not available at BARC
Personal files	16	Records
Law and Order Maintenance Act (those ex-prisoners who were jailed for contravening this colonial legislation)	07	archives
Companies and training institutions	15	library
ORAL HISTORY	**16**	**ORAL HISTORY SOURCES**
Mining	08	Library and archives
Title deeds, deeds of sale, declaration of sale	08	Archives
Clan history of general people	04	Nothing found/no sources used
Total	**815**	

This document analysis at BARC revealed a very low usage of oral sources. Those researchers who came to BARC to use oral sources between the years of 2006 to 2017 are just sixteen (16) out of eight hundred and fifteen. In percentage terms it means only two (2) percent of the researchers who visited BARC in the mentioned years used oral sources which were collected from the field by the institution. However, there are other oral sources which were collected by colonial district administrators such as Mr Latham and compiled as delineation reports. These delineation reports are mainly used to solve chieftainship disputes as they trace the family trees of Zimbabwe's traditional chiefs. Therefore, in the year of 2006 to 2017, thirty-eight (38) researchers out of eight hundred and fifteen (815) researched on these sources of

information. So if we add these with other 16 researchers who used oral sources we get a total of fifty-four (54) researchers and a percentage of seven (7) percent.

In brief, it can be said that most sources of information consulted at BARC by researchers are traditional archives and library material. This amounts to ninety-three (93) percent of researchers between the years of 2006 to 2017 requesting for the use of archives and library material. Concerning the oral history sources it only amounted to seven (7) percent.

4.2.4.1.2 Community archives

Online visibility of the BaTonga and Nambya community museums is very limited as the participants said they do not have a stand-alone website. In fact, they rely on the NMMZ website. However, website analysis revealed that community museums on the NMMZ website are just mentioned in passing by few line sentences. It would be therefore, safe to conclude that the BaTonga Museum has no online visibility. Both the BaTonga and Nambya museums are not on social media as they do not have Facebook accounts as was mentioned by the participants. However, on the physical access of their collections, the participant at the BaTonga Museum mentioned that their doors are always open to the community because it is their museum and in most cases the locals have used to maximum the holdings.

Gaza Trust, TSDT and KLCDA do not have websites. However, the participants said they have a bit of presence in social media because of their social media accounts. TSDT added that they also have Twitter account. All the participants were in unison on the issue of their challenges in providing access to oral history archive. The argument was that they do not have physical archival infrastructure and at the same time their oral history holdings are on individual's personal computers. Some of the recordings are even in cellphones since sometimes these are the gadgets they use to collect oral history. The participants stated that in other words, this means they are collecting oral history and traditions but their access to the community at large is very limited.

The Mafela Trust does not have its own website. It is also not present in social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter. However, they have been assisted by SAHA as the participant mentioned that it has accommodated them in their website. Their oral archive is now very accessible through the SAHA website. The participant said their physical oral archive which is also kept at SAHA was digitized and is now available on the SAHA website. In their Zimbabwe temporary offices, the participant said there was no stability since they did not have their own offices and they were mostly relying on volunteers who have free buildings to offer them to use. This instability affected the preservation and access of their archive.

TGSCCC which was researched on under ZMYSAR has a website which is still under development and if fully completed is envisaged to be embracing online archiving as example was given that photographs which were shot by Zenzo Nkobi the late photographer of Joshua Nkomo would be exhibited in their website. TGSCCC has some bit of social media presence since they own a Facebook account named Tibakalanga-We-Are-Kalanga-Festival.

4.2.4.2 South Africa

Cases which were researched on in South Africa presented different scenarios on how they treat issues of accessibility to their oral archive. These scenarios are presented in detail in the following sub sections which cater for NARS, provincial archives, Sinomlando, SAHA, GALA and JDAP.

4.2.4.2.1 National Archives and Record Services of South Africa

For the mainstream and community archives in South Africa it was found that the availability of websites was not an issue as all cases were having one. However, social media presence was not felt by the researcher at NARS and the website was last updated in 2016. The NARS, as the participant said, was in charge of the maintenance of NAROS. Through document analysis the history of NAROS can be traced from the

aims and objectives of NOHP in which DACST (2001) stated that it was agreed “to develop an online National Register of Oral Sources (NAROS) as a support mechanism for the NOHP”. The NARS (2016) website stated that the “National Archives is responsible for the maintenance of a National Register of Oral Sources (NAROS) at which stories are registered. This database is managed to provide leads to interested parties about research conducted on subjects that may be of interest”. The website (NARS 2016) further continued to outline that “all oral history collections preserved at the National Archives are preserved for access. These collections are made available to researchers, students and members of communities” and they are “consulted for their research value by scholars and practitioners who use them for different reasons such as short writing, drama, and filmmaking or for their historical content”. However, the participant said the oral history archive is rarely used and estimated that only two out ten researchers in any given moment access the stories. The participant said the use of social media to market the oral history archive was lacking.

4.2.4.2.2 Oral History Association of South Africa

Some of the objectives of OHASA (2016) Constitution which speak to issues of access are to:

1. Promote the usage oral history in schools and other institutions.
2. Liaise with IKS holders in the promotion of oral history
3. Promote collection management and accessibility of oral history

In OHASA (2015:1) Lekgoathi, the former President of OHASA, argued that:

> We have done a remarkable job in terms of popularising oral history across our nine provinces, as well as in terms of supporting provincial initiatives… but OHASA has also experienced some challenges in terms of making sure that the oral history interviews conducted by the researchers and learners make their way to the archives (both provincial and national where they would become accessible to the public.

It was observed that OHASA has a website but its presence on social media platforms was not felt.

4.2.4.2.2.1 Content analysis of the Oral History Journal of South Africa' dissemination activities

Oral History Journal of South Africa (OHJSA) has been one of the vehicles used to disseminate the products of NOHP. It is therefore, important to analyse how effective it has been in doing that especially looking at the objectives of NOHP and OHASA. For example, how many articles on the South African oral history landscape have been published? Since the first publication in 2013 to 2018, 70 articles have been published and out of these 35 are articles based on South African oral history stories whilst the other 35 are stories relating to outside South African borders. The 2018 volume six number one edition of OHJSA has six articles with only one article on South African story, other five articles are on stories outside the South African border and mostly written by non-South Africans.

4.2.4.2.3 Provincial archives

On the issue of visibility of Free State Provincial Archives the participant said "it is not so much because of the vastness of the province". On "how are they using internet, social media or ICT's to get closer to the communities there are serving?" the response was that "website, inspection and oral history interviews and talking to library users since we are from the same programme".

On the question of North West Provincial Archives' visibility to the local community the participant observed that "we are the only archival institution in the province. We are visible but not known to everyone". On the question of how they are using internet to enhance their visibility, the response was that "we are a section at the Department of Culture, Arts and Traditional Affairs in the Bokone Bophirima Provincial Government and that all communications are done at Departmental level but still we get a fair share depending on events implemented deserving knowledge of the public".

In relation to the visibility of the institution to the local community, the participant from Limpopo Provincial Archives said “there are awareness programmes rolled out to different communities regularly as social cohesion events”. On the issue of social media and use of ICTs, the participant said that “currently, communication is through departmental website, which there’s not much of feedback from community”.

When it comes to the visibility of the institution, the participant from Western Cape Provincial Archives responded by “saying that it is visible enough and there are outreach programmes in place that create awareness to our services”. Also the availability of webpage and Twitter Handler were mentioned. Emphasis is made on Western Cape Archives Service to develop and maintain the database of oral history interviews and link it to the existing national database of oral interviews and transcripts of such interviews are to be made accessible electronically (The Transversal Oral History Framework of the Department (2015:6). The Annual Report of Cultural Affairs Department of Western Cape Government (2018) mentioned that oral history interviews are not only available in Provincial Archives but also at community libraries and museums.

4.2.4.2.4 Private ‘mainstream’ archives (Sinomlando and SAHA)

The cases under study in this section were Sinomlando and SAHA. The participant on Sinomlando issues narrated that the earlier recordings of the Centre that captured the oral history of the indigenous clergy were mainly kept at Alan Paton Centre and these were readily accessible except for those which were embargoed. Later they began to question the wisdom of archiving the embargoed material. So, on the issue of this embargoed material which was identified by yellow mark, the archivist of Alan Paton Centre then suggested that maybe it was better to return the material to the owners. This raised a question of methodology, is it wise to give the interviewees an option of embargoing their interviews or providing full access?

When it came to memory work, especially those stories which were collected from the orphans, the participant stated that in South Africa one is not allowed to publicise the status of those who are living with HIV/AIDS or affected by it because of fear of stigma. As a result of that, those recordings are not for archives. There are not meant for public consumption. They are given to the orphans to know and listen to their stories. These recordings are for development and empowerment rather than filling gaps found at archives. In fact, the orphans put them in a memory box and these would trigger some positive memories to them.

On the issues of ICT's the Sinomlando's website was accessible even though it was still under construction. In the UKZN website, Sinomlando is not mentioned in detail. Sinomlando is under UKZN but instead of relying on the mother body website the participant stated that they saw it appropriate to have an independent website. Social media presence of Sinomlando was felt during the study since the institution has Facebook and Twitter accounts.

Concerning SAHA on the issues of accessibility, the participant highlighted that their archive is very accessible from anywhere in the world. What one has to do is to register and log in. She mentioned that most of their archives are digitised and so accessibility is very easy. However, in cases where the researcher is in need of those archives which are not digitised, an arrangement of scanning can be made. Their website is also used as an archiving space.

4.2.4.2.5 Community archives (GALA and JDAP)

Community archives further researched on in this objective of access were GALA and JDAP. Both of them have websites and active presence in social media such as Facebook and Twitter. It was observed that the JDAP is more of a virtual archive where their oral history collection can be accessed from the website by those registered members. The participant revealed that "we have developed a website which houses our material and regularly update our Facebook site".

In terms of storage facilities for GALA the participant made it clear that “we have our own repository. Due to space constraints, collections are stored off-site at document warehouse (this is where the SA History Archives also store some of their material). Collections are ordered in as researchers request them. This usually takes one to two working days, so researchers need to notify us in advance”.

In relation to the storage of oral history products, the participant at GALA explained that oral histories are transcribed, and these are stored with the collections and projects they are attached to. Audio visual material is something they are working on. They have not always been stored and labelled in the best way and much of the video material is still on old VHS and mini tape format, so they digitise these as they have funds to do so, and as researchers request it (not all audio visual material is interview material, they also have material from conferences, pride marches and other events).

The participant at GALA aindicated that oral histories are available to researchers although some of the interviews have specific restrictions for use. For example, time embargos, use of pseudonyms among other things. The participant further stated that they do use oral histories in their books and exhibitions, but they do not usually post them on their website or social media. They are also about to embark on a large-scale digitisation project of some of their key collections. However, making these collections publicly available on the net requires careful handling and sensitivity.

4.2.5 Embracing the concept of oral history community archiving

This section looked at how the mainstream archives are embracing the concept of oral history community archiving. The research questions answered in this section were related to the role and willingness of mainstream archives in assisting and promoting oral history community archiving.

4.2.5.1 Zimbabwe

Views of the participants (in their own words) in regard to NAZ embracing community archiving:

1. My view is that community archiving is the way to go. The mainstream archives should be involved in the long term preservation of oral history products from the local communities. I believe that with training from mainstream archives, local communities have the capacity to tell and document their stories. NAZ should come with a strategy to empower local communities or minority groups to document themselves. In my personal opinion, I do not think NAZ has impressed this concept since most if not all of its oral history programmes are initiated and conducted by the department with minimum involvement of local communities. The members of the local communities are only involved as informants and nothing else.
2. Not done in Zimbabwe as it is the NAZ which solely reserves the right to conduct oral history projects.
3. The concept is very good but our institution is not paying adequate attention to it in terms of availing funding to support it.
4. I think it's good but they need resourceful persons to train them on how to document their stories. My institution actually allows the communities or individuals to deposit their documented stories to National Archives for preservation.
5. I think it's a very good concept which can also document indigenous knowledge. My archival institution is doing nothing on this concept.

On the question of how community archives can be assisted by the NAZ the following responses were given:

> Currently it is not possible to offer assistance because the National Archives of Zimbabwe Act of 1986 confined the activities of NAZ to government departments, local authorities and parastatals. The Acts and regulations which guide NAZ will have to be reviewed in order to permit NAZ to offer such assistance within the confines of the law.

The other said if community archives are deposited at NAZ for preservation they become archives' property even though the communities have access.

The NAZ Newsletter April to June (2019:2) outlined that:

> 2019 marked the genesis of archives decentralisation. This year's International Archives Day celebration was unique as it coincided with the official opening of the first community archive– Arcturus Community Archive. National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ) in partnership with Arcturus High School in Goromonzi district, Mashonaland East Province, successfully launched the community archive initiative which was officially opened by the acting permanent secretary, Mr Chisoko representing the minister of Home Affairs and Cultural Heritage on 28 June, 2019 during the belated celebrations of the International Archives Day (IAD.) The event was graced by government officials, community leaders and the general public.

The NAZ Newsletter April to June (2019:2) continued to state that:

> This initiative was born out of the need to create and preserve memory spaces within communities since the communities are generators of history. The idea of community archives was brought during the 2018 International Archives day celebrations with the objective of helping communities establish their own archives. NAZ realised that heritage was being lost in several communities and institutions thereby embarked on a mission to identify communities to assist in setting up their own archives.

The modus operandi of the project is described by NAZ Newsletter April to June (2019:2) as follows:

> Archivists from NAZ worked closely with students from the school to process mostly administrative records of the school and setting up their own repository for processed records. There were also oral interviews which were conducted to help tell the story of the community and preserve it. The school`s pictorial collection was also processed and digitized with the help of NAZ officers.

Generally, the responses were affirming that NAZ is prepared to work with community archives but the responses were not all that clear on what model or approach to be used.

The ZMYSAR has a policy that envisages at least one cultural centre for every district in Zimbabwe as the participant mentioned. The participant said the local communities in every district are encouraged to document their oral history and traditions including their IKS. The participant stated that it is not the Ministry that documents but the local communities themselves. The Ministry's role is mainly on policy level only.

4.2.5.2 South Africa

The participant from NARS explained that they preferred a dispersed national archive in which they would not take possession of community archives but register their collections with the NAROS. The Government of South Africa through NOHP is willing,

> to assist the communities in retrieving neglected indigenous and community knowledge as a way of promoting social, economic and cultural development …and to reconstruct those aspects of the nation's memory that are not recorded, preserved and conserved in the National Archives of South Africa (NASA) and other relevant institutions and organisations (DACST 2001).

In relation to supporting community archiving the participant at Free State Provincial Archive said it is a concept that they have not yet adopted and they do not have any policy on it but they are willing to train the community to collect their stories and then store their archives at Free State Provincial Archives. The participant from North West Provincial Archives said the community archives are independent from them but they usual provide professionally assistance in terms of how they can preserve their collection but they do not have a specific policy on that. On the following question that read as follows: "would your institution consider any form of collecting partnerships and collaboration with these community-based organisations?" the participant revealed that "we had partnerships with other community organisations and it worked well".

The participant at Limpopo Provincial Archives said they have not yet developed any policy in relation to the custody of community archives but they are willing to assist in any way they can. The participant from Western Cape Provincial Archives said the relationship with community archives is working well as they support them and encourage partnering. The participant even said the institution is even prepared to accommodate archives of community based organisations if there are suitable. The participant continued to say that even in terms of providing guidance on oral history methodologies, they are prepared to do that.

What was gleaned from the Sinomlando (2018) website is that their approach to oral history is that of partnering with international and local organisations and also works very close with local people and in the process coming up with social history which concentrates on the grassroots of the communities including minorities in the form of those affected and infected by HIV/AIDS, black women clergy and some of the unrecorded liberation history. The same modus operandi was also noted with SAHA as the participant during the interview spoke at length about one of their key functions of recovering the neglected history. She said that is where oral history comes in since it is used as a recovering tool.

4.3 Summary

Chapter four was a presentation of the data that was gathered in order to critically evaluate the national archival approaches to oral history programmes on minority groups in Zimbabwe and South Africa. The data which was presented in this chapter was mainly in form of narration with use of very few tables and figures. The data was thematically presented in line with the research objectives of the study. The data collected was mainly on how mainstream archives conduct their oral history programmes vis-à-vis community archives. The data presented in this chapter is going to offer a foundation for the interpretation and discussion of the findings in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, data was gathered through semi structured interviews with the selected community archives, provincial archives, NAZ, NARS, Sinomlando and SAHA. The website contents were reviewed including document analysis. These were presented and analysed and that data was used as the foundation for the interpretation and the discussion of the findings in this chapter. Perry (2012) explained the linkage of Chapter Five to Chapter Two in that chapter Two showed the gaps in one's research problem and then Chapter Five clarified how the old and new pieces (new pieces which came about through Chapter 3 of research methodology and Chapter Four of data presentation and analysis) fit to make the whole picture clear. Taylor-Powell and Renner (2003:5) summarised data interpretation and discussion by arguing that interpreting qualitative data is "to bring it all together" by asking "what does it all mean?" and what is really important?" [In other words] attaching meaning and significance to the analysis". Therefore, this called for the revisit of all preceding chapters in order to come up with a whole picture in regard to community archiving of minority groups both in Zimbabwe and South Africa. The data was interpreted in line with the objectives of the study and how it directly or indirectly link with the theoretical framework of power of elitism.

5.2 Oral history methodologies, strategies and approaches used by national archival institutions in Zimbabwe and South Africa

In Chapter Four when the data on oral history methodologies, strategies and approaches of national archival institutions was presented, its breakdown led to the following themes which were also discussed in this section: the role of Zimbabwe and South Africa' Governments in the documentation of oral history and oral traditions; diversified and monopolised national system in Zimbabwe and South Africa respectively; comparison of top-down and bottom-up oral history methodologies,

decentralisation of oral history methodologies in NAZ and NARS, discussion on the minority oral history programmes conducted by NAZ and NARS and the discussion on the OHASA's impact in the documentation of minorities.

5.2.1 The role of Zimbabwe and South Africa governments in the documentation of the oral history

Both Zimbabwe and South Africa have government departments that are constitutionally mandated to document the national heritage and some of these are national archives. These are NAZ and NARS and they were both inherited from colonial governments, an inheritance which was glaring in its absence of black historical narratives. It then became the task of independent governments in Zimbabwe and South Africa to incorporate the stories of 'other' mostly the black majority as the data collected and literature review revealed.

The collected data revealed that almost hundred percent of funding for both NAZ and NARS originates from the central government. Some of their oral history programmes are funded by the government. For example, in Zimbabwe such programmes as 'Capturing the Fading Memory' were heavily funded by the Government and even saw the involvement of other government ministries such as the Ministry of Information and other politicians. In such a scenario, Ndhlovu (2018:337) argued that as state funded, such heritage institutions are expected to align their activities to state programmes, therefore, reducing their 'free' spoken-ness. This is even worsened by the tendency of ruling elites to document the stories that suit them as Ngoepe and Netshakhuma (2018:53) lamented that:

> Ruling parties seek to influence, control and present particular perspectives of the past, history and heritage to serve the political needs of the present. Political expediency dominates what is collected in liberation movements and party archives, as well as in non-state and state archives, and party political agendas can have an impact on what is collected and what is made accessible to the public and researchers; political organisations hand over large parts of their collections to their own loyalists only to see pivotal material disappear from the public domain.

In South Africa post-independence, the national oral history programmes were initiated by the cabinet leading to the NOHP and culminating to the formation of OHASA. These programmes, that is, NOHP and OHASA are heavily funded by the Government as one participant revealed. It was observed that politicians are always guest speakers in the OHASA conferences. Their programmes or themes of conferences are usually tailored along national government programmes. If the national government decides to state that a certain year would be dedicated to Oliver Tambo, or Nelson Mandela, or Albertina Sisulu or centenary of Land Apportionment Act as the case has been in the recent past years, the NARS and OHASA followed the same national themes.

This then revealed the influence of National Governments in both Zimbabwe and South Africa having a hidden effective hand in influencing what can be documented by these national institutions. Those few elites who control the government:

> Formulate policies, guide the activities, and decide the significant issues of government, the corporation, education, and other major societal institutions. And perhaps most importantly, they are able to impose on society as a whole their explanation and justification for the dominant political and economic systems (Marger 1981:78).

What comes out of such an approach is that the voices of those few who are in power and the conquests of their political parties would be documented at the expense of the 'povo'. Bloch (2013:152) is in agreement with this argument when he averred that "archives have always reflected the influence of certain members of their community – often the social elites and their political and administrative allies".

Ndhlovu (2018:335) noted that prior to 1994, state funded heritage institutions "produced content that was in line with the then dominant political dispensation … [which perpetuated] the racist political philosophy of the country's ruling white elite as espoused by the National Party government…". Kenosi (2000:4) also argued that:

> Political ideology was the most dominant force in the development of archival services during the apartheid. The form that the archives services assumed was an exact replica of the structure of the apartheid machinery…Archival services played a major role in the systematic negation of Black experiences

> from the collective memory of South Africa…However, regardless of how one looks at these pieces of legislation under Apartheid was firmly grounded in segregation and in the basic ideology and architecture of the Afrikaner state…

Kenosi (2000:5) further argued that during apartheid, the state archives came to play an active political role in promoting Afrikaner history. Grundlingh (1993:80) remarked that "certain historical projects were undertaken under the auspices of the state archives which reflected the cultural interest and priorities of a confident and assertive Afrikanerdom intent on not only refashioning the present along apartheid lines, but also giving a new prominence to its past". Grundlingh (1993:81) further argued that "special efforts were made to collect material locally and abroad, pertaining to one of the central events of Afrikaner history the Anglo-Boer War of 1899 to 1902…"During this apartheid period the appraisal of records also posed problems as the accusation of its Eurocentric bias was made since "it deliberately omitted material relating to the social history of black South Africans" (Kenosi 2000:5). The material collected on blacks during apartheid was mainly meant to facilitate the governance of a 'native'. This argument is gleaned from Lekgoathi (2009:80) who wrote about the Van Warmelo archive which was collected from 1930s among the 'Transvaal Ndebele'. He argued that "ultimately, his writing and collection of vernacular manuscripts were, politically, neither innocent nor inconsequential. His work provided material both for the apartheid state's scheme of ethnic separatism …"

The question that then comes to mind is what has changed in post-independence era? To some extent change has been noted as museums and archival institutions have programmes that capture the stories of the once marginalised blacks, for example, the 'One nation one Zimbabwe' programme at NAZ and the 'Tell your Mother's Story' by OHASA. All these 'changes' were driven by the principle that heritage institutions need to be now open and accessible to all and that they should represent the cultures and values of different sections of the public and do away with arbitrary power but adopt an instrument which, through participative citizenry was to serve the collective good of the state and its pluralistic communities (Bennet 1995).

However, Ndhlovu (2018:339) giving South African museums as an example, asked that given their "financial dependence and their reporting channels to the state, are museums in a position to serve as public platforms that allowed for the plurality and contestations of ideas including those that are in conflict with the philosophies or ideologies of the ruling party?" In response to his question Ndhlovu (2018:339-340) opined that:

> Where museums have an arms–length relationship with a state that encourages active citizenry, it is possible for them to serve as platforms that accommodate varied voices. In a scenario whereby they are seen as part of the state machinery such an ideal remains elusive as it is partly through them that the state is seen to deliver heritage services to its citizens and thus inversely exercising cultural control over its people's. Through this scenario, the state gets not only political but also cultural hegemony over its museums and people.

It was observed at NAZ and NARS through NAROS that the liberation war archive in terms of oral testimonies is dominating contrasted with relatively few testimonies on oral traditions. At NAZ this is obvious as 'Capturing a Fading National Memory' has a huge oral history collection. This is seen by the volumes of oral testimonies which were produced as noted by Cunningham and Yecalo-Tecle (2016:4) who listed that around 4000 recorded interviews are held in the oral history collection, and nearly 2,500 of these have been produced since 2003 as part of range of projects led by the National Archive to "capture a fading memory". This observation is not surprising as noted by Vines (2016:1) because:

> National liberation movements have always portrayed themselves as the political aristocracy of Southern Africa that have earned their legitimacy to govern through armed struggle in perpetuity. But they have, in fact re-invented history – with particular emphasis on the armed struggle – to provide historical legitimacy and solidarity in order to combat internal and external threats to their national democratic revolutions.

Hence this tendency of flooding public spaces with armed struggle's history. The same sentiments specific to NAZ are echoed by Ganda (2015:25) who lamented that one of the major reasons for failing to achieve total archives is the "political bias [hence] the

collection of oral history on the liberation struggle and political individuals mainly from the ruling party, excluding anything that gives a bad picture of the ruling government for example issues on Gukurahundi".

In South Africa, as in Zimbabwe, the ruling government also has the propensity of concentrating mainly in ANC history as it has encouraged its own dominance by generating narratives and histories which give overall credence to them as being the entire liberation movement at the expense of churches, student organisations or other political parties that played a major role in the struggle (October 2015:29). This is also noted by Mnqolo (2014) who contended that the late leader of PAC, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe's memory is fading because the ANC Government is not doing enough to preserve his legacy. Also the likes of Clarence Makwetu who was part of the founding members of PAC are not memorialised. Similar sentiments are noted by Mhlanga (2014:82) who said some of the NARS staff have tried to at least disassociate themselves from politics but they have come to the realisation that the notion of objectivity and impartiality in public archives is unachievable. In Pickover's (2008:6) words "political expediency can dominate what is collected and party political agendas can have repercussions on the archival institution's collection policy". Sachs (2018) in his OHASA presentation challenged the organisation about the missing stories of women, even the women among the colonisers, the stories of the Khoi and San and the stories of the poor even among the colonisers. Sachs (2018) continued to say that it does not mean that we eliminate the big major figures but it does mean the stories of ordinary people must be recorded so that it is not always Mandela, Mandela, Mandela and Mandela. Sachs (2018) further emphasised that it does not mean everything is equal but space should be created for different voices not just for famous people. The same sentiments as those of Sachs are found in Harris (2015:21) in which he stated that:

> The recounting, rehearsing and reinforcing of post-apartheid metanarratives squeeze out counter-narratives and sub-narratives. The cacophony of big voices makes it hard to hear softer voices. Resources are thrown at flagship projects while community-level endeavour is neglected. Large archival institutional systems have forgotten the early 1990s' transformation discourse around engaging what was then called 'indigenous ways of knowing, constructing and practising archive' South Africa's national archival system

> today reminds me of nothing so much as the 1980s State Archive Service and its Bantustan subsidiaries.

In other words, what is coming out in both countries, that is, Zimbabwe and South Africa is that there is a preponderance of the documentation of the histories of elite liberation stalwarts and the liberation history in general. The 'other' is neglected as Harris (2015:22), writing about South Africa's archival system, observed that "it is haunted by the 1990s' dream of a transformed national archival system hospitable to 'the other'. It is haunted by under-resourced community-based initiatives and processes which are not recognised as 'archival…" This raises questions of what then has changed from colonial period to post-colonial times if the history that is still documented is that of the elites. The answer to this rhetoric question can be encapsulated in Melber's (2008) argument that it is not unusual for a new regime to quickly resemble an old one. That has happened time and again around the world as the "liberators tend to reproduce the past rather than offering genuine alternatives. In this light, the 'anti-imperialist' Robert Mugabe turns out to be merely the final executor of the policies of the racist colonists Cecil Rhodes and Ian Smith". Melber (2008) further argued that "armed combat merely created new repressive institutions of the state for the dominant groups within anti-colonial resistance…In sum, it becomes questionable whether there is a true difference between the political systems they manage to throw out and what they establish in their place". In other words, "in governmental office, liberation movements tend to mark an 'end of history'. Any political alternative that does not emerge from within them will not be acceptable [will not be memorialised]" (Melber 2008).

Furthermore, Saidi (2018:331) discussed that African governments tend to concentrate on "grandiosity of state ceremonialism, cultural or historical, as well as monuments and memory institutions as mere spectators of the state. What this means is that memory and heritage institutions are only valued as well as supported by the state in as far as they advance the ideological underpinnings of the state…". Saidi (2018:30) additionally affirmed that such an approach meant that the Binga Museum would be supported by government in only representing the state than the people. It

then comes as no surprise that these institutions are struggling financially as it was mentioned by participants because the government is not locating their importance in its elitist interests. To support this argument, Saidi (2018:30) cited the Nambya community museum in Hwange as an example. This museum is currently housed at an abandoned sport pavilion and for years not much effort has been put to spruce the building for such an important heritage space. This was mentioned by the participant who lamented that financial challenges have created a situation that the building was donated in 2005 but up to now in 2018 it is still being renovated and the museum is not yet fully functional. “This alone exposes the state’s role in all processes of heritage preservation especially for marginalised groups such as the Nambya who are in fact the BaTonga’s neighbours” (Saidi 2018:330).

5.2.2 Diversified and monopolised national archival system in Zimbabwe and South Africa respectively

Oral history programmes soon after independence in both countries underwent some radical changes as the voices of black people came to be incorporated into the national memory. Both national archives in Zimbabwe and South Africa came up with programmes that would prioritised the documentation of the once marginalised stories of black people. In South Africa, the Government was directly involved in this process as this archival landscape transformation was initiated and discussed by the cabinet leading to the formation of the NOHP. Other institutions which act as private archives and the universities are also involved in the documentation of minority groups. In Zimbabwe that direct Government initiation of oral historiography as was done in South Africa is not obvious but the NAZ is seen after independence positioning itself into this new discourse of documenting the stories of the black people. However, there is no parallel support from private archives and universities as it is seen in South Africa.

In Zimbabwe it appears the NAZ may be having monopoly over the documentation of national history. This is encapsulated in one of the participant’s contributions who believed that NAZ is not embracing community archiving because it solely reserves the right to conduct oral history programmes. Also, the NAZ (2018) website showed that the NAZ’s Oral History Unit has the prime responsibility of collecting and preserving oral interviews from a wide diversity of people in Zimbabwean history. This

is opposite of what is happening in South Africa where a number of organisations including universities are involved in large scale oral history programmes. The same sentiments were echoed by the participant interviewed who stated that in South Africa, NARS may be more of a storage repository and access provider (since it manages NAROS) than a conductor of oral history programmes. Such programmes include Alan Paton archives under the KwaZulu-Natal University, Sinomlando, SAHA, the once Western Cape oral history programme and many others. Harris (2002:74) echoed the same sentiments by stating that:

> During the 1980s an increasing number of anti-apartheid organisations and of individuals prominent in the struggles against apartheid began depositing archival materials with collecting institutions, particularly university libraries. Significant accumulations were collected by the Cory Library (Rhodes University), the Killie Campbell Africana Library (University of Natal), the University of Cape Town Library, the University of South Africa Library, and the William Cullen Library (University of Witwatersrand). Several universities initiated projects for the collection of oral history and oral tradition. A significant development was the establishment of the South African History Archive …After 1990 these archives as well as newly-established ones acquired significant quantities of records documenting anti-apartheid struggles, from both within and outside the country.

These observations are supported by Tough (2009) who averred that in South Africa, non-state institutions are active in the field of archival endeavour [including oral history] which is very rare further north [Zimbabwe included]. The literature review and responses from the participants revealed that Zimbabwe does not have such a diversified archival system like South Africa. This is likely to lead to the monopolisation of archival service and thereby reducing any chances of an alternative archive for the minority groups most of which are on the fringes of metropolitan areas in which NAZ is not located.

5.2.3 Comparison of top-down and bottom-up oral history methodologies

Oral history programmes at both NAZ and NARS appear to be done in a top-down approach. The participants in both institutions stated that they identified communities

to document and then approached them for their testimonies and traditions. This can be grasped from one of the participants from NAZ who averred that “in my personal opinion, I do not think NAZ has impressed this concept since most if not all of its history programmes are initiated and conducted by the department with minimum involvement of local communities. The members of the local communities are only involved as informants and nothing else”. Peterson (2015:134) poked holes to such an approach when he argued that it does not show expression of hospitality, instead he urged archives [mainstream] “to respect the other, and engage it with a willingness to have one’s own ways of knowing and doing changed in the process”.

One of the results of top-down approach in conducting oral history programmes is that it usually leads to resistance from the local community. Both participants across the boundary divide of NAZ and NARS expressed the view that they have faced challenges from the minority communities in the form of unwillingness to tell their stories when approached by these mainstream archival institutions. The participant in NARS gave the example of the 32 Battalion (former Angolan liberation soldiers who fought on the side of Apartheid forces) whilst the one from NAZ talked mainly of ethnic minority groups such as the Shangaan. In South Africa, Mhlanga (2014:82) also mentioned the challenge of documenting some marginalised ethnic groups by stating that:

> Despite the efforts made by NARS to achieve equality, whereby the institution strives to include in their archives those social groups previously under-represented by the apartheid record-keeping regime, they encounter resistance from the groups they would have otherwise targeted as marginalised elements that merit inclusion in the documentary heritage of the country.

Copeland and Yoon (2018:32) took cognisance of the fact that over the past decades, heritage institutions have increased their commitment to documenting and preserving forgotten records and unspoken voices of underrepresented communities and that this has helped in bringing social justice and promoting human rights. Copeland and Yoon (2018:32) further argued that there are limitations to the top-down approach of collecting and preserving marginalised histories that can be addressed by the adoption of community archives methodology which takes a bottom-up approach.

5.2.4 Decentralisation of oral history programmes at NAZ and NARS

Province-based provision of archival services both at NAZ and NARS can be viewed as an attempt to decentralise and devolve service delivery. In South Africa this was in line with the new constitution in the post-apartheid era as critics of the old archives Act of 1962 complained that it did not accommodate the new divisions of power between national government and the provinces (Kenosi 2000:13) hence the establishment of provincial archives. The Manual of National Archives and Records Services of South Africa (2000:3) stated that archival services in South Africa are geographically decentralised with archives repositories being maintained in each provincial capital, under central administrative control of a Head Office. In Zimbabwe, unlike South Africa which is quasi-devolved, governance is a rigid, unitary and centralised system. This has also permeated to the national archival system as the provincial archives remain under the authority of their head quartered national archives office at the capital city in Harare. The implications of this in terms of oral history at provincial level at NAZ, is that the participants have complained of excessive bureaucracy, red tape, asymmetrical organisational structure vis-à-vis the one at head office, demoralisation and invisibility. This comes as no surprise because the centralised governance systems are notoriously known as monocratic (ruling alone) and Lane (2000:5) said "that the more centralised an administrative structure is, the more likely is the occurrence of policy failure due to inherent implementation difficulties".

Participants from provincial archives noted that since they do not have an audio visual section unit most of their oral history audios are kept at the NAZ head office in Harare. This then leads to the problem of access as Bhebhe (2011:20) observed that centralisation of archival services and decision-making at the Head Office, despite decentralisation of record management services, has led BARC to fail in meeting the needs of patrons who visit the office resulting in complaints of inconveniences when the researchers are consequently referred to the Head Office in Harare.

Centralisation of archival service provision negatively affects access. In NAZ access to archival services is limited to Harare and to a lesser extent at BARC, meaning the

prospective clients outside Bulawayo and Harare have to travel long distances in order to access archives. What is in other provinces are just records management services which are generally closed to the public. Some provinces do not even have those record centres, for example Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland East, Matabeleland North and Matabeleland South. So, some of the provincial record centres are forced to extend their services to these provinces. This leads to a large geographical sphere of influence and the result, as the participants said, is the invisibility and remoteness of their provincial record centres. This scenario negatively affects the development of oral history programmes at the provincial centres as participants have said. Wales (2014:58), writing about the archival set-up in Britain, argued that regional archive councils were thought of as best placed to connect with community groups implying that an over-centralised archives sector is seen as counterproductive. Wales (2014:58) then contended that devolution of mainstream archives will lead to the incorporation of local interests into the discourse of 'authorised' heritage and they will benefit from local input and specialised regional knowledge. Wamukoya (2015:16) echoed the same sentiments when he said that:

> There is need to decentralise and/or devolve archival services by adopting a model that aims to bring these services closer to the people. We need to do this by confronting the barriers that militate against meeting the needs of local government and the people at regional and grass-root levels. Decentralisation of archival services can only be considered meaningful if it seeks to give greater freedom, responsibility and autonomy to professionals and the people at local levels…

In South Africa, despite the devolved archive, some participants still felt that the areas they cover are so large that service provision is affected. Ngoepe (2017:7) averred that:

> The constitutional devolution of archives other than national archives to the provinces has also resulted in huge inequities in provincial repositories. For example, some new provincial repositories are 'empty shells' with no archival holdings while others are not functioning whatsoever. For those functioning, the level of functionality varies, with facilities that formed part of the pre-1994 state

archives (the NARSSA, Free State, KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape) performing better than the newly established ones (Gauteng, Eastern Cape, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape and North West).

In their provinces where they also operate under provincial governments, they are not independent institutions, they are part of the system bureaucracy. This is supported by Ngoepe (2017:5) whose argument is that:

> Provinces are not autonomous to work independent from the national archives. To ensure a coherent and compatible archives system, the National Archives and Records Service Act contains specific provisions that impact on the archival and records management services delivered by provincial archival services. For example, section 3(g) provides for the National Archives and Records Service to assist, support, set standards for and provide professional guidelines to provincial archives services. Flowing from this, the National Archives and Records Service determines the broad archives policy framework within which the provincial archives services operate. In this regard, the NARSSA is imbued with the ability to assist, support, set standards for and provide professional guidelines to provincial archives services.

As a result, the archival system in South Africa consists of ten distinctive, independent yet interrelated entities (Ngoepe 2017:6).

Most of these provincial archives are relatively new in their oral history programmes except for a few exceptions and their oral history collections are not yet comprehensive or really developed as some of the participants said. At the Free State Provincial Archive, the participant said the oral traditions began around 2003, the North West Provincial Archives around 2010, Limpopo Provincial Archives around 2016 and the Western Cape around 2015. Ngoepe (2017:1) described them as ‘empty shells’ without archival holdings. Ngoepe (2017) further argued that most of the provincial archives are located closer or within the once marginalised people in South Africa hence it is an opportunity missed if these archival centres do not spearhead well-planned oral history programmes in order to collect the stories of black people. However, that opportunity is underutilised both in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

In both cases of Zimbabwe and South Africa, it was noted that there are very few oral history programmes that are done. Some national provincial archives are going for years without conducting oral history projects. It appears oral history is playing second fiddle to other archival services such as records and archives management. This is very true in Zimbabwe where the decentralisation of archival services to provinces was only biased towards records management. Other archival services remained centralised at the Head Office in Harare. Again, it is axiomatic that despite decentralisation and provincialisation in Zimbabwe and South Africa these areas were still too large to be administered by archival offices which were by the way located in provincial urban areas. In other words, they were invisible to most of the province. This scenario affected mainly the rural areas which ironically are the rich storehouses of IKS and other histories. It is therefore of paramount importance that archival services are decentralised to the last unit of governance, that is, the ward system in rural areas. Also most of these provincial archives were not involved in assisting any community archiving project. There are still yet to grasp the importance of community archiving in complementing or running parallel to the national archival system.

5.2.5 The minority oral history programmes done by NAZ and NARS

The NAZ is somehow trying to document the oral history of the minority groups. This can be seen through their 'One Nation One Zimbabwe' programme where they are targeting the so called ethnic minority groups leading to a composition of the minority oral history archive that can be understood as mainly patches covering some of the ethnic groups only. The bias is towards ethnic minorities. This is a shallow and traditional view or definition of minority groups. Minorities come in diverse and different formats, for example, one can talk of LGBTQ communities, African independent churches, those affected and infected by AIDS, women, albinos, the deaf and all other forms of disability, black townships and the immigrants among others. These types of minority groups were both ignored at NAZ and NARS as the concentration has been mainly on augmenting the liberation struggle archive. This comes as no surprise if one reads the work of McKinley and Veriava (2008:2) in which they argued that:

> The fact is that South Africa's post-1994 history has been largely constituted as a 'history from above', created and told from the perspectives and experiences

> of a small and powerful minority. It is a history that predominately emanates out of the institutional frameworks and processes within which elites operate, constantly being told through the voices and agencies of those who possess political, economic, social and cultural power and position. Effectively then, it is a 'history' of, by and through an elite that relates mainly to state and corporate institutions, elitist societal processes and macro-nationalist narratives. Its telling has, and continues to be, constantly refracted through the lens of the pre-1994 past (that is …, liberation struggle', the negotiations process and/or leading figures and movements in them).

However, even in those programmes that try to consider some minority groups the projects are not as smooth as one may have thought, meaning that these national mainstream archives are not yet organisationally prepared to document the 'others'. This can be seen in Bhebhe (2015:44) where he noted that "the challenges such as the language of collecting these oral testimonies has come into play. The NAZ as a whole having none speakers of these minority languages means that 'dominant languages' such as Shona and Ndebele are used to interview these minority group of people". This, lead to the uncooperative behaviour of the informants who feel despised by such an approach. Despite being launched in 2004 'One Nation One Zimbabwe' programme has managed to cover 4 districts of Gokwe, Bulilima, Chiredzi and Mangwe where the ethnically minority groups such as the Tonga, the Kalanga and the Shangaan are found (Chabikwa 2016: 71). This is a far cry from what should have been covered by now. This clearly shows that despite well-thought oral history programmes, the implementation remains a challenge. It appears that this programme is not getting much support from the Government as compared to 'Capturing the Fading Memory' oral history project which has managed to capture a lot of testimonies. This brings us back to the fact that the Government is interested in those programmes that legitimise their rule than those that want to assert self-emancipation and the identity of minority groups.

The neglect of other minority groups besides those of an ethnic nature may also be attributed to the shortfalls of bureaucratic organisational structures that tend to be rigid and monocratic with centralised decision-making in which information flows from top to bottom. Such structures are unfavourable to innovation and, in the context of this

study, it is not surprising that oral history programmes done by national archival institutions lack innovativeness that is found in private archives such as SAHA and Sinomlando. Such institutions as SAHA and Sinomlando have managed to come up with diverse oral history programmes that consider many different types of minority groups. This can be attributed, among other factors, to their project management organisational structures in which ideas flow from any direction.

5.2.6 OHASA's impact on the documentation of minorities

It is not disputable that OHASA is playing a major role in coordinating oral history programmes in South Africa. Since its inception it has managed to host annual conferences in every province in South Africa and in the process popularising oral history. It has again managed to introduce learners to oral history methodologies which are one of the objectives to promote the usage of oral history in schools and other institutions. However, when it comes to oral history projects which are co-ordinated by or done by OHASA besides the learner's programme nothing much has been achieved. The general analysis is that there is much on conferences and learner programmes but a few on oral history programmes in the form of case studies with the communities. The exceptions is KwaNdancama Project in the Eastern Cape and the Coffee Table project which is documenting the stories of women. In other words, there may be dearth of oral history projects being done by OHASA except for a few learners' programmes. Most of the projects are not producing tangible products. In cases where products are produced as Ngoepe (2019) observed, such products are stashed in boxes in archives repositories.

Another cause of concern is that the OHJSA which is supposed to disseminate and tell the documented histories of South Africans to the world is publishing fewer projects on South Africa. Since the first publication in 2013 to 2018 seventy articles have been published and out of these thirty-five are on South African oral history whilst the other thirty-five are stories that capture experiences from outside the South African borders. The 2018 volume six number one edition of OHJSA has six articles with only one article on South Africa, the other five are on stories outside the South African borders and mostly written by non-South Africans. At this ratio, it means the story of South

Africa and South Africans risked being eclipsed by the stories from other countries. It should therefore be best for OHASA to make sure that in every volume of OHJSA there is at least sixty percent of South African projects. Again, it should be noted that whilst having a journal is a positive development, the OHASA should try to look at other methods that they can use to disseminate their work as sometimes these journals are elitist and meant for academics not the rural communities. Exhibitions especially the travel shows and coming up with CDs including books detailing oral history projects published in vernacular languages can be one of the ways that can be used by OHASA to disseminate their products to the non-academic audience.

Another important issue for OHASA to think about is the idea of 'unconferencing' than conferencing. The present scenario where it is assumed that the people on stage have more information than those that are listening is now viewed as 'old fashioned' and it does not bring new innovative ideas to the table. Budd, *et al* (2015:1) said:

> Unlike traditional conferences, an unconference is a participant-oriented meeting where the attendees decide on the agenda, discussion topics, workshops, and, often, even the time and venues. The informal and flexible program allows participants to suggest topics of their own interest and choose sessions accordingly…The overarching goal for most unconferences is to prioritize conversation over presentation. In other words, the content for a session does not come from a select number of individuals at the front of the room, but is generated by all the attendees within the room, and, as such, every participant has an important role.

Some of the advantages of the unconference format listed by Budd, *et al (*2015:1) included:

1. a focus on topics that are relevant to the attendees (because they suggested them),
2. An opportunity for teamwork development, flexibility of schedule, and an emphasis on contributions from every participant.
3. The relationships built during an unconference often continue well past the event. The interactions can lead to productive collaborations, professional

development opportunities, and a network of resources and are very effective at building a community amongst participants.

4. The unconference format, therefore, gives participants experience in working together, and this can change how they think about their day-to-day work.

Besides breaking the monotony of traditional conferences and bringing innovative ideas on how oral history should be done in South Africa, such an approach of 'unconferencing' would also go a long way in addressing the perennial challenge of having delegates who show up during lunch times but would be AWOL during the presentation of academic papers.

5.2.7 Positive uniqueness of the private 'mainstream' archives such as Sinomlando and SAHA

The data collected revealed that these private 'mainstream' archives such as Sinomlando and SAHA which are not in the clutches of government tend to run 'successful' innovative and diversified oral history programmes incorporating 'all' minority groups who are even shunned by the public and marginalised by the regimes themselves. Their definition of minorities is not narrow as seen at NAZ and NARS but broad to the extent of documenting the stories of orphans, including those affected and infected by HIV/AIDS. Such 'success' can be attributed to their lean and flexible organisational structures which promote teamwork than the bureaucratic and rigid ones of government mainstream archival institutions such as NAZ and NARS. Some of these initiatives have been international as there are not restricted within their borders since their programmes have a universal outlook. Such is the case with Sinomlando which has now introduced its memory box programme which offers psychosocial support to families, especially to those affected by HIV/AIDS in Uganda.

The same applies also to SAHA which houses endangered regional archives which face confiscation and destruction such as the ones of Mafela Trust from Zimbabwe. SAHA has also taken the issue of human rights into another level, so these archives be it they oral history programmes are meant to address the human rights aspect. In fact, archival institutions should be seen to be different from the libraries and the issue

of human rights should be one that makes that difference. This is supported by Caswell and Punzalan (2016:289) when they argued that:

> The emphasis on the evidentiary value of records obligates archivists and archival institutions to meet different societal expectations than libraries regarding human rights. By exposing the conceptual differences between the types of materials that libraries and archives keep, we argue that ensuring accountability and aiding attempts at redress and reparation—rather than provision of universal access—are the major contributions that archives make toward human rights. Furthermore, archival formulations of ethics reassert a commitment to individuals, communities, and the larger society—not just a universalized public—in specific contextual formulations based on both the nature of the event from which the records arise and cultural, historical, and social context.

So these archival institutions such as SAHA may help the 'commoners' in addressing their human rights restoration, a scenario they are unlikely to do in government mainstream archives which pander to the dictates of the elites. An interesting example is that one can never find archival information on Gukurahundi massacres in Zimbabwe at NAZ considering also that the commissions of inquiry meant to shed light on the issue were never released to the public after decades of their completion. This is a clear case of the elites embargoing the information that threaten their interests. Therefore, such gaps can be covered by mainstream private independent archival institutions such as SAHA where the participant interviewed made it clear that SAHA is seen as "documenting the 'other' or the marginal or the hidden and this is how SAHA has positioned itself, always concerned with issues of social justice, accountability and human rights". The same sentiments are echoed by the (SAHA 2018) website in which emphasis in collecting and recapturing neglected histories is made. From the data collected it was noted that in such institutions oral history has been repackaged so that it goes beyond storytelling to healing of some of the minority groups that suffer different stigmas and marginalisation. In the process, issues of human rights will be addressed. It is, therefore, not surprising that some community archives such as Mafela Trust which came into existence after their history had been neglected in the national historical narrative and its ZAPU members marginalised and persecuted when

ZANU PF went overdrive in its quest for a one-party state has found a safer home at SAHA.

As already mentioned, institutions such as SAHA and Sinomlando have shown innovativeness and creativity in their oral history programmes. Let's take the example of the oral history programme that was mentioned by the participant, the 'Entering Tembisa'. This programme was motivated by one of SAHA's aims of recapturing lost and neglected histories. SAHA (2012:6) explained that "it is for these reasons, and many more not mentioned here, that it is imperative that the history of townships should be documented. It is hoped that the history of Tembisa, as told by its residents in this booklet, will help to redress the pervasive neglect of the history of the township".

The involvement of the community as more than just informants is seen in this project by SAHA working with three community interns from Tembisa in 2010 and 2011. These interns were later to be fully employed by SAHA, in other words these oral history programmes are used to capacitate the community. Those twenty-seven interviews that were conducted were not just collected and archived like what NAZ and NARS would have done but innovative accessibility tools were used to popularise the collection. The 'Entering Tembisa' oral history programme led to the publication of a book titled 'Entering Tembisa: An oral and photographic exploration of the community'. In addition to the virtual exhibition drawn from these interviews, archival research and photographs to tell a brief history of Tembisa were mounted (SAHA 2012:5). The community was also made to feel the product of their achievement by SAHA as they organised a small exhibition and oral history competition with two high schools in Tembisa which was hosted by Tembisa West Library to mark Heritage Day 2011 (SAHA 2012:5).

It was noted during data collection that most of these private mainstream archives do not get financial support from the government. This has an indirect positive result in the sense that these organisations have to compete for competitive grants offered around the world. In order to get those funds, they need vibrant and innovative grant proposals. It then comes as no surprise to see them running different innovative and

anti-monotonous oral history programmes for the minority groups. Sinomlando has run such innovative programmes as the Mpophomeni one in which there is collaboration with the local community tourism groups to come up with eco-museum in the Montrose farm which has a rich history of resistance during the Apartheid era.

Another interesting oral history project is that of the documentation of the civil war that started in 1987 between ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party in a tribal area called Nxamalala. The stories of the survivors of violence were documented in a programme known as *Sinani* (a Zulu word which means we are with you) a Pietermaritzburg-based organisation which endeavours to bring reconciliation and healing to communities formerly affected by political violence.

It is common that when imbalances of national historical narrative are addressed, the concentration is on men and women are ignored. For example, there was a hyper documentation of black clergy after apartheid to fill that historical gap in the development of Christianity in South Africa. However, the black women clergy was forgotten. It is, therefore interesting that the Sinomlando had begun to document the women black clergy to cover that gap. For example, one of the interesting projects done by Sinomlando in conjunction with the School of Religion and Culture of the former University of Durban-Westville is one that targeted women Christian's organisations. More than 30 interviews were conducted with women leaders in Sobantu, Imbali and Umlazi. This project was completed in 2002. Sinomlando argued that traditionally, the exploration of black church leaders in South Africa has been focused on the clergy which are the male leaders of the various churches. While this is one aspect of the topic, it does not give a complete picture of black leadership in the churches as it fails to recognize the role played by women in the churches of South Africa (Sinomlando 2018).

These above mentioned oral history programmes including the ones on orphans and HIV/AIDS showed how oral history can be repackaged and made to address the pressing contemporary issues, that is, oral history becoming more of memory work. This becomes a major development because oral history tapes are not just stored in

archival dark rooms as was found in public national archival institutions but they become living archives which are used on a daily basis. These oral history methodologies involve the local communities to the maximum. For example, the training on memory box method is done in such a way that members from the local communities are trained at Sinomlando Centre and then sent back to their communities to apply the method. In such collaboration with local communities, resistance by minority groups in documentation of their stories is reduced, unlike in public national archives where it is increased. Such oral history methodologies and improved project management skills can be adopted by public mainstream national archives.

These private and sometimes independent archives are stretching the boundaries of oral history methodology. They no longer view oral history as a tool to excavate old past histories but coming up with what can be called oral history programmes that are addressing contemporary issues. Oral history to them is not pre-1994 era (When South Africa got its independence or pre-1980 (When Zimbabwe got its independence) as McKinley and Veriava (2008:3) argued that "it is as if, 1994 drew a line across the 'map' of historical discourse/narrative and understanding, that the 'new' South Africa does not belong to the country's overall exegesis of history since it is a 'story' that is unfolding and whose only 'identification' is its beginning…" McKinley and Veriava (2008:3) further added that:

> In specific relation to oral history, the serious lack of post-1994 oral history studies/research points to a serious gap in the theoretical and practical approach to, and understanding of, oral history itself. In other words, it is as if oral history is something that only can apply/be applied to the 'forgotten' past, with the method of orality being the mechanism to revive and tell that 'forgotten' history.

For example, oral history projects post-1994 in South Africa can look into such events as Marikana where dozens of miners were killed by the police. It can also look at eSidimeni scandal where patients who were mentally challenged lost their lives because of improperly planned transfers. In Zimbabwe oral history projects can look into post-independence farm invasions. They can also look into Willowvale Scandal in

which cabinet ministers were involved in unlawful profiteering by selling of Cressida cars. There are so many examples that can be considered. It is high time to think of oral history as not pre-independence discourse but a methodology that can be used to shed light to the evils or good of the current regimes. In both countries, that is Zimbabwe and South Africa, it is like oral history is used only to show how evil the Rhodesian and apartheid governments were.

It is interesting to note that some of these private archives are beginning to move to that discourse of viewing oral history as addressing contemporary challenges as can be seen with Sinomlando which is addressing the trauma caused by HIV/AIDS by using oral history and a positive manipulation of psychology of the memory. To achieve this, a methodology called memory box was being used. This memory work approach targeted orphans whose parents died of HIV/AIDS-related diseases. So these orphaned children were interviewed and their stories were put in book format and audio format. These were then given to the children in the hope that if they read and listen to their stories they would then know themselves better and understand their status. They would begin to know who their parents were and what role they played in the community before their demise. This is how Sinomlando is using memory and oral history to address contemporary challenges and in this case assisting the minority which is affected and infected by HIV/AIDS and suffering the stigma which sometimes is associated with this condition. It can, therefore, be said that these independent archives are using oral history not only for archiving purposes, as was seen in NAZ and NARS, but have gone beyond that to the extent that the Memory Work Programme provides psychosocial support through storytelling to children and families experiencing adversity.

Even though the Sinomlando is still collecting liberation histories it is not stuck there as it has a variety and diverse programmes which address different kinds of minority groups.

5.3 Factors hindering and enabling NAZ and NARS from and in documenting the oral histories of the minority groups

There are common factors for both NAZ and NARS mentioned by the participants that are hindering the documentation of the oral history of the minority groups. These are lack of project management skills, inadequate funding, political interference, language barriers, complex cultural beliefs and the oral history collection which is not accessed by the local communities.

5.3.1 Project management skills

Some of the challenges mentioned by participants show lack of project management skills. For example, NAZ (2010) Report on the oral history project held in Chipinge cited the following as challenges that were met: time constraints as some areas were not covered, bad weather as heavy rains rendered some places inaccessible and manpower since there was only one male interviewer and some of the men were not comfortable being interviewed by women. As such, some potential male informants could not be interviewed. These aforementioned problems could be avoided if proper project management skills are deployed. Bad weather, for example can be easily addressed by checking weather forecast when coming up with dates for the programme. One also has to study and understand the cultural norms of the people being interviewed so that manpower is well organised to cater for their needs.

It should not always be assumed that archivists or oral historians have project management skills. Even some universities in Zimbabwe that train archivists in their undergraduate programmes do not include project management, for example National University of Science and Technology (NUST). This gap in archival education that is the omission of project management is also noted by the Society of American Archivists (2019) which stated that archivists are involved in a variety of projects every day, from small projects such as developing new procedures manual to large projects such as digitizing a collection but the challenge is that project management methodologies are not automatically included in formal education or many archival education programmes.

The importance of project management in oral history can be seen from the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (PHMC) (2015) which argued that:

> Developing an oral history project requires considerable planning and resources, everything from defining the nature and scope of the project to selecting appropriate recording technology, from identifying both interviewers and interviewees to deciding whether or not to transcribe interviews and determining how to process them. Managing an oral history project requires the qualities of any good manager: an ability to retain the broad view while paying attention to numerous details, skill in juggling multiple responsibilities, flexibility, patience, and interpersonal skill. It also requires a solid grounding in the principles and protocols of oral history.

There is no substitute for that if success is to be attained in oral history programmes. These basic challenges experienced by NAZ in their oral history programme also show that routine management skills are not used. This comes as no surprise and may apply to other archival institutions outside Zimbabwe and South Africa because Bahmer (1962:4) once observed that:

> Persons of scholarly inclination, as a rule, are prone to look on management as a bit vulgar, to regard it as highly overrated in importance—as something to be endured rather than taken seriously. This is a comfortable way of dismissing the matter, but every archival organization is managed by someone, and every archivist with this responsibility wears two hats—a manager's and an archivist's.

Almost all Provincial Archivists at NAZ have expressed the view that there are no dedicated vacancies of oral historians in their provinces and most of them consider themselves as records managers and not oral historians leading to very few or next to zero collections being done. Whilst this organisational asymmetry cannot be downplayed and needs to be addressed, this should be taken as a blessing in disguise as it allows and promotes the professional growth of all-rounder provincial archivists who are not rigid because of over-specialisation. This argument is clearly explained by Bahmer (1962:9-10) who averred that:

> In the National Archives we recognize that a professional archival career precludes specialization by function. Our policy is to provide opportunity for development of the whole archivist by rotating the assignments of the professional staff—assignments of sufficient duration to give scope to creative effort. Without this the organization would become a victim of "task specialization" rather than a vehicle for personal specialization and development. The specialization of an archivist should include more than mastery of the science of our profession. As Dr. Grover has warned us, mastery of technique and principles is not enough, lest we become mere technicians "manoeuvring empty vessels on a shelf . . ."

So this clearly calls for archivists to avoid over-specialisation and concentrating more on their professional skills but to also think about acquiring project management skills including management itself.

Carpenter (2011:12-13) writing on library, museums and archives project management also argued that:

> It is too often true, particularly in service sector organisations, that a major reason for project failure is lack of appreciation at high levels within the organisation of the importance of project management, or the inadequate definition of the project manager's role and responsibilities leading to lack of direction and poor decision-making.

Therefore, prioritisation of project management skills may come a long way in addressing some of the basic challenges encountered in oral history programmes at NAZ and NARS.

5.3.2 Unwillingness of some minority groups to be interviewed

The unwillingness of some minority groups to work with mainstream archival institutions such as NAZ and NARS was mentioned by almost all the participants as a challenge. One participant at NAZ said the minority groups are normally hesitant to open up to 'strangers'. Those who ended up speaking narrated choreographed stories as the following quote from the participant showed "the major challenge is securing

access to the minority groups or local communities unless it is approved. Cumbersome procedures would have to be followed before such access is provided. In some cases, informants would give official versions pertaining to such local communities or minority groups". The other reasons mentioned by the participants range from distaste of government institutions, political environment and language barriers to cultural complexities.

The literature review revealed that the uncooperative attitude of minority groups in working with mainstream heritage organisations is common as seen by this low institutional confidence by some minorities and can be explained by dominant group position perspective and injustice perspective theories. Wu and Cao (2017:705) also citing Bobo and Tuan (2006), argued that in these theories perception of discrimination plays a key role in offering a critical underlying socio-psychological mechanism that connects race and ethnicity to confidence. Members of the dominant group in a society tend to share a sense of superiority and view members of the subordinate group as both threat to dominant group prerogatives and competitors to limited resources, similar to what the "minority group threat thesis" was proposed by Myers (1989). Wu and Cao (2017:706) further argued that racial and ethnic minorities hold more negative views on some of the government mainstream institutions, deeming them as mainly controlling the minority communities and reinforcing the negative status quo. The second theory of the sense-of-injustice perspective is derived from Myrdal (1944) and outlined that public attitudes toward order institutions are heavily influenced by their feelings of being treated unjustly by these institutions. Wu and Cao (2017:706) then averred that "minorities, correspondingly, feel that they belong to a group marginalized, discriminated against, and controlled, undermining their support for any institutions that maintain existing social order" and this accounts for their abasing those institutions. This can be seen in the Mafela Trust in which the participant said their confidence in NAZ is very limited mainly because public servants working for such institutions do not see beyond the eye of the ruling party and the result is the politicisation of heritage management. The participant also said they feel aggrieved by the seizure of their liberation archive by the same government which now ironically claims to want to document their stories through its department, NAZ.

5.3.3 Funding in national mainstream archives such as NAZ and NARS

Both countries pointed out that funding is a major challenge in their day-to-day operations. This is supported by literature review and observations at these institutions. Yuba (2013:101) observed that at NARS "the records management and archival functions are underfunded, they have very little political support so the will is not there to make things happen". The same sentiments are echoed by Archival Platform (2015:5) in which they stated that:

> As have been noted repeatedly by the Auditor General (AGSA) and the South Africa Human Rights Commission in recent years, the state of government record keeping is embarrassing. Public archives are neither equipped, resourced, nor positioned to do the records auditing and records management support they are required to do by their mandates. Poor record-keeping undermines service delivery, cripples accountability, and creates environments in which corruption thrives.

In both cases of Zimbabwe and South Africa, the problem of funding can be contextualised in the general international view about national archives that they lack engagement with issues around fundraising, there is lack of monetary value placed on services; lack of major donors and finally lack of business relationships (Ray *et al* 2012:41-43).

At NAZ, it was also observed that funding remains a perennial challenge. Meagre budget allocations are always the in thing for NAZ and NARS. There is, therefore, a need for advocacy spearheaded by international and regional associations such as ICA, ESARBICA and SASA which will lead to engaging the governments and explaining to them the importance of national archiving. In addition to that, outreach programmes which popularise archives are likely to attract the attention of fiscal authorities (Lekaukau 1993:32). Similar sentiments are echoed by Kamatula (2011:75) when he stated that "moreover an outreach programme to the society may also result in the archivist's role being appreciated. The more the society is aware of the value of

its archival holdings, the greater the support the archival institutions will expect to receive".

Even though it is the government's responsibility to provide funding to national archives, these institutions need not over-rely on treasury. They should also compete for donor funds which are available in the market. They should be comfortable and have confidence in doing that because the status quo is producing archivists who are yet to be comfortable in soliciting donor funding and other types of funding like crowdfunding as was noted by Ray, Shepherd and Laperdrix (2012:33) when they argued that "archivists are lacking in confidence and experience in a range of fundraising techniques".

Even though Ray *et al* (2012:47) were focused more on United Kingdom national archival system, their recommendations can also be of assistance to Zimbabwe and South Africa and these are to:

1. Develop stronger relationships at national and regional level with funders and stakeholders.
2. Influence policy at national and local level to ensure sustainable funding for services.
3. Support piloting of new approaches to funding and fundraising.
4. Identify opportunities to bring together funders to enable greater strategic impact.
5. Identify opportunities to bring together archive services to capitalise on funding initiatives.
6. Provide mechanisms and opportunities for archive services to learn from each other.
7. Ensure archive services have access to up-to-date and appropriate information on funding and fundraising.
8. Ensure archive services have access to individual support where needed.
9. Ensure funding support is part of all strategic discussions with archive services.
10. Ensure archive services have access to appropriate training.

5.3.4 Manipulation and abuse of per diems systems

This ‘cancer’ which borders on what may be called white corruption is slowly becoming a cause for concern in running quality projects. Per-diem is defined by Søreide, Tostensen and Skage (2012: xv-xvi) as “non-salary daily subsistence allowances” which are sometimes associated with the following malpractices and fraud which include “exaggerated payments as bonus; opportunistic organisation of seminars; ‘buying’ of loyalty by manager’s with discretionary authority; more serious abuse at higher levels of echelons of administration; irregularities are tolerated or condoned”. In addition to these challenges Nkamleu and Kamgnia (2014:10) added some of the following per-diem drawbacks: determining work plan and strategy based on per diems maximization; going to the field or a meeting, even if there’s no need; increasing health risk for staff; sending the wrong people for training; slowing down government operations; changing norms and decreasing intrinsic motivation; favouring certain types of work over others; fostering dependence; creating pressure and opportunities for fraud and influence of policies and procedures.

The low wages for public servants in Zimbabwe has meant the workers hunt or come up with projects that will take them away from their work stations so that they are able to claim per diems. What this means is that wrong persons get involved in projects that they are not suitable to work on just for the sake of claiming per diems. For example, in the case of oral history programmes you can have archivists who cannot speak the local languages of the area they are visiting to collect the oral testimonies. Per-diems abuse leads to the wastage of resources because sometimes the project that can be done by local employees end up being done by outsiders just for the sake of claiming per-diems. Nkamleu and Kamgnia (2014:11) gave an interesting example of the abuse of per-diems that can somehow be applied at NAZ and other government departments. Explaining the malpractice of sending the wrong people for training, they said “we all know anecdotal story of staff attending meetings in languages they cannot understand for the sole purpose of earning per diems”. In other words, “per diems create incentives for sending inappropriate delegates” (Nkamleu and Kamgnia (2014:11).

The abuse and malpractice of the per diem system should be understood in the context of it being used as “a tool of corruption, it has become perverted and is now working against the objectives that underpin its existence and creating opportunities for fraud, as officers and employees are deriving undue benefits while preserving the legality of their actions” (Nkamleu 2016:1). Nkamleu (2016:2) further argued that:

> The per diem allowance system in Africa is a phenomenon that is silently asphyxiating economic growth and killing development initiatives on the continent. It prevents and stifles all growth ambitions by crippling public finances and contributing to the failure of a myriad of projects and development programs that are supposed to usher in growth and development into the continent.

Back to the context of the study, it is unlikely that oral history programmes targeting minority groups can be successful if this cancer of abuse of per diems exists. Oral history programmes create a fertile ground of abuse of per diems as they usually take officers out of their stations for long periods of time. It attracts donor funding in which many public servants scramble to claim per-diems at the expense of quality projects.

5.4 Community oral history programmes

This section looked into how community oral history archiving is being done in the selected communities which are viewed as minority groups in terms of race, ethnicity, sexuality and political position in Zimbabwe and South Africa. This classification in terms of race, ethnicity, sexuality and political position is prevalent in community archiving as Caswell, Migoni, Geraci and Cifor (2016:3) stated that “archival communities and community archives have formed around ethnic, racial or religious identity, gender and sexual identity, economic class and geographic location”. In order to understand this phenomenon, therefore, this section discussed oral history programmes being conducted by BaTonga Museum, Nambya Museum, KLCDA, Gaza Trust, TSDT, Mafela Trust, JDAP and GALA. In this discussion of the objective of the analysis of the minority groups’ community archives’ oral history programmes, such themes as the politics of identity including ethnicity and queerness were

discussed. Other themes discussed are organisational structures, archival holdings, preservation, funding, collaboration, accessibility, adoption of ICTs and the use of social media.

5.4.1 The impact of ethnicity in community oral history programmes

Daniel (2015:205) argued that there has been a general neglect of immigrant and ethnic groups by archives and this relative lack of ethnic materials in mainstream collections is due to numerous factors, among which are “Anglo-Saxonism and racism, the ideology of the melting pot – according to which immigrant cultures were destined to disappear through assimilation - and in the United States especially, the archivists’ focus on governmental and organisational records and on the elite”. Even though writing from a western point of view, the Daniel’s (2015) reasoning can be applied in Southern Africa’s situation because the majority of ethnic groups in the region tend to devise machinations of assimilating minority groups and, in the process, leading to the dearth of their culture, language and their history.

Ethnicity is playing a major role in motivating and stimulating oral history programmes in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Oral history programmes being conducted by the BaTonga Museum, Nambya Museum, KLCDA, Gaza Trust, TSDT, JDAP and even Mafela Trust are mainly based on ethnicity. In most cases and most frequently, ethnicity appears to come into being in those instances “when individuals are persuaded of a need to confirm a collective sense of identity in the face of threatening economic, political, or other social forces” (Wilmsen, Dubow and Sharp 1994:348). This is the case with these mentioned ethnic groupings. Their formation is a result of a perceived threat to their identity. In Zimbabwe most of these ethnic groups feel marginalised, their languages are not given enough space in the education sector and they are far away from the national lingua franca.

Most of the participants in these minority groups said their Associations or Trusts were formed mainly to assert their identity, for example one said that the BaTonga Museum “became a rallying point for self-assertion and highlighting of their self-esteem”, the other said the Nambya Cultural Association which is affiliated to Nambya Museum

"was formed in 1960s and some of its objectives were the promotion of the use of Nambya language and community awareness of their culture" and the other said the TSDT was formed in 2010 and registered in 2014, its objectives being that of empowering the San people in terms of development and revival of their cultural heritage including their language. Saidi (2018:325) added that the creation of the BaTonga Museum "may be seen as a direct protest to subjugation. In other words, this is a non-militant call for the inclusion in nation building". So in most cases these ethnic quasi community archives are mainly formed by ethnic groups who want to assert their identity in the face of marginalisation and cultural genocide.

The formation of ethnic community museums or archives has come with some challenges. Some participants noted that it breeds tribalism, their argument being that it promoted and documented the 'other' instead of the 'all'. Specific example of the Nambya Museum in Zimbabwe was given by the participant. This community museum is located in Hwange which has an established history of coal mining and this meant that it is a boiling pot of different ethnic groups. So the other ethnic groups in Hwange felt being side-lined. They felt that the name of the museum is not appropriate as it is giving the impression that Hwange is inhabited by the Nambyas alone. This issue raises a lot of arguments about the issues of ethnicity in a country that did not recognise minority languages such as Nambya until the new Constitution of Zimbabwe in 2013. Before that the 'minority' languages were not recognised as official languages. It is in such an environment when some of these minority groups try to assert their identity, that there is a national cry of tribalism. Such a scenario is explained by Mhlanga (2013:51) who argued that the African nationalist leaders, in their quest for nationalism and the creation of unitary nations, made sure that for "the nation to live, the tribe must die". Mhlanga (2013:47) moreover argued that:

> It is therefore no wonder that discussing ethnicity within most African public spheres is considered anathema and is often criminalised as 'tribalism'. This criminalisation of ethnicity finds common acceptance despite ethnicity's natural existence in most public spaces. This criminalisation is rooted in the postcolonial nationalist mind set and gained conventional status in presenting ethnicity as belonging to those 'darker' or 'backward' relics of human past that

must be quickly discarded and forgotten if common citizenship has to be forged and national unity has to be achieved.

It therefore, comes as no surprise that such community museums or archives formed through ethnic lines are demonised and bastardised as nothing but tribalistic institutions. Clay (1985) averred that the post-colonial African governments tried to annihilate the tribe for fear of threats to their centralisation of power policies hence his following words:

> Perhaps the most important reason that African states attack cultural identity is that the existence of separate or distinct societies poses threats to the centralization of power and control of resources. In some cases groups have been allowed to continue to practice certain cultural or religious beliefs if they agree to renounce their political and economic autonomy. However, as the power of states grows or is threatened, the rights of distinct cultural groups are curtailed even further.

This then explained the data collected from ethnic community 'archives' when the participants were narrating that they sometimes face 'victimisation' from security state apparatus who always question their objectives. Such state fear is explained by Hameso (1996:14) who contended that these are elitist alarms and tactics meant "to force people to shy away from ideas of political autonomy and self-determination".

The solution offered by Vail (2004) seeks to accommodate ethnicity in nationhood when he argued that:

> Finally, as ethnicity and parochial loyalties within the borders of nation states are likely to continue, it is important to cease approaching them from the perspective of the nation state itself. Ignoring them as embarrassing epiphenomena that should have long ago disappeared will do no good. Condemning them as 'reactionary' or 'divisive' will accomplish very little. Instead, granted that it is virtually certain that the nation states of southern Africa are going to continue as institutionalized governing states in tension with those whom they govern, it will be necessary for the region's politicians and scholars alike to work towards accommodating ethnicity within these nation states.

Saidi (2018:331) also proffered a solution in this ethnicity dilemma by discussing that the Government of Zimbabwe through its respective departments should fund research including promoting local researchers undertaking projects in heritage advocacy, preservation and management. Saidi (2018:331) further contended that "in doing so, the government should take a 'depoliticised' or an apolitical approach, as to use the political ideology of the day is to condition research in matters of heritagization from which heritage from some ethnic groups may be overshadowed".

Ethnicism also exists among the white populations and South Africa is a good example. Davidson (2011:51) discussed that "the history of modern South Africa can be viewed as a history of group competition. More specifically it is a history that has been dominated by the competition of ethnic groups". Whites in South Africa are also aligned ethnically along British, Afrikaner, and Jewish lines among others. Their historical interests also vary with Davidson (2011:51) claiming that Apartheid was a white project and specifically Afrikaner group strategy whereas the Jews were in most cases involved in the anti-apartheid movement, particularly their involvement in liberation parties such as the Communist Party and the ANC. Davidson also (2011) argued that the opposition to Apartheid came from the English press which was mainly owned by Jews and went on to cite examples which showed that Jews were supporting anti-apartheid organisations, for example he stated that in Rivonia trial two of the three defence lawyers, Arthur Chaskalson and Joel Joffe, were Jewish . Davidson (2011:52) also argued that "the National Party's electoral victory of 1948 swept aside the English-speaking elite and initiated a half-century of Afrikaner leadership" which led to the rise of Afrikanerdom at the expense of other white interests. This highlighted that the South African white population was never a homogenous united group as it also suffered from ethnicism.

It therefore, comes as no surprise that the documentation of white history in South Africa is also along ethnic lines. The Jewish community in South Africa has specific museums that document specifically Jewish history and they do this with passion as Saks (2014:12) observed that the:

> South African Jews are passionate (to the point, perhaps, of obsessiveness) about recording their own history. Since 1994, a stream of popular and scholarly books has appeared, not only on Jewish involvement in the anti-apartheid struggle (most notably Gideon Shimoni's Community and Conscience – The Jews in Apartheid South Africa, 2004) but on such subjects as the legacy of Jewish life in the country districts and the development of Zionism and Judaism in South Africa. In addition, numerous autobiographical works by prominent community members have appeared, including of such former anti-Apartheid activists as Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils, Norman Levy, Lorna Levy, Ben Turok, Rika Hodgson, Baruch Hirson, Isie Maisels and Lionel Bernstein. The same period has seen the establishment of the South African Jewish Museum in Cape Town and of the South African Holocaust Foundation, whose centres in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg communicate to school children and the public at large the dangers of prejudice and the values of tolerance.

Others may argue that all this 'obsession' with documenting and preserving their history is influenced by the fact that even though they benefited from the Apartheid government because of their white skin, they were at the same time affected by "acculturation which [sic] took its toll in erosion of Jewish religious observance and linguistic-cultural identity. In South Africa it was overwhelmingly the English segment that served as the reference group for acculturation" (Shimoni 2003:3) hence their desire to document and preserve their culture. The other factor that explains Jews coalescing together as a group and coming up with community museums such as JDAP can be understood from their history of persecution due to anti-Semitism. It is, therefore, not surprising to see the JDAP working hand in glove with the Cape Town and Holocaust Genocide Centre. To that effect the participant highlighted that they "when appropriate, specific collections are sent to archives such as Special Collections at UCT or The Cape Town Holocaust and Genocide Centre. This depends on the content and condition of the material we receive". South Africa anti-Semitic sentiments have also been recorded especially in the 1930s by such ultra-right nationalist parties such as the *SuidAfrikaanse Nasionale Demokratiese Beweging (Blackshirts)* and sporadic attacks thereafter (Saks 2018:21). However, generally speaking South African Jews have never experienced large scale anti-Semitism like the ones experienced in Europe (Saks 2018) maybe due to the fact that South Africa adopted

a “unity in diversity” approach to nationhood rather than following a melting pot model in which all ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural differences are subsumed. One of the vehicles aimed at protecting and promoting different forms of group identity is the Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Commission, set up in terms of the new Constitution in 2002 (Saks 2018). Such vehicles are lacking in Zimbabwe where most of the ethnic groups are subsumed under Shona as an ethnic group and also Shona nationalism which is taken by the ruling ZANU PF elites as the Zimbabwean narrative history. This is well captured by Munemo (2016:166) who averred that:

> The newly independent state of Zimbabwe was built on a ZANU PF and Shona platform. The politicized and ethnicized power structure on which the new state stood privileged the Shona and ZANU PF while marginalizing other political actors and ethnic groups like PF-ZAPU and the Ndebele and ZANU Ndonga and the Ndau. They were denied space to contribute to the national project. The coloniality of power was propagated through Shona and ZANU PF symbols, slogans, regalia and music used at national ceremonies like Independence and Heroes’ days to the exclusion of those of other parties and ethnic groups. ZANU PF therefore created an ethnocracy in Zimbabwe.

This therefore, explains how some community ‘museums/archives’ modelled along minority ethnic groups have struggled to document their histories because of adverse tendencies towards the ‘other’ by the present regime in Zimbabwe.

One of the reasons offered by Daniels (2015:205) for promoting ethnic community archives in the western world was that the “archival profession became aware of the need for more diversity in its ranks and has multiplied efforts to train and recruit members of ethnic minorities”. This can be replicated in Zimbabwe because currently 99.99 percent of archivists employed by NAZ are of Shona origin and 0.001 percent is of other minority ethnic groups as has been observed during data collection. Such mainstream government heritage institutions should be sensitive to ethnic balance when it comes to employment. This would also be in line with the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment Number 20 (2013:20) on fair regional representation which clearly stipulated that “the State must promote the fair representation of all Zimbabwe’s regions in all institutions and agencies of government at every level” and “the State

and all institutions and agencies of the State and government at every level must take practical measures to ensure that all local communities have equitable access to resources to promote their development". For equitable ethnic employment opportunities at NAZ to be achieved there is need also to decentralise the recruitment of public servants to the provinces than the current situation whereby it is centralised in Public Service Commission (PSC) offices in Harare.

5.4.2 Queerness in community archiving

Taking note of controversies surrounding the use of the term queer in referring to the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender communities, in this study the term is used because of its association with the critical paradigm used in this thesis. Critical paradigm is known for its emancipatory influence in advocating justice in those socially marginalised minority groups and its association with feminist, critical and queer theories.

Research in queer histories is part of the new social history which often looks at the "margins of society in order to find those previously silenced voices of the past. Thus, histories of women, ethnic minorities as well as the underprivileged groups have become essential parts of history writing" (Taavetti 2016:291). Taavetti (2016:291) further argued that "due to researchers' interest in the margins, it has even become more common to study what is rare than what is usual—to study homosexuality, for instance, more than heterosexuality".

The GALA is one of the cases of this study. It was selected because it is believed to be "the only queer archive on the African continent, GALA by necessity takes on a number of roles unusual for an archive, becoming a community centre, art therapy facilitator, and publisher" (April Sizemore-Barber 2017:117).

Another uniqueness of GALA is that it has spread its wings regionally as the participant also said that it houses queer archives from Zimbabwe and Namibia, meaning that it

is not only inward but outward looking. Even the participant, when responding to one of the questions asked, said that GALA is a centre for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) culture and education in southern Africa. Important words there are Southern Africa not South Africa. The participant further mentioned that "as the only LGBTI archive in Africa, GALA has increasingly expanded our focus to the southern African region, and we have several countries represented in our archival holdings, as well as in our research and workshop activities – these include Zimbabwe, Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia". This is also clearly observed in GALZ (nd) in which a representative from GALA conducting a records management workshop told the GALZ members that some LGBT organisations may feel that they do not have the capacity to maintain their own archives, or that their political situation in their countries threatens the safety of their records. GALA is able to provide storage and cataloguing services for those LGBT organisations. The GALA representative further went on to say that GALA is also happy to store any records, archives or material from oral history projects and to apply whatever restitutions the LGBT groups want them to use.

This shows a trend in this study of how endangered community archives in Zimbabwe have found refuge in South Africa, GALZ and Mafela Trust being the examples. This may be attributed to strong institutions and the rule by constitution in South Africa unlike the rule by 'strong' leaders who override the laws of the land in countries with weak institutions such as Zimbabwe. In South Africa, the constitutional design which gives strong recognition to diversity and difference in private life (Murray & Simeon 2007:699) has made it easy for minority communities to exist, hence, leading some community 'minority' archives to seek refuge in that legally 'accommodative' environment.

The participant described the objectives of GALA in the following manner:

> Our mission is, first and foremost, to act as a catalyst for the production, preservation and dissemination of knowledge on the history, culture and contemporary experiences of LGBTI people. The impulse behind our creation in 1997 is reflected in our original name 'The Gay and Lesbian Archives'. We

> were set up to address the erasure of the representation of the stories and experiences of LGBTI people from official archives, histories and other spaces in South Africa. In the years since then, the scope of our work has expanded significantly to include a range of activities that aim to create dialogue on sexuality and gender identity, educate the public, build community among LGBTI people, and to inspire action. In 2007 we changed our name to Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action (while retaining the acronym GALA) to better reflect this development. However, the archival program remains at the heart of GALA.

As with 'all' community archives, the participant's quotation suggests, that they are formed around group and self-identity, self-esteem, as well as political concerns that are important to all social, cultural and political movements, but at this point in history they seem particularly important to the gay and lesbian rights movements and as such have influenced the development of queer libraries and archives (Lukenbill 2002:94). The objectives of GALA stem from the fact that the colonial and apartheid archive is biased in many ways as it did nothing much in preservation of the experiences of many groups such as the queer and other minorities including the emigrants (Archival Platform 2015:119). Archival Platform (2015:142) also stated that GALA works actively to record LGBTI experiences and curate them in the public domain in order to develop senses of self-worth and political purpose in queer communities. However, it was noted during this study that it is not only the former Apartheid government in South Africa or the Rhodesian government in colonial Rhodesia that did not record the testimonies of the queer community but also the current regimes. This, therefore, becomes also one of the motivations of GALA and GALZ to create their community archives.

GALA, being the only queer archive in Africa as Barber-April Sizemore (2017) and the participant suggested, is an achievement on its own considering homophobic tendencies which are prevalent on the African continent. The participant attributed this to the fact that GALA operates:

> in a country where sexual orientation is protected in the South African Constitution even though the attitudes and prejudices of the public are not

> always in line with this. For the most part, we don't have difficulty conducting our work (except for capacity and funding constraints). Part of our mission is to educate the public, empower our youth and get LGBTIQ voices and stories into the public domain, to encourage acceptance and further the rights of LGBTIQ people.

However, this is not the case with its counterparts in Southern Africa, a case in point being GALZ.

The GALA's motivation of using oral history in documenting the queer stories is that until the late 1990s LGBTI activists were mainly coming from the white population. The stories of black activists were silenced and the participant further went on to explain that:

> We are an archive in South Africa and therefore the politics of race is heavily present and cannot be ignored. GALA has actively sought to try to flesh out our white dominated history with the roles and stories of black activists, as well as the everyday lives and experiences of queer black South Africans. Due to lack of formal organisations as a consequence of the realities of apartheid, there is little in terms of tangible archival history, unlike for white organisations like the Gay Association of South Africa (GASA). GALA has therefore undertaken various oral history projects to try to record these stories before they are lost.

In addition to that, Gay Men Eat Crocodile (n.d:37) stated that "many LGBT organisations struggles with gender equity within their organisations and most LGBT organisations on the continent remain male dominated, although some have made positive steps towards addressing the issues" and the example of racism is also given in South Africa where coloured gay men in 2004 were being turned away in white gay clubs. This is a further reminder as seen in ethnic community archives/museums that community does not necessarily imply homogeneity, unity and classless society but that power divisions may exist leading to 'othering' and marginalisation. It therefore becomes important that community archives are always on the lookout for such tendencies and address them as seen in the case of GALA.

5.4.3 Organisational structures of community archives

Almost all the community archives in this study acknowledged having a formal organisational structure where there is a secretariat and a board of directors. For the GALA the participant said “we have a Board and a Director. Other permanent staff included an archivist and administrator. Currently we also have an archive digital assistant, a programmes officer and a writing fellow, as well as various volunteers and interns and a part time finance person”. The GALA is located in Witwatersrand University space and in fact initially it was part of Witwatersrand archive. For the JDAP the participant said “The Jewish Digital Archive is a project that is based at The South African Jewish Museum” with a substantive project manager. The BaTonga and Nambya community museums are under the mainstream national museum which is the NMMZ. The curators of both these community museums are NMMZ staff. The above scenarios bring to the fore the issue of ‘independence’ of these community archives from the influence of mainstream institutions’ politics of heritage management.

The discourse on which community archiving is based, is their independence, well put by Caswell, Harter and Jules (2017:1) who observed that they exist in most cases as:

> Independently curated, highly valuable sites for remembering, and are owned by the communities they document. These archives are independent, grassroots alternatives to mainstream repositories through which communities make collective decisions about what is of enduring value to them, shape collective memory of their own pasts, and control the means through which stories about their past are constructed. Such organizations are often created in response to minoritized communities being shut out of dominant historical narratives created by mainstream memory institutions.

Even the participants who were interviewed saw the importance of independence. One of the participants from GALA expressed that:

> GALA started as a project of the Wits Archives (Wits Historical Papers) but we grew too large to remain there. We do still receive support from Wits in terms of low rent on campus, use of university internet and a relationship with various

> departments with whom we often collaborate on projects and events. As long as GALA is able to sustain itself we would like to remain independent, as we are not only an archive, we also conduct oral histories, curate exhibitions, publish books and conduct education and youth programs and workshops. We feel these other important areas would be lost if we were to send our material to national archives, and also that the material might not be dealt with the sensitivity it needs. There is also the concern that new material would not be added. GALA also has a library which acts as a community space, a safe space for LGBTIQ people, mostly students and youth from surrounding areas. Again, if we were to merge with another archive, this would be lost.

However, through the data collected from community archives it was seen that being fully independent is a difficult prospect. This is worsened by funding issues which make community archives to try to come up with those projects that can attract donor funding. In Zimbabwe, it was noted that the Nambya and BaTonga community museums, while claiming to be so, may be just the extension of NMMZ. The difference being that in these cases NMMZ is specifically curating for the local community in their geographical areas with the 'input' of the locals. The weakness of this approach is seen when bureaucratic bottlenecks usually associated with mainstream archival or museum institutions begin to bring down these community archives which are their extension. For example, while the BaTonga Museum can be said to be a 'success', the story is different with Nambya museum which has struggled for more than decades to fully function. One may argue that the local population may be seeing those museums as just like other government departments where they do not have much say since they are administratively controlled by the NMMZ. However, it should be noted that initially the BaTonga Museum was hundred percent independent but due to financial challenges it ended up being incorporated to NMMZ as Mataga (2014:120-121) argued that:

> Nonetheless, while such projects were remarkable for having responded to the needs of long ignored communities, and in, contrast with traditional museum practices, were developed with community consultation and participation, they still remained bogged down by financial and administrative challenges. Eventually they were given back to the NMMZ, reverting to the state, rather than remaining independent and community owned.

Nonetheless, this seems to be another type of community archiving/curating that is partially independent and, despite its weaknesses and its failures, has worked in some instances such as the BaTonga Museum. The success of the BaTonga Museum may be attributed to the fact that it was the first kind of such museum in Zimbabwe and it was initiated by the BaTonga themselves working actively with their Binga Rural District Council and the NMMZ was just invited for its expertise in museology. Therefore, it can be said that in future such museums, in the case of Zimbabwe, NMMZ or NAZ, need to allow these institutions to flourish in their rural district councils or urban councils set-ups with only NMMZ or NAZ coming with expertise here and there. The argument being that these rural district and urban councils are closer to the people as compared to central government departments such as NMMZ and NAZ.

Proper governance issues are very important for any type of organisation to be successful, therefore, regimes for the management and preservation of community archives must be enduring and sustainable (Newman 2012:2). It is generalised that some of the community archives exist only because of the passion and commitment of one or two individuals (Newman 2012:2) and this was the case with some of the community archives in this study. What this means is that this is not sufficient to sustain them in the long term and these community archives may die with the death or any incapacitation of these committed individuals.

5.4.4 Community 'archival' holdings and oral history programmes

Community archives' holdings come in many formats such as artefacts, archives in the traditional sense and non-traditional ones such as the oral history collections. Most of them do not call themselves community archives/museums with the exception of JDAP, GALA, Nambya and BaTonga Museums. Others are just associations and trusts formed to bring to the national agenda their plight. Archiving and curating are some of the aspects they cover but there are not limited to that as some of them are combining library, archives and museum methodologies as was seen in the TGSCCC case. Such can be seen in ethnic associations found in Zimbabwe. Activism seems to be the driving force behind some of these associations. Even the oral history programmes are influenced by the spirit of activism. It would be fair to call the human

resources behind community archiving as more of activists than curators or archivists. Their collections are aligned or they tend to follow their political convictions and dispute unfounded positive or negative myths about their history, including ascertaining their group identity.

The ethnic associations' data collected in Zimbabwe revealed that their archival holdings are mainly in oral form. There are very few traditional archival formats such as the manuscripts. This is mainly because the histories of African people, excluding Arabic Africa, are mainly documented in the form of oral traditions. Most of the oral history holdings of these ethnic community archives are about ascertaining their identity by documenting their history including also their IKS. However, this documentation through the use of oral history is done with a sense of permanent preservation. In fact, the study found out that the data collected is mainly used to come up with publications by these ethnic community archives. The oral history and traditions are not archived but remain in members' computers. Proper archiving of the oral history and traditions collected was found to be wanting. Even the professionally-run community museums such as the BaTonga which uses oral history to come up with some of their exhibitions also neglected that aspect of archiving the oral testimonies and traditions. It may appear that in Zimbabwe oral history archiving is playing second fiddle to curatorship and publishing. This may be due to the fact that in their organisational structures they do not have the post of an archivist. This brought to the fore the general observation that most community archives define their space as an archive by their own definitions, though many assure that they possess archival holdings (Wagner and Bischoff 2017:160). However, there are a few exceptions to that as is the case with Mafela Trust which has managed to grasp the concept of oral history archiving. They have a tangible archive which consists of processed oral history holdings.

Across the border in South Africa the story changes as the community archives are fully engaged with this concept of archiving their oral history and traditions as noted by Ngoepe (2017:12) who argued that there are a number of best-practice community archives in South Africa even though they are operating in fragmented silos. For

example, the successful implementation of digital archives for the Royal Bafokeng community in the North West province of South Africa in which the elderly community members who could orate the memories were used as sources of information on the history of the Bafokeng tribe (Ngoepe 2017:12). After collecting the history, the products were digitised and made available online (Ngoepe 2017:12). The other best practice of community archives is the documentation of heritage in Makgabeng, a village in the Limpopo province of South Africa and the other ones are in the Free State Province (Ngoepe 2017:13). Ngoepe (2017:13) then suggested that "archives repositories in South Africa should identify such projects and include them in the national register for accessibility to a wider audience". In addition to that, "in the case where community-based organisations are unable to preserve such archives, the municipal or provincial archives can manage such archives based on the terms and conditions that are negotiated by both parties" (Ngoepe 2017:13).

Even their names have the term 'archive', for example the GALA, JDAP and the Bafokeng Digital Archive just to mention but a few. Such an awareness of community oral history can partly be attributed to the role of South African universities who seem, from time immemorial, to have embraced this concept by coming up with community oral history projects. Examples include the Witwatersrand University (Witwatersrand Historical Papers) where GALA was born, Western Cape Oral History Project which was under the University of Cape Town, Witwatersrand History Project, University of Natal oral history programme which targeted domestic lives and social, political and cultural activities of isiZulu-speaking people in Durban, Alan Paton and Sinomlando centres at the University of KwaZulu Natal just to mention but a few. This may have laid a strong foundation for oral history methodology to flourish in South Africa hence such statements by Klopfer (2001:100) that oral history in South Africa is experiencing an upsurge initiated by community and academic groups and embraced by the new government. This oral history development in South Africa is not found in Zimbabwe and this is worsened by the fact that some of the national universities do not even have archival centres with the exception of Midlands State University.

Most of the oral history programmes initiated by community archives in South Africa and Zimbabwe target those marginalised and neglected histories. For example, GALA

(2016) website talks of having “commissioned an oral history project which will capture the narratives of Queer and LGBTIQ students, many of whom felt they were increasingly excluded during the 2015/16#FeesMustFall protests as a result of hetero patriarchy…”Another programme mentioned in the GALA (2016) website is that of documenting the stories of the GALA youth which the institution felt did not have much on them throughout the region. The participant from GALA added that other oral history projects they are involved in are the Holy Trinity Church which involves a group of LGBTIQ migrants who have a group that meets at the Holy Trinity Catholic Church in Braamfontein – their stories as queer migrants in Johannesburg and their relationship with the Church are then being documented. It should be noted that some of these oral history programmes are addressing contemporary challenges. Their oral history discourse is not based on pre-independence stories alone but it is also contemporary. However, with JDAP it is acting as a digital platform which brings the Jewish community together despite their social class in a virtual space to share their stories and heritage.

What comes from this analysis is that community archives are able to embark on specific programmes which are tailored to address specific problems. Their constituencies are manageable in terms of size and they have the advantage of sharing the same interests. This is unlike the mainstream national archives or museums that have large diverse constituencies which have diverse interests and a burden of being politically correct. In other words, community archives are well placed to address the fundamental inquisitiveness of human nature which is identity. This was well put by Feng (2017:98-99) whose study is influenced by migrant archives in China who averred that:

> The question of identity is one that we all wonder about and continue to ask in one form or another throughout our lives. Ever since birth, human beings ask “Who am I?”, “How is my identity formed?”, “What is the value of my being?” and so on. Social transformation constantly changes the status and significance of these types of questions, yet never eliminates them.

This is the fundamental question as data has revealed that community archives have striven to address when conducting their oral history programmes, the question of

identity. However, the “overarching emphasis on questions of identity can distract community institutions from pragmatic evaluations of sustainable practice and can inadvertently mire archivists in a marginalising rhetoric that blurs the issues at hand” (Paschild 2012:125). This can be seen in some of the community archives which are cases in this study which show that basic tenets of proper preservation were ignored as the following section shows.

5.4.5 Preservation

Newman’s (2012:6) research on community archives in New Zealand revealed that “three out of the four community archives studied did not have adequate premises, materials or practices to ensure the preservation of the archives in their custody”. This was also a common trend in the community archives in this study as most of the community archives in Zimbabwe did not even have offices to operate in with the exception to some extent of GALA, JDAP, Mafela Trust and BaTonga Community Museum. This exception may be due to the fact that these community archives with relatively better preservation techniques are manned by professional archivists or curators. They also have the support of mainstream archival or museum institutions or universities. For example, JDAP has the support of South African Jewish Museum (SAJM) and it is more of a participative virtual archive, Mafela Trust’s collection is preserved and digitised by SAHA, BaTonga Community Museum is under the supervision of the NMMZ and even though GALA is independent of Witwatersrand University it is, to some extent, assisted by the university in terms of space and grants.

Newman (2012:6), noting that preservation challenges especially the issue of storage is mainly caused by lack of funding, encouraged the community archives to form synergies by arguing that:

> If funding cannot be obtained to provide the appropriate preservation conditions, collaborative arrangements which would allow sharing of facilities and services should be strongly encouraged and facilitated. These could include joining with other community archives or cultural institutions in their area, negotiating to occupy space which already meets requirements within

established facilities such as local authorities or museums, or transferring collections to another appropriate repository. The last two options could include retaining a degree of control or involvement with the collections.

Those community archives without support from mainstream institutions were found to be struggling in terms of preserving their archival collections and most of them are in rural set ups and do not have archivists in their midst. Oral history collections were being preserved on personal computers without back-up. This is worsened by the invisibility of national and provincial archives within these communities as the study has found out, a scenario which was described by Setumu (2015:34) who explained that communities in rural, peripheral areas in the countryside rarely get involved in the mainstream archiving and record-keeping systems throughout the world because they are probably poor and less educated or underdeveloped.

5.4.6 Funding in community archives

The importance of funding in community archives is seen in Jule's (2018) statement: "that money, labour and time have always been identified as the main barriers to progress, whether it is for safe preservation, keeping the building open, hiring staff, maintaining and growing the collections, doing preservation or outreach, or providing broader access to materials". Yet there exists no comprehensive understanding of the history or current landscape of funding models for community-based archives (Jules 2018).

Unpredictable funding, technological limitations and understaffed spaces are some of the challenges mentioned by Wagner and Bischoff (2017:167) as being faced by rural community archives. Unpredictable or limited funding is not only affecting rural community archives but also almost all community archives despite their geographical locations. In this study almost all participants cited funding as a perennial challenge. This becomes an untenable situation because in most cases "funding is shown to be key to maintenance of the factors which contribute to sustainability of community archives … money purchases skilled labour, preservation and other essential

requirements for archives maintenance" (Newman 2012:5). The funding models in these community archives are mainly centred on specific projects meaning that the funds they are able to secure do not cover the daily expenses of running an archive. This was also observed by Caswell and Jules (2017:12) when they averred that:

> While large federal agencies and private foundations offer some support for digitization projects, there is little or no funding available for basic organizational upkeep such as staff support or physical infrastructure. When funding is available, it is often diverted to larger organizations with larger budgets and track records of getting large grants, further impoverishing already strapped organizations.

As highlighted in this study almost all community archives are struggling with funding issues. All participants, with the exception of JDAP, cited lack of funding as one of their challenges. Further research on these institutions revealed that they rely mostly on donor funding and some of them get their funds from foreign donors. The participant from GALA said that they rely mainly on foreign donor funding. The growth of the BaTonga Museum can be attributed to the funding they got from MS Danish Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO). The Nambya Museum was also earmarked to get the same funding but because of the fact that it was established later and the donor pulled out of Zimbabwe in 2008, this meant that they did not benefit much and project came to a standstill. Over reliance on donor funding is clear evidence of weakness and it shows that sometimes it is not sustainable and in the long run can create dependency syndrome. However, there is glimmer of hope in the sense that some of the community archives in Zimbabwe are getting substantial financial support from local governments such as Binga and Chiredzi District Councils for the BaTonga Community Museum and Gaza Trust respectively. Central governments are not contributing anything much in terms of supporting community archives, a situation that is not only unique to Zimbabwe and South Africa but also even the United States of America. Caswell, Gabiola, Brilmyer, Zavala and Tai (2018:7) have averred that:

> Despite the importance of community archives, foundations and government agencies have largely ignored this sector in the U.S., due to priorities and policies that favour large, dominant, predominantly white institutions over small,

> local, archives coalescing around marginalised identities. Community archives often lack the time and capacity to meet the bureaucratic demands of funding agencies, including mechanisms to access their value and measure their impact.

It is clear from the data collected that local municipalities/authorities or district rural councils are better placed to provide financial or infrastructural support to community archives in their localities. This can simply be explained by the fact that local authorities/councils are closer to people and in most cases those in charge of them are the people from the same communities, a notion promoted by Ngoepe (2017:12) who argued that "furthermore, the creation of a new, all-inclusive archival model could include the following: establishment of the municipal archives services that bring services closer to the people as municipalities are the coal face of service delivery, redefining a "public record" to include records generated by traditional authorities". This strategic position of local councils is not only unique to Zimbabwe and South Africa but is becoming a world phenomenon as pointed out by National Archives (2015:1) who argued that local authorities in United Kingdom "make up the backbone of the country's network of archives – more than 125 local authorities run an archive service [and these] are mainly a source of local history expertise through which they tell the story of the development of their local communities".

Jules (2018) proposed a funding model that she claimed would support sustainability versus dependency. The following are its principles:

1. Funding should go directly to community-based archives not to third parties such as heritage mainstream institutions or universities.
2. Funding should not be restricted from supporting the operations or administrative needs of community-based archives. Grant makers can fully support the commitment and labour of the people who work in these spaces. That would be a key aspect helping to ensure sustainability.
3. Jules (2018) argued that:

> > It must be recognised that academic institutions have historically presented Eurocentric, extractive, and systemically racist approaches to

scholarship and research, amounting to historical trauma of the very communities these institutions now seek to engage. We must resist these ideas. Therefore, we believe libraries, archives/special collections or museums based at academic institutions can support and collaborate on this work, but they are seldom suited to lead this work. Instead, grant funders should seek partnerships led by trusted community organisations or community based archives.

4. To design sustainable funding models, Jules (2018) proposed that grant "makers can continue to listen to people who work in or with community based archives, including archivists and scholars who work with communities in collaborative and inclusive ways, local community members who can advocate for these spaces…"
5. Cultural heritage sector grant makers should prioritize investment in community based archives through dedicated funds and named priority area [which would be a way of generating ideas and proposals from the community]
6. Major support for community based archives can also be structured in a way where significant pool of money, perhaps a "community archive fund", is set aside for direct support or re-granting. This would certainly make a strong statement that grant makers are committed to a sustainability, and not a dependency approach to supporting community based archives (Jules 2018).

In addition to these suggestions by Jules regarding funding models for the community archives, there is need for community within itself to mobilise its own funds. The approach of inside-rather than outside-looking for community funding model should be adopted. Some community archives have large constituencies especially those organised along ethnic and sexual. Lines. For example, in Zimbabwe the KLCDA represents one of the largest ethnic groups in Matabeleland and by virtue of their large population, some of the Kalanga people are in very influential positions in all sections of life. It is, therefore, very feasible that such community can mobilise itself and crowdsource resources without involving external donors. A good example of this is the BaVenda Community Centre in Beitbridge as pointed out by one participant who said that they have funded the establishment and running of their cultural institution through local resources. This calls for community engagement which is one of the pivots of sustainability of community archives. This responsibility should go beyond

the executive and the members of the community archive to include all the community members. Volunteer involvement is both an important mechanism and an indicator of community engagement and also a 'friends' group can be a powerful means of connecting with the community and building support which includes finances (Newman 2012:7).

5.5 Access to oral history holdings of mainstream and community archives

Access to archival holdings is one of the cornerstones of proper archival management. Win (2015:7) argued that access is a product of both physical and intellectual availability, reflecting the ability of researchers to find and explore records both in person and online and this is usually achieved through the existence of finding aids and inventories and there should be no excessive restrictions as this would defeat the whole purpose of access. Win (2015) further averred that the common barriers to access are lack of description, language and distance especially for the users who regard the materials as their cultural patrimony and so view it unfavourable for the creators and originating community members to be excluded from access at the expense of other user groups.

It is from this background that community, including mainstream archives, should strive to provide access to their holdings. However, this is difficult as was seen in this study. Most of the community archives in Zimbabwe in this study did not have finding aids and most of their digital collection was scattered in different personal computers meaning that there is no physical and intellectual control over their archival holdings. If they send their material to mainstream heritage institutions, they run the risk of having their collections lose their contextual or provenance relevance and most of them were not keen to do that. The result would be that the material would not be researched on as was seen at both NAZ and NARS.

This is worsened by the fact which arose from the data collected that in general, researchers seem to be less interested in oral history archives. This can be explained by the politics surrounding the production of knowledge. African production of

knowledge has always been oral before colonisation. However, with colonisation and its western way of knowledge production which is based on writing and the relegation of the African knowledge production to the fringes, and it being despised by the colonisers meant the Africans were taught to hate themselves. Africans began to desire to adopt western ways including the admiration of western knowledge systems, their religion and other lifestyle, a process that Franz Fanon called lactification (Fanon 1952:30). Borrowing from Fanon's idea, Enberg (2011:1) stated that "the concept of lactification of consciousness assumes that to be 'white' is to be good and moral, intelligent and successful, beautiful and dignified and in every way the superior race, whereas to be 'black' is to be amoral, ignorant, child-like, ugly and callous: inferior in every way to the 'white' race…" It then comes as no surprise that those archived oral histories and traditions have low uptake when it comes to the frequency of their access. This then calls for the decolonisation of the archive and that process should entail the promotion of community centres or 'archives' documenting their stories and oral traditions and providing access to their holdings in a contextual or local provenance setup.

It was found that access to oral history collection housed by NAZ and NARS was very limited as the participants said. Where it was marginally better it was being accessed by academics and students not the minority groups. At BARC one of the provincial archives of NAZ, content analysis of the researcher's inquiry forms as shown in Table 4.3 revealed that those researchers who came to BARC to use oral sources between the years of 2006 to 2017 are just sixteen (16) out of eight hundred and fifteen. In percentage terms, it means only a very low usage of two percent of the researchers who visited BARC in the mentioned years used oral sources which were collected from the field by the institution. However, there are other oral sources which were collected by colonial district administrators such as Mr Latham and compiled as delineation reports. These delineation reports are mainly used to solve chieftainship disputes as they trace the family trees of Zimbabwe traditional chiefs. Therefore, in the year of 2006 to 2017, thirty-eight (38) researchers out of eight hundred and fifteen (815) researched on these sources of information. So if we add these with other 16 researchers who used oral sources we get a total of 54 researchers and a percentage of seven percent.

In brief it can be said that most sources of information consulted at BARC by researchers are archives and library material. This amounts to 93 percent of researchers between the years of 2006 to 2017 requesting for the use of archives and library material. Concerning the oral history sources it only amounted to seven percent. This clearly shows that oral sources are being shunned by researchers or they are just ignorant about them. This is despite the value of these sources as they cover such areas as: Indigenous knowledge systems including culture and traditions of the ethnic groups mostly found in the western regions of Zimbabwe; family trees of some traditional leaders such as chiefs and headmen; the role played by Christian churches during the liberation struggle; the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe including trade unionism in its very early years; Ngwali/Mwari oracle in Njelele and other related areas such as Dula; land disputes for example in Kezi; oral testimonies of prominent politicians such as Masotsha Ndlovu and Thenjiwe Lesabe and colonial administrators such as Ashton; description of the type of earliest Bulawayo urban life; ethnicity and songs of the liberation struggle.

In South Africa the participant from NARS clearly stated that their oral history collection is underutilised giving an estimate that in ten research inquiries only two would be in oral history. This is supported by literature review that argued that:

> Unfortunately, oral history products are often under-utilised or tucked away in a dark archive, accessible only to researchers, as is the case with the National Film, Video and Sound Archives (NFVSA). The oral history that has been captured since early 2000s is tucked away in tapes in the boxes at the NFVSA with no one to access them or being aware of their existence (Ngoepe 2017:9).

Reading through Lekgoathi (2009:75) also revealed that the Van Warmelo's oral archive which yielded several hundred manuscripts (a total of 11, 535 pages) that contain richly textured accounts of local traditions and histories collected from 1930s, have so far not been utilised by historians and other scholars…".

It is interesting to note that the colonial oral archive in the form of Van Warmelo's holdings at NARS and the colonial delineation reports at NAZ are now being used by

the blacks in solving chieftainship disputes. This is very much so in Zimbabwe where most of the researched on, oral archives are delineation reports (traditional chief's family trees) which were compiled by colonial district administrators. In South Africa, the same situation is prevailing as noted by Lekgoathi (2009:75) when he argued that the Van Warmelo's oral archive is also being used to fulfil "ambitions of Africans engaged in struggles over chieftainship to claim scientific support for their desires". Lekgoathi (2009:65) further argued that:

> Conflicts among the Ndebele [Transvaal Ndebele in South Africa not the Zimbabwean Ndebeles'] over succession were both a cause and effect of the co-optation and conversion of African chiefs, through the Native Administration Act of 1927, into salaried officials and administrative factotums of the segregationist state. Succession disputes, according to Hammond-Tooke, were the principal component of the Ethnological Section's work.

Therefore, Van Warmelo's oral archive became a 'Bible' in solving chieftainship disputes as it was the case with delineation reports in Zimbabwe.

This is despite the availability of NAROS which is a commendable approach in showing the South Africans and the world what oral history programmes have been done and where they can be accessed. Those who may want to use NAROS would find it very helpful as it is an online finding aid that can be accessed anyway in the world. In NAZ the system is still yet to automate, presenting difficulties in access to oral history because it takes some time for a researcher to get to know what the oral history archive is holding. Similar sentiments are echoed by Ngulube, Sibanda and Makoni (2013:134) who bemoaned the status quo by stating that ICT's were not used effectively in the provision of access to archives at NAZ and that the finding aids available at BARC were incomplete and were not compiled according to any international standard. In addition to that, Moyo (2007:166) said in general, cataloguing and indexing of oral history has received scant attention and this, combined with backlog in transcribing meant access was compromised.

In both NAZ and NARS even those oral history records that are accessed are mainly by the academics and other researchers and not the minority groups from their local

communities. This is a case of the national archives favouring the elites in society to acquire knowledge at the expense of grassroots population. When it comes to such archives as SAHA and Sinomlando which definitely are not community archives, access is a bit improved. At SAHA the archives including oral history are digitised and most of them are available online and they can be accessed anywhere in the world, what one needs to do is to register and then log in.

Concerning the adoption of ICTs and the use of social media, Denison and Ruge (2017) used affordance theory to describe the importance of social media in cultural institutions in the following manner: Promoting events, services and collections; engaging audiences; broadening and diversifying audiences; establishing a brand or identity; curating exhibitions online; encouraging multiple voices to enhance curation; enhancing collections; feedback and research; industry networking. These are the advantages that give the edge to mainstream and community archives that effectively and efficiently use ICTs and social media. However, in this study all the community archives in Zimbabwe did not have a website and only two used social media in the form of a Facebook and Twitter. In South Africa, both cases have developed usage of ICTs and social media with JDAP having adopted online digital curating. The lesser use of social media by some community archives in this study can be explained by the findings of Denison and Ruge (2017) that stated that:

> In general, community archives were found to be making substantially less use of social media than larger institutions. This is because larger institutions tend to have far greater resources in terms of staff, funding, technological infrastructure, as well as digitisation and social media marketing expertise. Community archives are constrained by having limited funding, limited access to the technology and expertise required for digitisation and social media marketing, and a reliance on volunteers.

Despite a cocktail of social media platforms that can be used by community archives, in this study, a trend that seems to be taking place is that those who are on social media often use Facebook. There was no community archive in this study that was using all social media platforms like Twitter, Facebook, Pinterest, Instagram, Flickr and

LinkedIn. This may be explained by the following observation made by Ruge and Denison (2017) in their study in Australia that:

> The majority of Australian historical societies appear to be using Facebook. In many cases it is the only form of social media being used. Some interviewees suggested that Facebook is the convenient platform because of the ease and speed of uploading and sharing images. Its popularity and widespread use makes it an obvious choice, with many interviewees expressing doubt that they could attract the same audience numbers on platforms such as Twitter or Pinterest. One of the interviewee noted that the organisation has experienced greater difficulty with engaging the Twitter audience than with Facebook, as they had not yet obtained a substantial number of followers or retweets, and had generated little discussion on their Twitter feed.

These models of social platform archiving can be adopted by community archives which are financially struggling to come up with physical archiving spaces because one of the great advantages of such a model is that:

> In addition to being a less costly and less resource-intensive option for creating and maintaining digital image collections, storing images on social media platforms brings the added benefit of enabling users to easily like and share them. This results in the circulation of the images throughout their own social networks and thus exposing the institution's collection material to new groups of users (Ruge and Denison 2017).

One of the models of curating which is to a lesser extent gaining some ground in South Africa is that of online archiving on institutional websites vis-à-vis traditional physical space archives. In this study, this was seen in JDAP. One of its curators Bloch (2017) described it as:

> An online repository that captures the story of Southern African Jewry over the past century in all its complexity. Thousands of images and videos have been meticulously gathered from hundreds of families around Southern Africa and the world. The archive also comprises personal narratives and special

> collections linked to organisations, local communities, and events - carefully curated and regularly updated. JDAP seeks a multiplicity of perspectives on a past that is constantly informing our present.

These online repositories are slowly having a footprint in the archival space of South Africa. Some of the examples are the Bafokeng Digital Archive and the Ulwazi Programme. Zimbabwe is yet to be felt in that online digital archival space. These stand-alone bespoke online digital archiving models as seen at JDAP need a bit of expertise compared to those which ride on social media platforms. “Obtaining equipment such as scanners and storage devices, setting up Web hosting services, the digitisation process itself, as well as database management and web publishing, can be costly to community organisations” (Ruge and Denison 2017) especially those that lack expertise and funds. The other disadvantage is that by contrast, standalone digital image collections posted on the website may not be easily available to researchers if users are not actively and intentionally searching for them, or if the navigation is too complex (Baggett and Gibbs 2014). This then calls for those community archives with stand-alone bespoke websites to also use social media platforms. Such an approach or combined model is being used by JDAP as seen in this study where one of the participants said “we have developed a website which houses our material and regularly update our Facebook site”. It is suggested then that those community archives in Zimbabwe that are struggling to come up with their physical archives can use social media platforms in a high quality manner to document their histories and IKS including oral traditions whilst working on coming up with archival infrastructure and their own stand-alone institutional websites.

5.6 Embracing community archiving by the mainstream archives

There are different collaboration activities being engaged in by the community archives in this study. The literature revealed different types of collaboration some of which are summarised by Newman (2012:6) in the form of partnering with similar collecting institutions, or with different organisations with an interest in community archives and “the scope could range from sharing premises, to arrangements for digital archive

storage, sharing archival expertise and collecting strategies, or support from commercial or non-profit organisations".

In regard to GALA, the participant said they have good relationships with universities and SAHA but not with NARS. The participant from GALA further added that:

> as long as GALA is able to sustain itself we would like to remain independent, as we are not only an archive, we also conduct oral histories, curate exhibitions, publish books and conduct education and youth programs and workshops. We feel these other important areas would be lost if we were to send our material to national archives, and also that the material might not be dealt with the sensitivity it needs. There is also the concern that new material would not be added. GALA also has a library which acts as a community space, a safe space for LGBTIQ people, mostly students and youth from surrounding areas. Again, if we were to merge with another archive, this would be lost.

This idea of trying by all means to remain independent and shun collaboration can be explained by one of the characteristics of community archives of having strong insularity tendencies (Newman 2012:6).

The JDAP stated that "we have good relationships with mainstream archives. We have recently joined up with The Archival and Public Culture Network at UCT to help bring our archive to international archival standards using the latest archival software". The participant from JDAP added that "when appropriate, specific collections are sent to archives such as Special Collections at UCT or The Cape Town Holocaust and Genocide Centre. This depends on the content and condition of the material we receive". These two examples in South Africa, although being representative of the whole South Africa, show that there appears to be a trend towards community archives being more collaborating with universities and private mainstream archives such as SAHA. That collaboration with NARS seems not to be there.

When it comes to community archives under this study in Zimbabwe, it can be said that there is no collaboration with NAZ as was also seen in NARS. The NAZ has collected oral history from minority groups, especially those of ethnic biases but it has

done so for the sake of its own collection. This was confirmed by all the participants at NAZ and it was clear that the institution's policy is continuing with the identification of more minority communities such as independent churches of African origin and documenting their histories but, there is no policy on concrete collaboration or partnering with those minority groups in sprucing or coming up with their community archives. However, the recent community archiving project in which NAZ partnered with Arcturus High School in Goromonzi district, Mashonaland East Province, to document the history of the school and the surrounding areas is a great achievement and an exception that speaks to the realisation by the Department of the need to change elite archiving.

Another oral history project of interest is that recently in the 2017 Archives Day, the NAZ launched the Family Tree Project in which family trees of ordinary people were compiled (NAZ 2017:1-34). This was done after noting that the Zimbabwean archive has more of elites such as chiefs and politicians rather than the ordinary people. So even though the participants were claiming that there is not enough collaboration between NAZ and undocumented communities, this proved otherwise. Nevertheless, the modus operandi of community archiving promoted by NAZ is that the institution is the one doing almost all the documentation. Again, it is a situation whereby the targeted communities are more of informants than anything else. For example, in the Arcturus school programme, the NAZ Newsletter (2019:2) revealed that the NAZ is doing almost every archiving process, a situation that is likely to be unsustainable in the long run because it lacks local initiative and independence which are the core characteristics of 'successful' oral history community archives like the BaTonga Museum.

What is coming up from the data collected is that these community archives or museums are mainly collaborating with some local universities such as the University of Zimbabwe, Great Zimbabwe University, Midlands State University and regional universities such as Stellenbosch on issues of language development rather than archiving or curatorship. This was clearly seen with TSDT.

This lack of collaboration with community archives or museums in Zimbabwe may be explained by the fact that the concept itself is yet to develop compared to South Africa. The universities in Zimbabwe are yet to have specifically meant archival units with the exception of Midlands State University. The two universities in Zimbabwe that are offering records and archives management degree, which is NUST and Zimbabwe Open University (ZOU), are yet to have an archival unit which is meant to manage university records. Unlike their counterparts in South Africa, this goes to show how ill-prepared the state universities in Zimbabwe are in terms of assisting in the development of community archives.

It can be safely said that community archiving is still an alien concept to mainstream institutions such as NAZ, universities and non-state bodies with the exception of NMMZ which has under its wings the BaTonga Community and Nambya museums. Such an analysis is supported by Tough (2009) who draws comparisons between South Africa and other countries, and averred that in South Africa, non-state institutions are active in the field of archival endeavour which is very rare further north of Limpopo such as in Zimbabwe. The literature reviewed also supported Tough's assertion because oral history in South Africa has been used widely as is seen by the mushrooming of many community archives (Klopfer 2001:100). The methodological issues of oral history and memory have also been interrogated more thoroughly than in the countries in the north of the Limpopo. It is interesting to note that some community archives in Zimbabwe which are politically and socially divergent from the ethos of the ruling regime, for example, the Mafela Trust and GALZ have found solace in South Africa's mainstream private archives such as SAHA and community archives like GALA respectively. These can be symbolically viewed as endangered 'refugee archives' seeking political asylum in 'safer' countries such as South Africa.

Maybe it should be accepted to some extent that to expect collaboration between community and mainstream heritage institutions is a contradiction of some sort because "the existence of many local and identity-focused community archives is rooted in dissatisfaction with existing archival provision and constitute a critical,

historically located, and contestatory intervention into mainstream heritage narratives" (Flinn 2015:146).

5.7 Summary

The governments of both countries in Zimbabwe and South Africa were noted to have an influence on what can be documented by virtue of the fact that national archives fall directly under the central government. That influence led the national archives to document those stories that legitimate the ruling parties' governments at the expense of other political parties and minority groups. The springing up of community archives was seen as a way of showing discontent with national mainstream archives were conducting their programmes. However, a different picture emerged from private archives such as Sinomlando and SAHA which were more inclusive in their approach since they were documenting different types of minority groups and in the process coming up with innovative and creative ways of documenting or collecting oral history and traditions.

It was again noted that the governance system in Zimbabwe and South Africa is having an impact in archiving including oral history collections. In Zimbabwe the centralised governance system has led to the neglect of minority communities who are mostly staying in rural areas outside the capital city. In South Africa the devolved national archive system has tried to address the problem of exclusivity when it comes to minority groups as their archive is more dispersed as compared to Zimbabwe. However, it was going to be much better if South Africa adopted the full devolution system not the current one which some scholars call the 'quasi devolution' which was a result of compromises made during the Convention for Democratic South Africa (CODESA) negotiations. Because of this quasi devolution system, it means the provincial archives would always play second fiddle to the NARS (NARS which remained central while provincial centres were devolved) and hence remain empty shells. The centralised organisational structure at NAZ has negatively affected the documentation of archival services in provincial centres. Other factors like lack of project management skills, unwillingness of the minority groups to cooperate, funding

challenges and the manipulation of the per-diem system were a hindrance to the documentation of the ‘other’.

The formation of community archives or oral history programmes by minority groups was found to be driven by the desire for asserting self-identity. Their archiving was associated with activism as they also ventured into programmes that were meant to emancipate them from other ills such as the exclusion of their languages from the curricula. The concept of community archiving was found to be more developed in South Africa than in Zimbabwe, basic examples being that of GALA and JDAP which were managed by archivists; a situation which was not taking place in Zimbabwe. In terms of collaboration with national archives, it was found that the community archives in both countries were collaborating more with universities and museums than the national archives. Most of the community archives also preferred to preserve their own collections than to send them to national archives. The following Chapter Six summarised, made conclusions and recommended.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter interpreted the results of the study. This chapter presents a summary of the study. In addition to that, conclusions are drawn and recommendations proposed, the purpose being to "tie together, or to integrate the various issues, research … covered in the body of the thesis; and to make comments upon the meaning of all of it" (Assan 2006:1). The summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study are anchored on research objectives and questions which mainly were to find out how efficient and effective were NAZ and NARS in conducting their oral history programmes when it came to minority groups and their community archives.

6.2 Summary of research findings

The study critically evaluated the national archival system's approach to oral history programmes on minority groups in Zimbabwe and South Africa with a view to developing a framework to integrate community archives into national archival system. For this aim to be achieved the study was contextualised in a relevant theoretical framework of the power of elitism which showed the dynamics of power in how oral history was being used by mainstream heritage institutions and the marginalised minority groups to document their histories. The study further revealed the challenges faced by both mainstream and community archives in their documentation initiatives. Therefore, the summary of research findings are presented around each research objective of this study.

6.2.1 Oral history methodologies, strategies and approaches used by national and other mainstream archival institutions in Zimbabwe and South Africa

The role of Zimbabwe and South Africa's governments in the documentation of oral history was seen to be active in this research. The study revealed that both the governments of Zimbabwe and South Africa have constitutionally mandated departments in the form of national archives that are documenting the oral histories of the once marginalised black people. Both countries, after independence embarked on massive oral history programmes after noting that the previous regimes were not paying much attention to the histories of black people and the other marginalised groups.

The Government of Zimbabwe through its NAZ saw such programmes as 'Capturing the Fading Memory' which targeted the liberation testimonies being introduced. The South African Government through its cabinet initiated the creation of NOHP and OHASA which under NARS became the vehicles of collecting the oral histories of the once marginalised black community. In both archival institutions the governments of both Zimbabwe and South Africa were funding some of these oral history programmes. The politicians were seen as having influence in some of these programmes, for example as being guest speakers in OHASA conferences. Also in OHASA conferences, the programmes were tailored along national government themes of nation's memorialisation, for example, if a certain year is dedicated to Oliver Tambo, the NARS and OHASA would also follow the same national theme.

The research findings also revealed that the documentation of the African liberation struggle took centre stage and the stories which were documented were mainly those of the parties that formed new governments after independence at the expense of the other liberation parties. For example, research findings exposed that the dominating stories are those of the ruling parties, that is, ZANU PF in Zimbabwe and ANC in South Africa. There is nothing much on other liberation parties who did not come to power after independence such as the ZAPU/ZPRA in Zimbabwe and PAC in South Africa. The oral liberation war archive became the most favoured compared to other oral history initiatives that could have been conducted such as the histories of the minority ethnic groups. Even though some programmes targeting minority ethnic groups such as 'One Nation One Zimbabwe' were introduced, this was still a far cry to the balanced

documentation of the nation's history. The community archives or museums such as the Nambya museum were found to be under-funded by the government of Zimbabwe.

The research objective on oral history methodologies, strategies and approaches by NAZ and NARS revealed findings that showed a diversified and devolved archival system in South Africa. In Zimbabwe the findings revealed a centralised and monopolised oral history archival system. The participants at NAZ especially in the provinces expressed that there are no posts for oral historians in their stations as these are only found in Harare. The results of this as participants said is that very minimal oral history programmes are done since this unit is mainly centralised in the Head Office in Harare. The participants indicated again that the unavailability of audio visual section in the provinces meant that oral history audios collected from local communities are sent to the NAZ head office in Harare thereby making it difficult to be accessed.

The participants believed that it is only the mandate of NAZ to collect the nations' history including oral testimonies and traditions. This was in contrast with South Africa where the data revealed the 'independence' of provincial archives which is derived from the National Archives Act of South Africa. Also the participants interviewed made note of other players involved in the documentation of South African history such as the tertiary institutions and private archives.

On oral history methodologies the findings indicated that both NAZ and NARS were using top-down approach as the participants said they identified communities to document and then approached them for their oral histories. The participants said there was minimal participation of local communities except just being informants.

6.2.2 Factors hindering and enabling NAZ and NARS in documenting the oral history of the minority groups

The major challenges faced by NAZ and NARS in documenting oral history and traditions of the minority groups can be grouped into the unavailability of project

management skills, hence, Harris (2015) and Ngoepe (2019) indicated that there are undertaken in a manner that is problematic. The participants mentioned a plethora of challenges they faced including time constraints, bad weather and manpower among others. All these challenges showed that the archivists were simply lacking project management skills.

Another factor which deserves special attention which was found to be a major hindrance in documenting oral histories and traditions of the minority groups was the unwillingness of them to be part of mainstream national archives' programmes. The participants from both Zimbabwe and South Africa cited examples to that effect. In South Africa some of the examples mentioned are those of the ex-members of the 32 Battalion. In Zimbabwe ex-ZPRA forces were mentioned. One of the participant clearly stated that the minority groups were normally hesitant to open up to strangers.

The abuse of per diem system, a malpractice which is now common in Zimbabwe and in Africa as a whole, a practice which is taken for granted to the extent of it being viewed as normal, worsened by the struggling Zimbabwean economy was also found to be a serious contributing factor in the failure of some of the oral history programmes at the NAZ.

Another hindrance in documenting oral history programmes for the minority groups was that funding from the national treasuries of both countries was found not to be adequate and this was worsened by the fact that other options of securing funds were not being prioritised. However, it was a different story with private mainstream archives such as SAHA and Sinomlando who rely heavily on donor funding. It was noted that they came up with creative and vibrant oral history programmes which catered for diverse minority groups. It was then assumed that maybe one of the reasons amongst many is that since they relied on mainly competitive donor funding, that became a motivation of crafting unique and creative oral history projects that can get funding. Such motivation was found to be lacking in mainstream national archives such as in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

6.2.3 Community oral history programmes

One of the research objectives of this study was to analyse a few purposively selected oral history programmes which were initiated and run by the local communities both in Zimbabwe and South Africa. The identified oral history programmes were the BaTonga Museum, Nambya Museum, KLCDA, Gaza Trust, TSDT, Mafela Trust, JDAP and GALA. From their analysis the research findings revealed how politics of identity especially in terms of ethnicity and sexuality were the driving forces behind their formation. The data collected indicated that most of these community archives felt that their histories were being ignored by mainstream archival institutions including the governments hence their formation. In line with this it was revealed by some participants that they faced interrogation from security apparatus who seemed to be uncomfortable with some of these community archives.

It was noted that these community groups call themselves in different identity labels. Others view their groupings as museums, language associations and trusts. Very few call themselves community archives even though some of their objectives are archiving. Some of the community museums were found to be operating under the guidance of mainstream heritage institutions for example the BaTonga and Nambya museums. These are under NMMZ bringing to question their independence. The research findings have shown that there was a vibrant and productive collaboration between some community archives such as the Gaza Trust and BaTonga Museum with Chiredzi and Binga rural district councils respectively. Some of their budgetary needs were met by these rural district councils.

The other finding which came out from data collection is that these community archives took a form of activism as they did not only concern themselves with archiving but campaigned for other issues including human rights. Issues on curriculum changes and Constitution's translation were addressed by community archives in Zimbabwe. GALA in South Africa went beyond archiving as it addressed other pertinent contemporary challenges faced by the LGBTQ communities.

The research findings on the organisational structures of community archives exposed manpower shortages. Most participants mentioned that they were operating on a shoe string budget making it difficult for them to budget for their administrative needs. It was observed that in some of the community archives there was overbearing dominance of one specific individual on organisational issues to the extent that without them that community archive would be non-existent, making them unsustainable.

The research findings pointed out that most of the community archives were not representative of homogenous groups. Some of the ethnic community archives were found out to be having challenges in naming their institutions because other ethnic groups felt to be left out in the used names. The research findings revealed that as raising the question of tribalism in the context of nationalism in ethnic community archives. Also the research findings pointed out that in some community archives such as GALA there was need to use oral history to collect oral testimonies of the black gays and lesbians whose stories were missing, unlike the ones of whites which were available.

The ethnic community archives in Zimbabwe were found to be extensively using oral history to come up with secondary source publications on their history and oral traditions. Even in the museum set ups such as the BaTonga Museum, oral history was being used to produce information that supported exhibitions. This showed that nothing much was done in archiving and preservation of oral histories and traditions as they were just seen as playing second fiddle to exhibitions and second source publications. This is unlike South Africa community archives such as GALA and JDAP which were intentionally archiving oral history.

The research findings revealed that almost all the community archives mentioned funding as one of their major challenges. They did not have specific models of funding than to continue searching and relying on donor funding. Both governments in Zimbabwe and South Africa were stated by the participants as not financially supporting them. Even when they got donor funding, this was meant for specific programmes not for the general day-to-day running expenses. Some of the community

archives did not even have office spaces for their operations. This also affected preservation issues as it was revealed that some of the oral history collections were being kept in personal external hard drives and computers without any processing and back up. The community archives that seemed to be doing comparatively well were those which have some form of support from universities and mainstream museums even though they mentioned some challenges here and there.

6.2.4 Access to oral history holdings of mainstream and community archives

Access to the oral history holdings both at NAZ and NARS was found to be limited. Whilst both institutions have websites which speak to their oral history collection, it was noted that their social media visibility which can be used to promote and market oral history collection was not all that visible.

The use of ICTs and social media were found to be limited in all community archives under study in Zimbabwe. All of them did not have websites except the BaTonga and Nambya Museums which are scantly mentioned in the NMMZ website. The use of social media is seen in few cases such as the KLCDA and Gaza Trust which have Facebook accounts. In South Africa, JDAP has a website which acts like a virtual archive and a Facebook account. The same applies to GALA which has a website and a Facebook account. The findings showed that this affected accessibility of oral history collection in those community archives that were not fully using the ICTs and social media. This is unlike the Royal Bafokeng Digital Archive which the literature revealed has digitised their oral history collection, a positive development in the sense that at NARS some of the oral history collections are stashed in boxes in the National Film, Video and Sounds Archives (Ngoepe 2019).

6.2.5 The concept of community archiving in Zimbabwe and South Africa

In Zimbabwe, the participants mostly thought that the documentation of the nations' history is mainly the prerogative of NAZ only. One of the participant even suggested that the NAZ Act needed to be changed if community archiving is to be embraced. The

NAZ participants said they were familiar with a scenario whereby they are the ones who identify minority groups and then document their stories. Such was the case in the NAZ and Acrturus school partnership community archiving project as the archivists were seen to be doing almost everything in terms of archiving at the expense of the community. It was also, therefore, revealed by the participants that they have conducted a number of oral history programmes that targeted the ethnic minority groups than any other types of minorities.

In South Africa, the participant at NARS took note of the fact that there are many institutions and communities involved in the documentation of the history of the nation and they are willing to collaborate and provide access through NAROS. Furthermore, the participants in some of the community archives such as JDAP and GALA were aware that their institutions were anchored on archiving and they have positions of archivists in their ranks. This was not so in Zimbabwe were most of the community archives did not have the posts of archivists in their ranks except with the BaTonga and Nambya Museums who had professional curators in their midst.

Independence is one of the cornerstones of community archiving. The results have shown that most of the minority groups both in Zimbabwe and South Africa preferred to continue archiving their histories with relatively little interference from the mainstream institutions. They even stated that in terms of their holdings even though they are struggling with preservation infrastructure they would always prefer to retain custody of their collections than to deposit it with mainstream heritage institutions or universities.

6.3 Conclusions on research objectives

The preceding section summarised the findings of the study and now, therefore, conclusions were drawn based on research objectives.

6.3.1 Oral history methodologies, strategies and approaches used by national and other mainstream archival institutions

When both governments got into power after the first democratic elections there was a targeted move to fill in the historical gaps found at NAZ and NARS. Mostly these gaps were being filled by the use of oral history since the repository of African traditions and testimonies is mainly in oral form. South Africa went as far as coming up with an authorised cabinet NOPH policy to that effect. Some of the oral history programmes began to be funded by the government. However, with all these positive intentions this research found out that most of these programmes were mainly targeted at the new black elites. It was their history which was now being recorded, their war exploits taking the centre stage. It is then not surprising that most oral history collection in Zimbabwe is about the war of liberation. It was the story of the now ruling black elites.

The dominant stories being recorded and oral history programmes sponsored were those that perpetuated that triumphalist narrative of liberation movements. Not all liberation movements were recorded but the concentration was mainly on ANC and ZANU PF as the participants mentioned. Liberation parties like PAC and ZAPU were being silenced from the historical narrative as animosities that plagued different political movements during the struggle continued to be played in public even after independence.

This then clearly shows that those minority political parties in terms of the changed power relations were being side-lined and omitted from the national narrative. This omission was directly and indirectly enforced by national archives departments which are usually appendages of ruling parties and not independent but politically influenced by the politicians. The other reason is self-censorship since the archivists would find it hard to document anything which is contrary to the policies of ruling parties.

The conclusions that can be drawn from the oral history methodologies used by both NAZ and NARS are that there are usually top-down. There is no active community engagement and participation as most of the minorities interviewed are mainly seen as the informants and nothing else. This led to a situation where sometimes the interviewees are interviewed in languages foreign to their culture. Passive and active resistance by local minority communities to participate in such oral history

programmes became the result of such an approach. This approach was also seen to be affecting the access of the minority oral history archive as it was noted in both NAZ and NARS that it was underutilised, one of the reason being its contextual geographical and communal removal.

The NAZ and NARS have decentralised and devolved their archival services including oral history. However, NAZ has used the weakest form of decentralisation which is called deconcentration and this type still retains most of the decision power in the centre whilst the outlying and peripheral areas remain playing second fiddle to the head office. This saw provincial centres struggling to document the stories of the minority groups because of the rigidities of bureaucracy as they tried to work with the centre of power in the head office in Harare. This also involved the organisational deficiencies of a highly centralised NAZ structure which does not even have a slot for oral historians in the provinces. NARS, whilst having a 'better' and 'independent' system with its provincial archives managed totally at provincial government level, still struggled with their oral history programmes mainly because of their over-reliance on OHASA. In South Africa the oral history vehicle of OHASA may be indirectly killing the local initiatives because the provincial archives which are closer to local communities and some of the minority groups are part of its system which, even though has clear, principled and minority-focused objectives, is slowly creeping to elitist tendencies as it is focusing more on annual conferences where mainly academics are more involved than local communities. In other words, there is more focus on conferences than oral history projects especially those that target the minority groups. Despite this negative, it should be noted that one of its objectives to promote the usage of oral history in schools and other institutions is being achieved as there is a time dedicated to the learners to make their presentations on their oral history projects at OHASA conferences. At NARS, provincial archives including OHASA are also involved in training the learners about oral history methodologies. This is a commendable exercise but the OHASA and other stakeholders should guard against turning these oral history project presentations into public speech competitions in which only those with a good command of English take the centre stage.

The concept of archiving minority groups is taking centre stage in the archival world in general, although, sometimes this term is used and applied in a limited way by some heritage institutions as the emphasis is on ethnic minority groups as was witnessed at NAZ and NARS to some extent. Other minority groups such as the LGBTQ, HIV/AIDS affected or infected and minority political formations' communities are not documented. This can be seen as a by-product of lack of innovativeness in government archival institutions because in some mainstream but private archival institutions such minority groups are being documented, for example, in the Sinomlando Centre, Alan Paton and SAHA. This conclusion brings to the fore the view that is coming out from the study that maybe private mainstream archives, including the university ones, are better suited to work with the minority communities if compared and contrasted with the government mainstream archival institutions. Interestingly, this observation was well captured in The Transversal Oral History Framework of the Department of Cultural Affairs (2015:1) that argued that "while the use of oral history is well defined and structured in the academic environment, this has not come into fruition in the public domain of South Africa". However, the role played by NARS in coming up with NAROS proved to be a worthwhile exercise as the database tries to index 'all' oral sources about South Africa from different private, communal and public institutions.

The adoption of synergies with strategic partners proved to be a positive strategy in documenting minority groups by NAZ and NARS. Positive in the sense that resources, both material and human, were being pulled together and sometimes online platforms for access and preservation offered, for example the collaborative effort between the NAZ oral history unit, the Department of Arts, Culture and Heritage and UNESCO in inventorying intangible cultural heritage. The success of this oral history project was based on active participation of both the local community involving its traditional leadership, the Lemba Cultural Association and the VaRemba cultural community at large. It can, therefore, be concluded that strategic synergies which also involve minority groups themselves can be used to counter the weakness of the approach of usually going it alone and treating minority groups as just informants.

6.3.2 The factors hindering and enabling NAZ and NARS in documenting the oral history of the minority groups

Project management skills were found to be lacking in both NAZ and NARS. This is mainly coming from the fact that some challenges cited as hindering oral history projects such as time constraints, bad weather and language barriers were found to be issues that could not have risen if basic project management skills were put to use. In can be concluded that in most of all the qualifications used as entry degrees to be archivists, project management was never a subject. This oversight by the universities and archival institutions was found to be glaring and a cause of unnecessary obstacles in carrying out successful oral history projects targeting the minority groups.

One specific hindrance to NAZ and NARS in documenting minority histories is that of reluctance by the minorities to participate in oral history projects organised by mainstream heritage institutions. This was found to be common and indicative of oral history methodologies that lacked understanding of community partnership, community engagement and community archiving involving also the absence of an appreciation of post custodial access. The abuse of per diem system was also found to be responsible for shoddy and improperly planned oral history programmes including lack of funding from national treasuries of both countries.

6.3.3 Community oral history programmes

It can be concluded that all of the community archives under the study were driven by the politics of identity especially in the form of ethnicity, sexuality and political formations. Some of the community archives such as BaTonga and Nambya Museums were operating under the wings of mainstream museum, the NMMZ, bringing into question their independence which is a hallmark of community archives. However, it was noted that such kind of a model tends to provide a bit of sustainability for these community archives in terms of professional curatorship and other professional advice including funding in some cases as it was noted in JDAP. Nevertheless, in most cases almost all community archives were struggling in terms of funding as they relied mainly on donors. Even when they got donor funding, in most cases it was meant for

programmes being run by the community archives but not covering the basic day-to-day operations. This led to preservation issues and manpower shortages. Because of that, some of the community archives tended to parade institutions that were mainly being wholly run by one person, a very unsustainable organisational structure in the long run. It was noted that most community archives were not doing much in terms of crowdfunding from the local communities as some of them have diversely large populations that can possibly contribute to some of the funding needs of the community archives or museums. Rural district councils in Zimbabwe seemed to be providing some assistance to community archives thus bringing to the fore the view that their proximity to local communities and the fact that most of the staff are members of the communities themselves means that they are better positioned and willing to offer assistance. This then calls for the community museums or archives to work closely with their rural district councils as this model is promising better results.

It was noted and concluded that issues of processing and archiving oral history tended to play second fiddle to curating in some community archives especially in Zimbabwe. These community museums or archives were more concerned with exhibitions, book publications, school curriculum changes and other activisms than archiving and documenting their oral history sources which they used to come up with their secondary source publications. Furthermore, on the issue of activism it can be safely said that almost all community archives under the study were more than archives as they tended to have multiple purposes and objectives that addressed social, political and economic challenges. Innovativeness in oral history programmes that is generally lacking from mainstream government archives was found to be characteristic of them. This was clearly seen from the diverse oral history programmes where some of them were addressing contemporary issues such as Fees Must Fall Movement. There is also TSDT road show from Bulawayo to Tsholotsho culminating in the all-night *Bhoro* dances in which there is also a documentation of oral testimonies and traditions. Such oral history documentation methodologies are rarely found in national mainstream archives.

6.3.4 Access to oral history holdings of mainstream and community archives

Access to the oral history collection at both NAZ and NARS is limited. The use of social media by these institutions in marketing oral history collection is limited. It can be concluded that most of all community archives in Zimbabwe are yet to adopt the ICTs and social media platforms in order to achieve their objectives. Across the Limpopo River in South Africa, those few selected community archives seem to be better off when compared to Zimbabwe as both of them have at least websites and use some of the social media platforms. The JDAP is even more of a virtual archive. Some of the community archives in Zimbabwe such as the Mafela Trust are also having their archives kept by South African archives such as SAHA. This can be explained by the fact that the South African archival landscape has a 'strong diversified archival system which goes far beyond public government structures to vibrant private archival system which seem to be putting some effort in correcting the apartheid silences.

6.3.5 The concept of community archiving in Zimbabwe and South Africa

Community archiving is yet to take a significant form in Zimbabwe despite NAZ coming up with community archives that embrace oral history as the concept is yet to be fully grasped. Those community archives studied do not even call themselves archives even though they are documenting and archiving on a daily basis. Most of them lacked that community oral history wave that swept through South Africa and mostly being pushed by universities. It can be concluded that this wave was the foundation for the development of many community archives in South Africa which even called themselves community archives. In other words, South Africa is doing much better in community archiving. In Zimbabwe that intellectual strength and support from universities is solely lacking to the extent that even some universities which are offering records and archival courses do not have institutional archives.

6.4 Recommendations

The preceding section looked at the conclusions of the study. This section then presents the recommendations based on the research findings of the study. The importance of these recommendations is that they led to a proposed sustainable

community archiving framework that puts a viable proposition for the documentation of minority group's histories.

6.4.1 Oral history methodologies, strategies and approaches used by national and other mainstream archival institutions

It is a positive development that after independence both countries saw the need for documenting the missing voices in the national narrative. These governments, however, owe allegiance to their political parties to the extent that there is a conflation of the state, government and ruling parties. This means, in the context of this study, that the policies of the ruling parties which in most cases are pushing the historical narrative of the day tends to eclipse the stories of the minority groups. This usually comes in the form of a compromised civil service that behaves as if they are political party commissars. This is clearly stated by McGregor (2002:9) that "war veterans' interventions have politicized all areas of public sector work and have seriously undermined the scope for professionalism within the public service. The ruling party has used veterans' disruption to newly conflate party and state structures".

South Africa is well known for its strong institutions mainly due to the constitutional separation of powers between the judicial, legislative, and the executive powers leading to the "Constitution [that] is broadly respected and the judiciary is robust and impartial in its rulings" (Du Toit & De Jager 2014:108). Sparks (1995:234), soon after independence in South Africa, described the public service as "almost alone in Africa, the black-majority government is backed by an experienced and efficient civil service, the absence of which has been a major reason for the collapse of services and general decline in other African nations". However, despite these positives, some negative government policies which are affecting the independence of the state from ruling political parties are beginning to creep in as mentioned by Du Toit and De Jager (2014:98) that:

> The ANC's so-called Cadre Deployment Policy, unfortunately at times to the detriment of other requirements, such as objectivity. While this policy is aimed at achieving racial demographic representation, the ANC fine-tunes it by using

> the party's power of appointment, as well as informal influence, to place ANC party loyalists into key positions within the state…

Such policies are likely to close the space for the minorities' histories and create in fact more space for ANC's historical narrative of liberation at the expense of other liberation parties like PAC.

It is from this background that some ruling political parties like ZANU PF which are described by Du Toit and De Jager (2014:94) as an "illiberal dominant party system of the most malevolent kind" of which "institutionalization of a one-party state has always been the basic tenet ..."(Knight 1991:27) for the minority groups to thrive. Ethnic groups working on the documentation of their histories have faced some interrogations from the security apparatus as the participants said, because the system is not used and does not like any voices which are contrary to their official historical narrative.

It is, therefore, recommended that the minority groups in Zimbabwe should come together and use the small democratic space available to them to fight and campaign for the recognition of their rights which are enshrined in the Constitution of Zimbabwe under the Bill of Rights. This should be motivated by the ethos of a new regime after the fall of former President Robert Mugabe which speaks of new dispensation and new ways of doing things including engagement of all Zimbabweans. Even though it is difficult to trust these promises of the 'new' ZANU PF Government regime as others just think it's an old wine in new bottles, at least it is the beginning that the minority groups can take advantage of. They should fight for the preservation of their historical identities and continue to stand against being bunched into a nationalist umbrella term of Zimbabwean. First, they are what they are before being Zimbabwean. Peaceful demonstrations against the Government of Zimbabwe should be staged so that the memorialisation space is open for everyone in the country. The unified civic organisations of minority groups should also engage international organisations such as SADC, African Union and United Nations for the recognition of indigeneity as part of their mandates.

Zimbabwe has a highly centralised government system to the extent that one would never find any government position from the level of deputy director going-upwards in provincial structures of civil service except in the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education and Ministry of Public Works. The disadvantages of such a centralised government structure and its impact in derailing oral history programmes at the provincial levels at the NAZ have been dealt with. Therefore, it is recommended that the Government of Zimbabwe should speedily align devolution principles put forward in the new Constitution of Zimbabwe which was adopted in 2013. Since the new 2013 Constitution of Zimbabwe advocated devolution of government power, the Zimbabwean Government is nonetheless yet to adopt a devolved system of governance. This shows that the Government of Zimbabwe is hesitant to devolve power. Recently they have begun talking of devolution but it appears it would not be the devolution of power but just allocating provinces specific economic activities to specialise on. So the Government of Zimbabwe needs to really adopt devolution to its maximum so that this would cascade to government departments such as the NAZ and the result is that those provincial archives and records centres which in most cases are closer to the minority groups would be able to document their histories without much rigidity, skewed organisational structure and red tape which are currently associated with the present centralised organisational structure.

In South Africa the government structure is better off when compared to Zimbabwe but maybe the issue that may be considered is the placement of provincial archives. Currently they are placed under Department of Sports and Culture. However, they may consider placing them under the Office of Premier which is more powerful than other provincial departments because archives are important (Ngoepe & Keakopa 2011:158). On that issue of importance of archives both governments are encouraged to view them as such and allocate enough funding so that their mandates are fulfilled because currently as the study found out is that there are operating on a shoe string budgets.

Taking the issue of placement further, it was noted that in Zimbabwe the Department of culture has always been moved around various ministries. In the process this affected its viability as the cultural officers were always being streamlined and in some

cases downsized according to the new ministries' dictates. It is, therefore, recommended that the Government of Zimbabwe finds a permanent ministry for the Department of Culture for purposes of policy continuity taking into consideration that this is the Department that used to have cultural officers in every district of Zimbabwe. This meant cultural officers were closer to the communities that they were working in meaning easy identification of cultural forms that can be documented in the form of cultural community centres. Therefore, the position that used to prevail in which every district had a cultural officer should be reverted to and maintained. The Government of Zimbabwe should also consider returning to the position where they once grouped together the departments that dealt with culture, heritage and archives into one Ministry of Rural Development, Promotion and Preservation of National Culture and Heritage. It comprised the Department of Culture, Department of National Archives of Zimbabwe, Department of National Museum and Monuments of Zimbabwe and the Traditional leadership of Zimbabwe. This was a well-planned Ministry in terms of bringing together the departments that deal with culture. In the long run community museums or archives or cultural community centres as called differently by different people were likely to benefit positively from such symbiosis.

It was noted that both NAZ and NARS used a top-down approach when documenting the stories of minority groups. This approach created some resistance from the minorities who felt that they were being undermined. It is, therefore, recommended that not only NAZ and NARS but all mainstream archival institutions should give more participative space to the communities to document their stories with minimal supervision where necessary. This is in line with what Thompson (1998) suggested that the use of community approach methodologies empower communities and give them confidence in writing their history which would be accessible to the public.

NAZ needs to abandon the over-centralised archival services including the management of oral history programmes. Staff fully dedicated to oral history at the provincial level should be employed. This also calls for the employment of oral historians to do oral history than having to rely only on archivists. Audio visual sections should be introduced in provinces for the preservation of oral history products. All this should be done in the spirit that an over-centralised archives sector is

counterproductive. NAZ, therefore, needs to seriously consider the decentralised archives in all its sections. Such an approach is supported by Wales (2014:58) who elaborated on the devolution of mainstream archives as this usually led to the incorporation of local interests into the discourse of officialised national narrative.

In South Africa, despite the devolved archival system, provincial archives remained "empty shells with no archival holdings while others are not functioning whatsoever". (Ngoepe 2017:7). So it is a case of well-structured archival system not translating to the delivery of services despite their closeness to the once marginalised communities. Therefore, there is need for provincial archives not to over-rely on OHASA for policy direction in oral history programmes but to roll out massive oral history programmes that would cover the once marginalised communities of South Africa. From the results of the study it was very clear that provincial archives are not doing enough in terms of coming up with oral history programmes with some provinces going for some years without conducting any oral history interviews. At least it is interesting and positive to note that some provincial archives are coming up with OHASA provincial chapters leading to OHASA provincial oral history programmes such as Mpumalanga and Limpopo Provincial Archives. If well conducted these provincial oral history chapters are likely to fill the empty repositories which are prevailing in the provinces. However, in these OHASA provincial chapters it would be prudent for them not to fall into the trap of concentrating too much on annual conferences but dedicate more time on working with local communities in recording their histories.

OHASA is a major stakeholder in the public documentation of oral history. It is, therefore, prudent that once in a while they evaluate their progress. Their success should not only be measured in terms of how many oral history conferences they have hosted but in the number of oral history interviews that they have done since their inception. So this calls for OHASA to revisit each of their objectives and measure their performance. The following are their objectives:

1. To promote and develop oral history as a formal and distinct discipline.
2. To promote the research and dissemination of oral history in South Africa in the various official languages.

3. To promote the usage of oral history in schools and other institutions.
4. To liaise with indigenous knowledge systems holders in the promotion of oral history.
5. To establish partnerships with institutions, bodies, associations pursuing similar objectives and practices.
6. To promote collection management and accessibility of oral history.
7. To organise and host annual OHASA conferences.

From these objectives the study noted that there is more emphasis on organising and hosting OHASA conferences and promoting the usage of oral history in schools and other institutions, yet other areas still need special attention. It is again important for the OHJSA to publish at least sixty percent of manuscripts which are local or speak to South African oral history projects in every edition than a scenario where sometimes all published articles are from outside the borders of South Africa. The OHASA should also try by all means possible to have people from local communities in their executive than a scenario where only civil servants and academics are part of the executive. Even in their paid up members, indigenous and local communities should be encouraged to be part of that than the current situation in which the membership mainly consists of government departments, academics and civil servants. This should be done in the spirit of incorporating the whole of different sections of society of South Africa into the OHASA which is spearheading the government oral history programme. Inclusivity not exclusivity should be the order of the day.

The mainstream archival institutions, even those attached to universities which are doing oral history programmes, should take a broader view than narrow one in their definition of minority groups. These should not only be limited to ethnic groups but also traverse across to include those affected and infected by HIV/AIDS. Sinomlando has a broader view of minorities as it was seen to cover the black clergy, women in black clergy leadership positions and those affected and infected by HIV/AIDS. SAHA once documented oral history of Tembisa Township. Such broader view of minority groups should be adopted by other mainstream archival institutions in their oral history programmes. It was unfortunate that most of the mainstream archival institutions like

NAZ and NARS were not taking part in the documentation of LGBTQ oral stories, it is therefore encouraged that oral history programmes should be inclusive of everyone despite any isms including homophobia and stigmatisation of any kind. Such should be the mantra of mainstream archival institutions to the extent that even the stories of those with albinism are documented. It is interesting that even though GALA is a community archive, its oral history programmes once included deaf people. It is, therefore, recommended that all minorities of any kind should have their stories documented and become part of a national narrative.

The advantage of documenting all the stories of all the minority groups is that this would assist them in their respective communities to overcome challenges they face. In other words, oral history is viewed as a powerful tool in fostering community resilience. Madsen (2015:56) looked into the relationship between community oral history and community resilience, trying to examine questions how "community oral history can contribute to community resilience through increasing capacity, collective problem solving and action by community members and uncovering stories of the past that are used to support and strengthen a social narrative of how the community can respond to change and adversity". So, those minorities who are facing persecution can benefit from being involved in the oral history programmes conducted by mainstream archives.

6.4.2 The factors hindering and enabling Zimbabwe and South Africa in documenting the oral history of the minority groups

Most of the planning and technical challenges that were found to be hindering the documentation of minority groups' oral testimonies were mostly found but not limited to failure to handle projects. In other words, project management skills were found to be wanting. It is therefore recommended that educational institutions include project management in the training of archivists and historians. This is said against the background that one of the universities that offers records and archives management course, that is, NUST does not have a project management module in their undergraduate programme.

Reluctance of minority groups to participate in mainstream oral history programmes proved to be a challenge across both Zimbabwe and South Africa. Many factors were found to be contributory to that challenge. One of the factors is that of language. Most archivists at NAZ are from one majority ethnic group which is Shona. So most ethnic groups feel offended when, for example, the Shangaan people are interviewed in Shona for their oral testimonies and traditions. This also applied to such groups as the Kalanga, the Venda, the Tonga and other minority ethnic groups. There is also a misconception that everyone in Matabeleland is comfortable with the Ndebele language which is not true because most ethnic groups in this region are made up of different ethnic groups such as the San, the Venda, the Kalanga, the Tonga and the Nambya. It is, therefore, recommended that when NAZ conducts its oral history programmes it should make sure that these minority groups are interviewed in their mother tongue. The reason for this is that the politics of language encompasses power relations with different groups, so the minority groups would feel that these oral history programmes are a show of dominance by the majority groups. Language and culture are intertwined to the extent that there are not inseparable and so it does not make sense for example to document the Kalanga culture in Ndebele. Some of the issues seem minor but they tend to be a major put-off, for example, if you are coming from a different ethnic group you may even fail to properly greet your interviewee before the start of interview. It is, therefore, of paramount interest that such skewed ethno-organisational structures are corrected by introducing recruitment policies that call for some degree of balance in line with the ethnicity map of the respective countries. So it should always be borne in mind that an African social space is dominated by multiculturalism, multilingualism, multiple religions, and diverse ethnic and racial groups (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012) and these should always be catered for.

Still on the issue of language, it is very interesting to note that OHASA has, as one of its objectives, the promotion of the research and dissemination of oral history in South Africa in the various official languages. Such an objective is, therefore, encouraged and it should not only end at policy level but cascade down to the extent that oral interviews in Khoi and San are documented. Even though the South African Constitution is very clear on language policy, language issues still arise, for example The OHASA (2016:1) continued to narrate that the issue of “disparities in affording

equal status to all languages in the province came out sharply. Speakers such as Mr P Mnisi and Mr G Mashego made presentations calling for the recognition of marginalised languages of Mapulana, Amashangane and VaHlanganu". It is, therefore, important that such calls are taken note of by policy-makers and addressed accordingly, even if it means changing the Constitution to the effect that it recognises them.

The abuse of per diem system should not be normalised, it is corruption and that is how it should be treated. Attitude changes are needed from all levels of government starting from the top, to view per diem abuse as corruption that is stifling the success of developmental projects. It should be treated as an act of misconduct that attracts disciplinary action. However, there is a need for the governments to address the cause of this problem which, in most cases, is poor working conditions. In Zimbabwe, government archivist workers are earning on average less than $US 100 per month and such a scenario is acting as a springboard for corruption, it is, therefore, necessary for the government to make it its priority to improve the working conditions of the workers. The formation of professional archival association bodies with strong emphasis on ethics that guide against such malpractices such as the abuse of per diems are needed.

On the issue of funding, national archives should also try by all means to compete for other funds in the market than to rely on national treasury. Project proposal writing skills need to be imparted on archivists so that they are able to write winning proposals which would enable them to compete for donor funds like NGO's do. Pulling together resources in coming up with one trinity LAM (Libraries, Archives and Museums) organisation and in the process utilising economies of scale may also be considered.

6.4.3 Community oral history programmes

The politics of exclusion by national ruling governments was found to be the major driving force behind the emergence of community archives. The recognition and respect for their identities was noted to be a clarion call by the community archives

hence most of them tended to take an activist approach. The recommendation is simple: the governments of both Zimbabwe and South Africa should adopt politics of inclusivity. Not only inclusivity on papers such as Constitutions but inclusivity should be seen to be done on the ground. To address this politics of exclusivity, independent bodies which are born from the Constitutions of both countries such as Human Rights, Gender and Language Commissions should be given teeth to bite especially in addressing issues raised by the minority groups and their commissioners should not only be non-partisan but their actions must be clearly be seen to be non-partisan.

The study found that the formation of community archives was a result of the out-dated bureaucratic national archival system that has failed to adapt but still has a colonial hangover mentality which is prone to the politics of domination and elitism. These institutions, since colonial times, have continued to be the voice of the powerful in the societies. Histories that are documented are those of 'great' men while those of the marginalised, minor and weak continue to be ignored. Most of these histories are aligned to ruling political parties to the extent that the national history is confused with partisan political narratives being churned out by the politicians in power for legitimation purposes. For example, such former revolutionary political parties such as PAC in South Africa and ZAPU in Zimbabwe have since formed their own trusts or foundations to document their stories after being side-lined and obliterated from the national historiography. This is clearly a situation of biased institutions which need a total relook. It is, therefore, recommended that these mainstream archival institutions be removed from central government and turned into independent-state sponsored organisations that do not report to the ministers but to people who are represented by democratically elected parliament which uses a proportional representative system which makes it possible for even minority groups to find themselves in legislative house. These proposed independent archival bodies should also have board members or advisory councils that consist of persons from the minority groups and local communities. Such an approach is supported by Ngoepe and Keakopa (2011:157) who argued that "archives in both countries should be independent and report directly to Parliament. This will give more recognition and in turn the necessary support to be proactive in its role" when researching on a comparative archival system of South Africa and Botswana.

Most of the community archives in Zimbabwe were found to be bedevilled by a plethora of challenges ranging from lack of funding, staff shortage, state apparatus harassment, and neglect of preservation of oral history products. It is, therefore, recommended that before they appeal for outside help community archives should try to mobilise resources within their communities. After that they can approach their district local government structures which this study found to be more listening and helpful to the challenges faced by community archives. From district level they can seek resources from the central or national government. From then they can seek international funding. International funding is suggested to be the last call of help because it tended to be for a short period of time to the extent that those organisations which solely relied on it found themselves blooming for a while but in the long run their institutions becoming white elephants. So the funding model for community archives should prioritise local resources first than before seeking outside assistance. The assistance they can seek any time is that of professional help from archivists. Trained archivists should be willing to offer their assistance at any given time without conditions. Even on the issue of staffing, volunteerism from the members of community should be encouraged. On the issues of state harassment, community archives are urged to continue lobbying the government in any platform to come to an understanding about their objectives which are not a threat to government as sometimes assumed.

Recorded oral history products were not given priority when it came to preservation. Most of these recordings were used to come up with secondary products such as books and exhibitions and then after that there was no proper preservation of them. It is therefore recommended that community archives should seek preservation assistance from mainstream institutions and from other community archives that are capable and established. Mainstream archival institutions can come up with fee-free tailored short programmes to be taught to community archives practitioners. In terms of the preservation of their whole holdings the post custodial method is recommended were the community archives keep their collections rather than sending them away to mainstream institutions. To those who are struggling, partnering with able mainstream archival institutions including universities should be recommended. In some of these cases the mainstream organisations can offer their virtual and online space for sharing with community archives whilst physical storage space is built in the local community.

6.4.4 Access to oral history holdings of mainstream and community archives

Mainstream archives such as NAZ, NARS and Sinomlando are advised to embrace social media in their oral history programmes. This also applies to community archives who are counselled not to shy away from the use of ICTs and social media as these can also be turned into virtual and online archives repositories. Online presence is very important for these community archives so that they communicate with the outside world, so it was very sad that almost all community archives in Zimbabwe were found not to be having a website of their own. This is a basic tool which all community archives need to have. They can seek assistance from local universities especially the ICT departments to build the websites for them and for training on how to use, update and maintain them.

It was found that most community archives both in Zimbabwe and South Africa were mainly using Facebook as their social media platform. It is therefore recommended that more social media platforms such as Twitter, LinkedIn and Instagram are used to increase their visibility to the outside world since different social platforms tend to attract different people. It is easy to open one of these social network accounts so there cannot be any reasonable excuse for not using them especially for public programming purposes.

6.4.5 The concept of community archiving in Zimbabwe and South Africa

It is recommended that South Africa's tertiary institutions and private mainstream archives such as SAHA should continue supporting the growth of community archives. What is needed is for the government public institutions such as the NARS to get involved in the professional assistance of the management of community archives since they have plenty of archival skills at their disposal but they should not take over the whole projects.

In Zimbabwe this concept is yet to be fully embraced. Whilst copy-and-paste approaches are usually problematic because of different contextual backgrounds, in

this case Zimbabwe is recommended that they use tertiary institutions in supporting and initiating oral history programmes as the case was and is in South Africa. NAZ is also recommended not to only document the stories of the minority groups but to also assist minority groups to document their stories without necessarily dominating and taking over the whole projects.

It should not always be the case that community archives should be integrated to national archival system but where it happens, they should not be subjugated or swallowed. Therefore, the following section to that effect presented the proposed framework that respects the independence of community archives.

6.5 Proposed integrated framework for community archives into the sustainable national archival system

The motivation behind this framework is that the importance of archives, including other heritage institutions, in nation building cannot be denied. It is axiomatic that they play a major role in nation building. This can be seen from the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (2000:3) where the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport in United Kingdom argued that:

> Combatting social exclusion is one of the Government's highest priorities, and I believe that museums, galleries and archives have a significant role to play in helping us to do this. They are often the focal point for cultural activity in the community, interpreting its history and heritage. This gives a sense of identity, and that of their community. But evidence is that museums, galleries and archives can do more than this, and act as agents of social change in the community, improving the quality of people lives through their outreach activities.

In this framework an envisaged model was driven by the reasoning of integration of libraries, archives and museums (LAM) together especially at a community level to the extent that there is a national online register indicating every history captured and how it can be accessed. Bringing LAM together was due to the fact that libraries and museums are also heavily involved in national oral history projects. Such a framework

of merging libraries, archives and museums together has been adopted in some countries such as United Kingdom and Norway (Magara 2006). 'Libraries, archives and museums or (LAMs) collect, manage and share. Although the type of materials may differ, and professional practices vary, LAMs share an overlapping set of functions. Fulfilling these functions in collaboration rather than isolation creates a win-win for users and institutions" (Waibel 2010). Taylor (1982–83:130) averred that "there is a balance, a complementary symmetry between archives and libraries which if at times uneasy has great potential for a co-operative future based on a rich and varied heritage jointly achieved" and that "there is a natural affinity between archives, libraries, and museums seems beyond doubt as evidenced by the many institutions that combine two or all of these components" (Bastian 2017:330).

This research found that when it comes to the community archives the distinctions are even more blurred hence this model which calls for integration at interinstitutional level for the mainstream organisations and intrainstitutional level for the community organisations. These terms are best explained by Bastian (2017:329) when she stated that:

> At an intrainstitutional level, a converging cultural heritage institution is one that combines library, archival, and museum material and is working toward implementing a set of standards and best practices that unite traditional theory and operations within these three disciplines ... At an interinstitutional level, converging cultural heritage institutions can cooperate on many different levels, including federated searching, sharing resources, and linking related resources, essentially offering a wider array of content to a broader community of users than one institution could alone.

Therefore, the envisaged model calls for the pulling together of these institutions under the umbrella of an independent commission to be named the National Heritage Commission. In this model, the mainstream heritage institutions will maintain their independence but work together by sharing resources including expertise and having combined programmes in some instances. For the community archives, this study found out that they are mainly concerned with documentation of their history, culture and their experiences in general and in the process they do not care much about how

they do this in an archival, library or museum way, they tend to mix these approaches, hence this model allows them to maintain their hybrid tendencies. The advantages of this collaborated and combined effort by mainstream and community heritage institutions is that they will take advantage of economies of scale and "consolidate resources as well as provide more public access to heritage" (Bastian 2017:331). In other words, the model will address the challenges which this research found out, which is lack of human resources in community archives, to some extent funding, issues of access to the documented heritage to the extent of coming up with national virtual heritage centres for both Zimbabwe and South Africa.

Another important stakeholder that this model considered is the role played by the universities. This study found out that in South Africa, universities are playing a major role in social history especially the documentation of the minorities. The model therefore, proposes that whilst the universities will not be under the organisational structure of NHC, they will become a strategic and important stakeholder with a representation in the NHC board.

In order for all of this to be achieved de-politicisation of heritage centres which has polarised these institutions must take centre stage. This research found out that in both countries, that is Zimbabwe and South Africa, the ruling governments and their political parties tend to influence the documentation of history to their favour and to the detriment of other groups in society especially the minorities. Mhlanga (2014:82) observed that archivists are public servants hence cannot disassociate themselves from politics. Mhlanga (2014:86) further cited an interviewee who argued that "…during my time at the institution we made frantic efforts to at least disassociate ourselves from politics but we came to the realisation that the notion of objectivity and impartiality in public funded archives is something that is not achievable." Pickover (2009:6) referred to this issue when she explained that, "political expediency can dominate what is collected and party political agendas can have repercussions on the archival institution's collection policy." In Zimbabwe the Provincial Minister, a very senior public servant, was quoted by NewsDay journalist Nyangani (2019:4) as having said that "she is teaching and forcing government workers to chant ZANU PF slogans because they are deployees of the ruling party" This then calls for an independent

National Heritage Commission that will give policy direction to all these other heritage institutions. This is a sentiment echoed by Ngoepe and Keakopa (2011:153) who opined that “others felt that the NARS should be independent from the Department of Arts and Culture and report directly to Parliament with the nine provincial archives services reporting directly to the NARS rather than to the provincial departments”. The NHC will be apolitical, comprised of an inclusive board that takes into cognisance the diversity and plurality that exist in Zimbabwe and South Africa. In other words, the Board should be gender balanced and comprise a membership that speaks to all different minority groups.

Central to the proposed framework is the decentralisation or devolution of archival services to the last level of government structures, which are the rural districts. The motivation is that most of the archives or even museums are located in urban metropolitan areas and therefore these neglect the rural population. Interestingly most of these rural areas are very rich in diverse community history and culture that need to be harvested and documented.

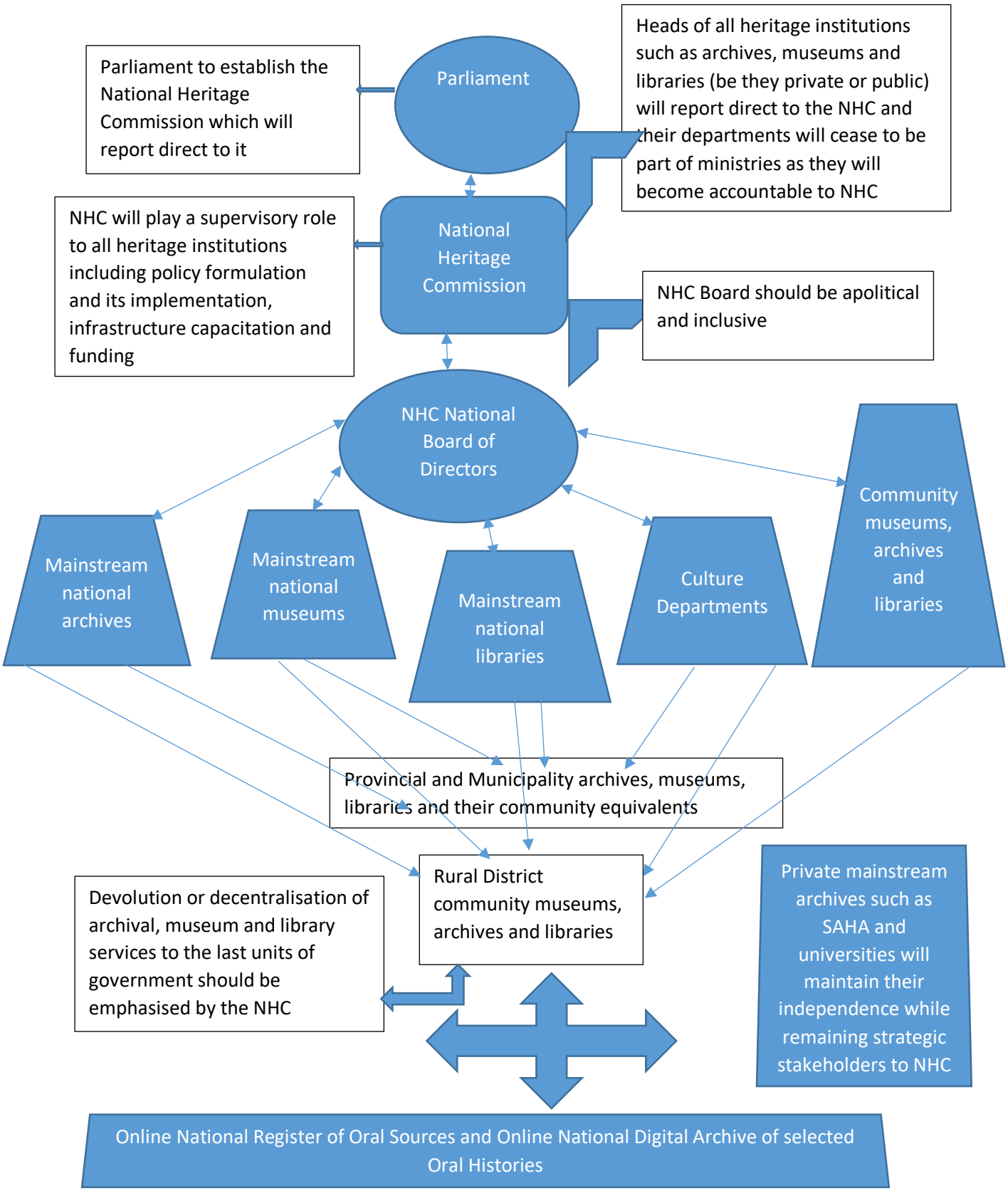


Figure 6.1 Proposed Integrated Framework for Heritage Institutions

6.6 Implications for theory, policy and practice

This study is not all that unique in the sense that many researchers have always complained about the independence of national archives from political interference and how the elites have manipulated the documentation of the national history to their favour (Mhlanga 2014; Ngoepe & Keakopa 2011; Ngoepe 2019, 2018; October 2015; Rodrigues 2013; Schwartz & Cook 2002; Kenosi 2002; Saidi 2019; Mataga 2014; Ndhlovu 2019; Harris 2002, 2015; Mngqolo 2014; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2007, 2009, 2012, 2015). However, a marked difference comes in its regional comparative methodology in which Zimbabwe and South Africa are case studies encompassing more than 15 sub cases. Also, the methodological and substantial theoretical lens used to analyse the study are different in the sense that interpretivism which has always been used by many qualitative researchers was abandoned in favour of critical emancipatory which usually deals specifically with oppressed communities. This epistemology augured well with the thrust of the study and this was supported by the substantial theory of the power of elite.

There are very few researchers who have called for the formation of archival independent commissions (Ngoepe & Keakopa 2011) to run national archives. It seems most researchers have taken it as dogmatic normalcy for the national archives to fall under the central government. Therefore, this study has challenged that dogmatic normalcy and called for independent national heritage commissions to run national archives, libraries and museums so that the biases in the nation's history documentation which are prevalent in the current system can be reduced drastically.

6.7 Further Research

It is impossible to study everything in any given research, therefore, this research recommends further investigation in the replication of this study into a wider scope that does not only involve national archives but national museums, galleries, libraries and a significant number of different kinds of community heritage institutions. Furthermore, the focus should not only be on oral history as the current study was, but on all archiving aspects in general.

6.7 Final conclusion

The study critically evaluated the oral history programmes at national archive level in both Zimbabwe and South Africa vis-à-vis community oral history programmes conducted by minority groups. The findings of the study revealed the positive and negative interference of government in oral history programmes. One of the negative is that both governments in Zimbabwe and South Africa concentrated more on the oral history programmes that document the liberation history whilst nothing much was done on minority groups. This was worsened by a lack of independent national archival system as the current one tended to play in the hands of the ruling elite. One of the recommendations of the study was for the de-politicisation of national archives hence the proposed framework that called for independent National Heritage Commission which report to Parliament to run national archives, libraries and museums. Even though oral history is not a panacea, but if captured in a systematic manner with the involvement of the marginalised, it has the potential to build inclusive archives in both countries and thus give the voiceless the voice. Such small stories from the marginalised can feed the big stories of the elites to include everybody in the preservation of memory of the nation. As a result the stories would not vanish into the sands.

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Appendix A

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY

Date:

Name of participant:

Name of organisation:

Email address:

Contact number:

Dear participant

I am a student in the Department of Information Science at the University of South Africa (UNISA). I am conducting a research study to gather information for my doctoral thesis. My study is critically evaluating the national archival system's approach to oral history programmes on minority groups in Zimbabwe and South Africa with a view to understanding how locally initiated programmes are faring and how they can be integrated into national or community archival system. As a representative of the mainstream archival centres or community archives in the region of Zimbabwe or South Africa, I am inviting you to serve as a participant in this study.

Your participation will entail an individual face-to-face, telephone or skype interview of approximately 30 minutes to one hour. I may also need to contact you for a follow-up call if the need arises to clarify any of your responses as I am analysing my data. With your permission, I will record our interview and make some handwritten notes. The recordings will be used to facilitate the analysis of your responses. Your responses will however be reported anonymously. Only I, and if necessary, my study supervisors, will listen to the recordings. After the study is concluded, all recordings will be erased.

Please be assured that participation in the study is strictly voluntary. You are free to decline participation, cancel an interview or withdraw from the study at any time.

If you have questions about your participation, the study or its findings, please feel free to contact me.

Thank you in advance for your time and consideration. I look forward to meeting with you.

Yours sincerely

Sindiso Bhebhe

Department of Information Science

UNISA Doctoral Student

Appendix B

CONSENT AGREEMENT FORM

You are being asked to take part in a research study. Your participation in the study is completely voluntary. You may refuse to join, or may withdraw your consent to be in the study, for any reason, at any time.

Details of the study are discussed below. Please read the following carefully, so that you can make an informed choice about whether or not to participate in this study.

Details of the study:

My study is critically evaluating the national archival system's approach to oral history programmes on minority groups in Zimbabwe and South Africa with a view to understanding how locally initiated programmes are faring and how they can be integrated into national or community archival system. As a representative of the mainstream archival centres or community archives in the region of Zimbabwe and South Africa, I am inviting you to serve as a participant in this study.

Your participation will entail an individual face-to-face, telephone or skype interview of approximately 30 minutes to one hour. I may also need to contact you for a follow-up call if the need arises to clarify any of your responses as I am analysing my data. With your permission, I will record our interview and make some handwritten notes. The recordings will be used to facilitate the analysis of your responses. Your responses will however be reported anonymously. Only I, and if necessary, my study supervisors, will listen to the recordings. After the study is concluded, all recordings will be erased.

The following to be completed by the participant:

I have read the information provided above and I voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

• I agree……..

• I disagree……..

Name……

All research which includes human volunteers is governed by the UNISA Research Policy that works to protect your rights and welfare. If you have questions or concerns

as a research subject, you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the Research Directorate of the University of South Africa.

If you have questions about your participation, the study or its findings, please feel free to contact me.

Thank you in advance for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Sindiso Bhebhe

Department of Information Science

UNISA Doctoral Student

Appendix C

Semi structured interview guide for mainstream archives

1. How is the National or Provincial Government supporting your oral history programmes?
2. To what extent are you satisfied by the support you get from the Government, be it National or Provincial?
3. Do you have any oral history or archival programmes in mind that the National or Provincial government is supporting?
4. What kind of oral history methodologies/strategies or approaches do you use to collect oral history testimonies?
5. What motivates your institution to collect oral testimonies?
6. Which specific oral history programmes has your institution initiated to collect the testimonies of minority groups? (minority in terms of political/economic and social clout)
7. What has been the challenges of working with the minority groups or local communities in collecting their stories?
8. Besides collecting oral testimonies of main political party in your country what has your institution done in terms of documenting the post-apartheid and apartheid era's history of small political parties?
9. Your country is blessed with indigenous people such as the Khoi and San. To what extent have you tried to document the histories of these indigenous people?
10. Which oral history programmes do you have that target women, gay people, traditional churches of African origin or other groups that seem not be represented in mainstream archives?
11. Community archiving is a concept which advocates for local communities to tell and document their stories with a minimal or zero interference from mainstream archives. As an archivist what are your views about this concept and how is your archival institution treating it?
12. How do you relate to community initiated oral history/archives programmes?
13. How do you describe your relationship with community initiated programmes?
14. How can you describe the comprehensiveness of the archival/oral history collection of local communities/minority groups which is in your custody?

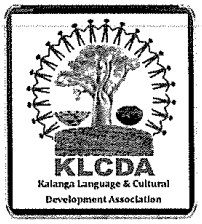
15. What's your institution's policy concerning the custody of oral history collection collected by minority groups or local communities?
16. Would your institution be willing or able to accommodate records of community-based organisations?
17. Would your institution be prepared to offer archives and records management assistance to these organisations?
18. Do you believe your institution could assist community-based organisations with managing their records and preserving their archives, and if so, how could they assist these organisations?
19. Would your institution consider any form of collecting partnerships and collaboration with these community-based organisations?
20. How visible is your institution to the local communities you are supposed to be serving?
21. How are you using internet, social media or ICT's to get closer to the communities you are serving?

Appendix D

Community archives questionnaire

1. When your organisation formed and what is its name?
2. What are the objectives of your organisation?
3. Is it registered or not? And if yes as what?
4. What is the type of your membership?
5. How can you describe the organisational structure? Do you have a Board? CEO? Etc.
6. What type of records or documents do you collect?
7. Do you conduct oral history programmes and if so how?
8. Do you have enough man power to fulfil your mandate?
9. How do you store your collected material that relates to your organisation's objectives?
10. What challenges are you facing in fulfilling your mandate?
11. How can you describe your relationship with mainstream archival/cultural centres?(For example National Archives of Zimbabwe; National Museum and Monuments of Zimbabwe; National Arts Council or universities etc.)
12. What kind of cultural festivals does your Association organise?
13. Are you willing to send your collected material to mainstream archives or museums (e.g. National Archives of Zimbabwe; National Museum and Monuments of Zimbabwe or National Arts Council etc.) and what will be the reasons for doing that? And if not what's your reasons?
14. How do you fund your daily operations?
15. How are you using social media, internet and ICT's in fulfilling your mandate?
16. What kind of support do you get from the Government?
17. Which Government programmes relating to minority 'groups' have you participated in?
18. Who are the people who consult your archives; museum or cultural centre etc.?
19. How does the politics in your country affect your documentation initiatives?
20. Which are some of the community archives/ museums or associations like yours operating in Zimbabwe are you aware of?
21. Any additional Information?

Appendix E



Kalanga Language and Cultural

Development Association

KLCDA Registration number: MA

Cell: +263 775 962 762 **Email:** info@kalanga.org **Website:** www.kalanga.org

Sindiso Bhebhe

National Archives of Zimbabwe

P.O Box 2358

Bulawayo

01 February 2018

Dear Mr S Bhebhe

RE: **Request for permission to conduct research at the Kalanga Language Cultural Development Association (KLCDA)**

The above subject matter refers;

I am pleased to inform you that your request to conduct research at the Kalanga Language Cultural Development Association as one of your case study has been granted. We would be very happy to receive a copy of your PhD Thesis after completion.

Meanwhile, on behalf of Kalanga Language Cultural Development Association I wish you the best in your studies with the University of South Africa.

Yours Faithfully;

Ntando Dumani

Executive Secretary - KLCDA

KLCDA TRUSTEES: A. S. Senengedze Moyo, A. C Majahana, S. Gwakuba

Appendix F

UNISA university of south africa

DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION SCIENCE RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

Date: 11 August 2017

Ref #: 2017_SBhebhe_58549269_001
Name of applicant: S Bhebhe
Student #:X
Staff #:

Dear Mr S Bhebhe,

Decision: Ethics Approval

Name: Title and name of principle applicant, address, e-mail address, and phone number Mr S Bhebhe, Unisa Information Science,58549269@mylife.unisa.ac.za; and +263771295155

Proposal: Critical evaluation of the national archival systems approach to oral history programme on minority groups in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

Qualification: D Litt et Phil in Information Science

Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance by the Department of Information Science Research Ethics Review Committee for the above mentioned research. Final approval is granted for *4 years.*

For full approval: *The application was reviewed in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics by the Department of Information Science Research Ethics Review Committee on 11 August 2017.*

The proposed research may now commence with the proviso that:

1) *The researcher/s will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.*
2) *Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study, as well as changes in the methodology, should be communicated in writing to the Department of information Science Ethics Review Committee. An amended application could be requested if there are substantial changes from the existing proposal, especially if those changes affect any of the study-related risks for the research participants.*

University of South Africa
Preller Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Tshwane
PO Box 392 UNISA 0003 South Africa
Telephone: +27 12 429 3111 Facsimile: +27 12 429 4150
www.unisa.ac.za

3) *The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study.*

Note:

The reference number 2017_SBhebhe_58549269_001 *should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication [e.g. Webmail, E-mail messages, letters] with the intended research participants, as well as with the Department of Information Science RERC.*

Kind regards,

Signature



Dr Isabel Schellnack-Kelly
Department of Information Science
Research Ethics Review Committee

012 429 6936

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