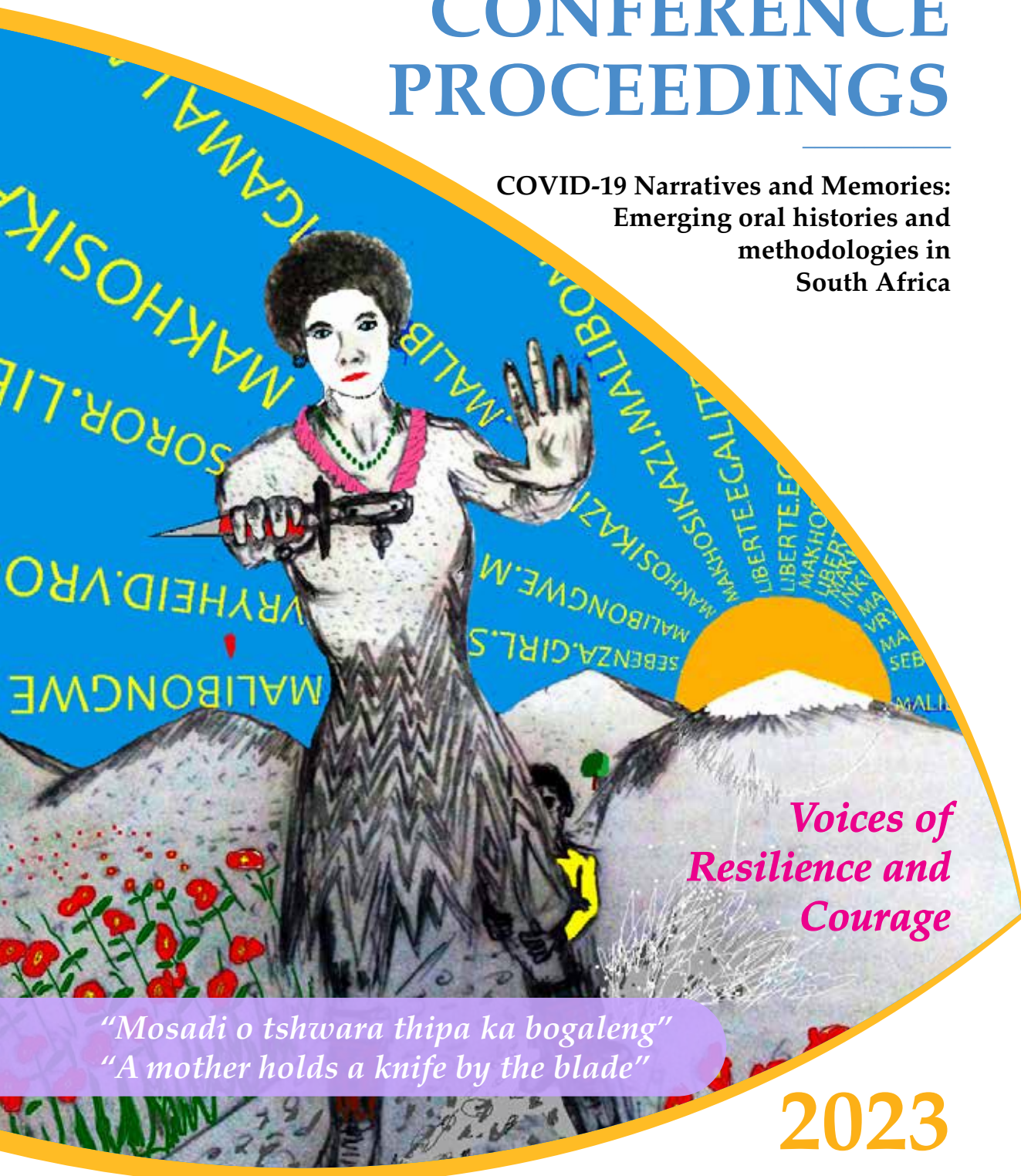
CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

COVID-19 Narratives and Memories: Emerging oral histories and methodologies in South Africa



Voices of Resilience and Courage

"Mosadi o tshwara thipa ka bogaleng"
"A mother holds a knife by the blade"

2023

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EDITOR:
Prof Christina Landman

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FOREWORD

The Oral History Association of South Africa (OHASA), with the Department of Sport, Arts and Culture and the National Institute for Humanities and Social Sciences (NIHSS), hosted the 19th Annual National Oral History Conference 2022, from 10 to 14 October 2022, In Kuruman, Northern Cape Province, with the theme "COVID-19 narratives and memories: Emerging oral histories and methodologies in South Africa".

This anthology contains some of the papers delivered at the above-mentioned conference. Presenters, where encouraged to contribute towards this selection of the Conference Proceedings. They reworked their papers and submitted articles of high standard to reach a wide range of readers, including an academic audience. Three of the articles were also papers presented at the 2021 OHASA Conference and published as part of a Special Collection on Social Memory Studies in the journal HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies.

All articles were subject to a double blind peer-review process, and those accepted form part of this Volume.

The contributors are predominantly independent authors from diverse disciplines and institutions, with a focus on history, and oral indigenous representations, such as PhD and Masters students, lecturers, and professor from tertiary institutions such as the University of South Africa, North-West University, University of Lesotho, a Senior Researcher at the Freedom Park, as well as the first African indigenous scholar who completed a PhD in African indigenous astronomy.

The collection editors of the Conference Proceedings are proud to present this anthology with its excellent articles. The collection makes a massive contribution to local, national, and African knowledge in general, information that would have been lost if it was not for the effort and existence of OHASA.

Prof Christina Landman
Professor Extraordinarius, University of South Africa
Head of Publications: OHASA

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CONTRIBUTIONS

Acquinatta Nomusa Zimu (Dr) is a descendant of the indigenous African people representing the Zulu Clan in KwaZulu-Natal Province, South Africa. Currently she is an academic at the University of South Africa (Unisa), Department of Information Science. He is a PhD holder and an author of some few journal articles and book chapters. She has been exposed to reviewing some proposals for the postgraduate students and articles of various library and information science (LIS) scholarly journals. She is an African woman scholar imbued with Afrocentric philosophy and believes in the decolonisation of the mind especially in this period, considered post-colonial era by some decoloniality advocates. Her areas of interest include indigenous knowledge, oral history, decolonisation, records and archival management, museums, entrepreneurship, school libraries, information literacy and information organisation and retrieval.

Isabel Schellnack-Kelly (Prof) is an academic in Unisa's Department of Information Science. She teaches modules related to archives and records management and supervising Master's and Doctoral students. She has vast experience in archives and records management having worked in the field as an archivist at the South African National Archives and a consultant involved with projects in South Africa, Uganda and Kenya. Her areas of interests are indigenous knowledge, oral history, accessing archival collections, historical discourse, records management and the use of archival resources for historical pedagogy.

Joshua Chakawa is a senior lecturer in the Department of Historical Studies at National University of Lesotho. He worked in the Department of History and International Studies at Midlands State University, Zimbabwe from 2008 as a lecturer and rose to become Head of Department and senior lecturer. He joined National University of Lesotho as a sabbatical fellow before taking up a lectureship post there in 2022. Dr Chakawa has published journal articles and book chapters locally and internationally on environmental history, indigenous knowledge systems, diseases, liberation struggles, history education, traditional leadership peace and conflict, sanctions and of late, borderlands among other areas of historical interest. He is also working the history of stock theft in Lesotho. Currently, Dr Chakawa teaches both undergraduate and postgraduate courses. He is also supervising several postgraduate dissertations.

Lauren Marx was schooled in Bloemfontein and attended the University of the Free State, obtaining a degree in Education as well as a Master's degree in history. She has worked as a junior teacher and junior lecturer at the University of the Free State. She is the author of several academic articles and opinion pieces. Her research field is in South African history with a keen interest in aviation history. She is currently a Senior Researcher at Freedom Park in Pretoria

within the Heritage and Knowledge Department. Current project involves the completion of the 700 m2 permanent Gallery of Leaders exhibition space which honours worldwide leaders that have made a quantitative and qualitative leap forward regarding freedom and humanity.

Kapsell Kwena Semenya matriculated in 2015 at the Boshego High School in Limpopo. He obtained his Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems (BIKS) in 2022 from the North-West University (NWU) Mahikeng campus, where he is currently completing a Master's of Indigenous Knowledge Systems. He is temporarily appointed as an Indigenous Knowledge (IK) recorder at an Indigenous Knowledge Systems Documentation Centre (IKSDC) project hosted by the IKS Centre at the NWU. Kapsell's passion of revolutionising pedagogical approaches to higher education curriculums using technology, in the 5th industrial revolution, extends to create a flexible and suitable learning environment. His under and postgraduate studies focused on comparing the impact of COVID-19 on BIKS students at the NWU with that of the University of Venda. As undergraduate he joined the Student Academic Development and Support (SADS) unit as volunteer in a peer mentoring programme. Kapsell further advanced with certificates in graphic design and teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL), diploma in Nursing and Patient care, and diploma in administrative procedures and office support.

Mothusiotsile (Otsile) Edwin Maditsi is a PhD candidate at NWU, Mahikeng campus, focusing on decolonising community engagement using the NWU as a case study. He obtained a B.A. (Hons) and Master's degree in IKS from NWU. Otsile is currently lecturer under the nGAP at the IKS Systems Centre at NWU, committed in decolonising the teaching and learning activities within the higher education sector. This allows opportunities to attend and present papers at the NWU's annual teaching and learning conferences. He is also appointed to coordinate the third leg of the centre involved in community engagement and stakeholder relations. As Master's student he served as a full member of PRIMCO and appointed as a researcher for the project leader. He participated and facilitated some community engagement activities for and on behalf of the IKS Centre at National and local level, such as the IK Act of 2019, and Regulations, as well as BCP public awareness workshops across the country. Otsile is a member of South African Higher Education Community Engagement Forum (SAHECEF).

Motheo Koitsiwe (Dr) is the first African indigenous scholar who successfully completed a PhD thesis in African indigenous astronomy (*bolepa-dinaledi*) of Batswana in Botswana and South Africa. He obtained a B.A. degree in Social Sciences, and Master's in IKS. He is currently appointed as the Director of the IKS Centre, Faculty of Natural and Agricultural Sciences (FNAS) at NWU.

He is registered Post-Doctoral fellowship at the DSI-NRF South African Research Chair in Ocean Cultures and Heritage, Faculty of Humanities, Nelson Mandela University, Port Elizabeth. Motheo continues to collaborate with Department of Science and Innovation on projects such as Recognition of Prior Learning, IKS Documentation Centre, IKS EXPOs, the IKS Act Public Awareness Campaign, and Biocultural Community Protocols. He is currently working with the Department of Science and Innovation, Department of Higher Education and Training and SETA combating unemployment rates of graduates of the University of Venda and NWU. He focuses on developing African indigenous languages, arts, culture, heritage, and indigenous astronomy to develop an international astronomy society, an acre of IKS Ambassadors, institutionalisation of IKS and development of the Consortium on IKS at NWU.

Gaelebale Phokontsi (Dr) was born in Bloemfontein where she also received her secondary education and matriculated in 1992. She obtained her B.A. degree in 1995, HOE in 1996, Honours degree in 1998, two Postgraduate Diplomas in 2001 and 2006, and her Master's degree in 2013. She started her career as a teacher at Lereko Secondary School in Bloemfontein. In 2005 she was appointed as Assistant Director of Values in Education in the Department of Education (Motheo District and later Free State Province). She is presently employed as Deputy Director of Youth Development in the Department of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development.

Everyday conviviality during the COVID-19 pandemic:

Overt and covert resistance liquor consumers and suppliers in Maseru, Lesotho

Bopane Rampeta and Joshua Chakawa

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The Kingdom of Lesotho (hereafter Lesotho) went into lockdown from the end of March 2020 in line with what other countries in the global community did as part of measures to combat the spread of the novel corona virus that had assumed pandemic proportions at the beginning of the same year. The COVID-19 lockdown restrictions profoundly affected previously normal socio-economic activities, routines as well as individual rights and freedoms. Rituals marking the beginning (going to work) and end of the day (returning home) were disrupted by the lockdown. With little or nothing to do, some people resorted to drinking alcohol in areas which had a high risk of exposing imbibers to the virus. Little is known about the impact of the nationwide lockdown on alcohol drinking patterns in Lesotho. Beer occupies an important part of Basotho life and is commonly consumed at public social gatherings. This study examines the everyday experiences of alcohol consumers in Maseru during the lockdown period between March 2020 and December 2022. Our research constitutes part of socio-psychological consequences of the pandemic to ordinary people whose everyday activities were disturbed by the pandemic. Deploying a qualitative research approach based predominantly on oral sources, the study demonstrates the search for alcohol got patrons and their suppliers into a plethora of overt and covert deviant behaviours that were detrimental to national and global efforts on curbing the spread.

Contribution: The study contributes to knowledge on open and hidden forms of resistance which ordinary people embark on in the face restrictive measures such as the lockdown in Maseru. It is also an exploration of moral decadence which followed the wake of COVID-19 outbreak. This research widens knowledge on suitable measures which governments may need to consider in order to reduce resistance and therefore maximise cooperation in the event of pandemics.

Key Words: Lockdown; COVID-19; Maseru, Lesotho; conviviality; history from below; oral history; shebeen; *mamotsatsa*; *joala*

Introduction

This study uses conviviality and history from below as frameworks to understand the experiences of ordinary beer drinking individuals during the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown in Maseru, the

capital of Lesotho. Conviviality, according to Hart (2022: 4), is 'everyday ordinary virtue' that is not 'deformed by fear, anxiety and violence' providing an alternative to official multiculturalism. The term encompasses forms and registers of interaction between people of difference in urban environments. As such, this study locates conviviality within an urban set-up because it is a meeting point of different people. Our research is also cross-cultural in nature given the diversity of people which we were able to interview. The everyday is also a way of understanding how ordinary people react to authority or how they circumvent restrictions on their liberties overtly and covertly. Overt resistance is explicit and articulate while covert resistance is the opposite and includes passively failing to implement terms of the agreement such as COVID-19 guidelines. Conviviality is a concept that is inherently relational and emphasises being in a community of different people and surviving within it. According to Caire, Villata et al (www-sop.inria.fr, 27 April 2023), conviviality is concerned with user-friendliness, and it is often identified with it. In the face of COVID-19, new ways of survival and drinking cultures evolved as the usual daily routine which begins with going to work (or looking for something to do) in the morning and returning home in the evening, was disrupted by lockdowns. Ordinary interpretive ways surrounding the everyday in the circumstances created by COVID-19 were on their own essential ways of understanding the pandemic better.

We also use history from below as a gateway to the study of COVID-19 in Maseru. Literature shows that history from below is a brainchild of the University of Wits that began after the second half of the 1970s (Bonner, 1994: 977-985). Lyons (2010: 59.1) classifies history from below into new and old. In his 2010 address, he argued that,

> The 'New History from Below' is distinctive because it is based on writings from the grassroots and because it focuses on individual experiences of historical change. We can locate the voices of the forgotten and uneducated in the modern period by analysing the explosion of lower-class writings brought about by mass emigration from Europe and World War I.

The histories of epidemics have focused on actions at national level by government departments and NGOs to put the scourge under control. In that way, studies eclipsed the daily experiences of the ordinary citizens who are in their own ways also makers of history. We are also asserting that national histories have not been representative of the ordinary and poor because of their arbitrary collectiveness. The leader of the 'Dares Salaam School of history' once voiced dissatisfaction with the received version of national histories in newly independent African countries by asserting that:

> We would end with the singularly useless history, celebrating individuals, narrating their biographies and heroic acts or, at the most, erecting monuments for

> valiant tribes. This would leave the large mass of our people out of history, without history (Bhattacharya, 1983: 3).

History from below focuses on the inarticulate partly because they are people who cannot write or leave behind a trail of documents. Such a history largely depends on oral evidence in order to unearth the views of marginalised communities. It is through history from below that we were able to understand the Lesotho's rich traditions.

Using the two approaches stated above, we examine restrictions brought by the COVID-19 pandemic to gain a deeper meaning of the pandemic's effects on liquor consumption patterns in Maseru between March 2020 and October 2022. Breaking the normal routine by remaining confined to the home created stressing situation where consumption of alcohol became a coping mechanism (Grossman, Benjamin-Neelon & Sonnensche, 2020: 1). For example, researchers found out that quarantined individuals in China used alcohol as a coping mechanism during the 2003 SARS epidemic (Wu, 2008: 706-712). Studies of COVID-19 are deficient in relation to mechanisms deployed by alcohol consumers and suppliers to secure their drink during lockdown. Therefore, the study is about day-to-day activities between lockdown enforcers on the one hand, and beer providers and drinkers on the other. By focussing on altered drinking patterns during the lockdown, our study is a lens through which effectiveness of lockdown restrictions could be questioned.

Background

Flu-like syndromes have visited the world several times and left behind in their wake unbearable loss of life directly from ailments and indirectly from unwelcome consequences. Examples include the British influenza epidemic in 1732–1733, 1833 and 1847–1848, the Russian Flu from 1889–1892 and the Spanish Flu from 1918–1919 (Tanner, 2002: 51). Restrictions on human independence have historically punctuated pandemics and epidemics because regulated freedom is one accepted means to reduce the spread of disease and ultimately bring it under control. These restrictions affected alcohol consumption and visits to drinking places because such gathering points were regarded as disease super spreaders. The Dalmatian government made a series of regulations and guidelines for governance during epidemics that were influenced by the concept of medical police between 1814 and 1918. Unlike the recent COVID-19 outbreak, consumption of alcohol was encouraged as a therapy in some previous epidemics at least up to the 1860s (Puljizevic, 2021: 51).

During India's Spanish Flu (influenza) epidemic of 1918-19, government-imposed restrictions on movement and many other related freedoms. The government and provincial administration introduced draconian measures in order to check the spread of the plague. Such measures

included body searches of travelers, demolishing infected houses and burning their contents, segregating possible contacts, creating plague hospitals and evacuation centres (Arnold, 2019:188). The implications of such steps overlooked effects on the day-to-day lives of ordinary people by focusing on the state. COVID-19 was personal in as much as it was communal but the scientific evidence of this is scarce and fragmentary. Forms of resistance to restriction remain an under-researched area.

Restricting the consumption of alcohol is not something entirely new in the history of Lesotho. The founder of the Basotho nation, Morena Moshoeshoe I once implemented measures to curtail the importation and consumption of brandy in the Basotho territory on 8 November 1854. The *Leselinyana* newspaper mentioned that Moshoeshoe I was intolerant of brandy in Lesotho. In response to Moshoeshoe I's proclamation, *Leselinyana* of January 1960 suggests that Basotho were inconsiderate of this proclamation (Khonyane, 1960: 9). Despite the proclamation, Moshoeshoe I could not regulate the importation and consumption of brandy on his lands. His sons, who were chiefs and supposed to be custodians of his 1854 *Molao oa Joala oa Makhuoa* (Law prohibiting sale of European alcohol), involved themselves in the trafficking of spirituous liquor. Chiefs who had been content to buy a bottle of smuggled brandy now purchased barrels (Masihleho & Khalanyane, 2009: 66). Increasingly beer consumption was restricted to chiefs and those few wealthy Basotho who could afford it. By the 1880s, drunkenness was an apparent serious problem in Lesotho which astounded the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) as the darker side of European modernity (Masihleho & Khalanyane, 2009: 66).

The underlying argument towards the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century was that consumption of liquor was leading to moral decadence. The Protestant Churches were very strict about the consumption of alcohol by its members. Church attitude, on brandy, in particular, was reinforced by the colonial administration that prohibited the sale of liquor to Basotho. However, complete abstinence restricted practicing Christians from participating in societal activities, as convivial drinking played a central part in state gatherings as well as in cementing of ties and creating new ones. For the Basotho, beer drinking had significance beyond that of personal indulgence. Prohibition focused on 'monetarized' liquor but then, when the traditional *khotla* (a traditional Basotho court) from which a Mosotho man could have a free drink disappeared and new administrative structures were adopted, the shebeen came in to fill the vacuum created by the disappearance of *khotla* (Malahlela 1984: 130-134; Mapetla 1996: 70-77). Moshoeshoe I himself did not drink beer hence his restrictive efforts were supported by missionaries. Casalis, the missionary who was Moshoeshoe I's friend, is said to have written to the missionaries in Lesotho saying:

He would feel afraid to visit Lesotho, the country of his friend Moshoeshoe 1, who did not drink even the sorghum beer…stating that he recalled asking Moshoeshoe 1 why he dreaded liquor so much, to which Moshoeshoe 1 replied, like the man of wisdom he was, with the rhetorical question: how can a king drink madness? (Kunene1977: 152).

Despite resistance by Moshoeshoe and PEMS, the consumption of alcohol did not subside and the number of shebeens were on the increase by the turn of the century. By 1911, shebeens had a predominant occupation of Basotho women due to the absence of men working in South Africa leaving women to head households (Malahleha, 1985, pp. 45-55).

Context of Study

During the COVID-19 pandemic, drinking contexts interacted with cognitive and behavioural effects that were likely to increase the spread of COVID-19. This was so because those who drink normally gathered in settings that were usually ventilation poor (Andreasson et al., 2021). These authors claim the re-opening of bars, nightclubs, music festivals, motorcycle rallies and campus parties were all linked to the resurgence of the pandemic while closing these was linked to decline. In bars, people shouted on top of their voices with little or no consideration of guidelines to stem COVID-19 as stipulated by the World Health Organisation. At the same time, being restricted at home created challenges of its own thus forcing some individuals to resort to alcohol consumption.

Corona virus had its epicentre in the Wuhan province of China in 2019. In March 2020, the World Health Organisation (Merlo, 2021: 1) declared COVID-19 a pandemic. Measures to control the outbreak were implemented and one of them was lockdown and self-isolation. Merlo (2021: 2) found out that stress and anxiety created by lockdown situation led to increased consumption of alcohol, tobacco and drugs by young adults in particular. This consumption was occurring despite the closure of bars and other beer outlets. It is important, therefore, to establish the source of alcohol in such a restricted environment. Other studies have found that people consume alcohol as a coping mechanism. Within these pandemic circumstances, Lesotho implemented measures to control the spread of COVID-19 as published in The Lesotho Government Gazette Extraordinary (4 February 2021). According to WHO, from January 3, 2020 to 6 September 2023, there were 34 490 confirmed cases of COVID-19 and 706 deaths in Lesotho (https://COVID19.who.int/region/afro/ country/ls, 12 September 2023)

Beer drinking during COVID-19

As liquor outlets in Maseru closed due to COVID-19 directives, beer drinkers and their suppliers overtly and covertly circumvented guidelines thus posing challenges to controlling the spread of the pandemic. Shebeens, taverns and other undesignated spaces became illicit drinking hotspots. The word 'shebeen' means an unlicensed shop or house where drinks (alcohol) are sold. A shebeen is an unconventional drinking establishment where alcoholic beverages are sometimes brewed, always sold and dispensed at any time that is suitable to patrons and proprietors. Shebeens have always been criticised as,

> Places of ill-repute and regarded as dark and unhygienic dens in slum quarters where dagga smokers, prostitutes and other criminals converge for antisocial and illegal purposes; where dubious and sometimes dangerous concoctions are sold at exorbitant prices, and where violence and other crime are the order of the day (Ndabandaba and Schurink 1990: 32)

With special reference to Lesotho, it is important to bear in mind that a shebeen may be licensed as long as it meets the minimum requirements of the Liquor Licensing Act Number 8 of 1998. As a way of resisting COVID-19 restrictions, there emerged online alcohol sales during the pandemic which were facilitated by home deliveries. One study revealed that in UK, US and Australia, online sales increased tremendously (Andreasson et al., 2021: 15-16). However, most beer drinkers in Lesotho being poor and unable to afford online orders devised deviant methods commensurate with their circumstances. Poverty and ineffective policing contributed to the emergence of illegal and illicit drinking places and the rise of new unlicensed and hazardous to brew. Drinking spaces interfered with recommended measures such as social distancing, hand washing and wearing of masks, among others.

South Africa instituted a nationwide lockdown on 26 March 2020. The sale of goods and services classified as non-essential, such as tobacco and liquor, were prohibited (Ngarava 2022: 1). By the beginning of 2021, Lesotho and South Africa were hit hard by the pandemic (SolidarMed, 2 February 2021). The increase was from mid-December 2020 which is a festive season associated with legal and illegal travelling. Once inside the country, drinking interactions outside the recommendations and regulations of the government and other health bodies became super spreaders. The availability of these drinking contexts and networks explains the unusual everyday behaviour which the security apparatus could not effectively bring under control.

The relaxation of COVID-19 restrictions did not extend to alcohol which could only be consumed in family settings and not at weddings, entertainment industry and *pitso* (Basotho community

gathering usually called by the chief). Even during the Blue Stage coding which meant that the country would again be exposed to lighter COVID-19 restrictions which included the opening of schools and institution of higher learning on a rotational basis still adhering to standard risk-based guidelines, the normal operation of retail shops like grocery, supermarket, cafes and clothing stores however still observing COVID-19 protocols in April 2021, alcohol remained prohibited (www.gov.ls/lesotho-moves-to-blue-colour, 11 September 2023). Bar owners devised ways of getting alcohol to their patrons as a way of surviving in business under prohibitive conditions. In 2022, we undertook 14 interviews with some beer outlet owners and patrons of both sexes in Maseru to establish new drinking patterns, supply lines and attentiveness to COVID-19 restrictions.

Liquor provision in Maseru during the lockdown

For reasons linked to resilience in business, bar and shebeen owners operated clandestinely sometimes as a way of bringing food on the table. A study by Mugari and Obioha (2020: 403-15) showed that lockdowns led to food insecurity especially among the informal sector that compelled people to risk dying of COVID-19 while fending for their families than stay indoors and starve. One respondent from Maseru argued out that his only source of income was the bar (Interview with Paul, 22 August 2022). As the lockdown intensified, desperate bar and tavern proprietors close to main roads frequented by members of the Lesotho Mounted Police Service (LMPS) and Lesotho Defence Forces (LDF) to enforce compliance with lockdown directives devised new ways of covertly evading to survive in business. One mechanism involved taking the stock to secluded spaces where unlicensed operators would then sell on suppliers' behalf. Proprietors changed operating hours each day for fear of harassment and arrest by security agents. Paul varied his times of opening the bar greatly for his clients. He stated that,

> 'When I started selling, I had set the times. If you want to buy you must come at 10:00am and I would open for 3 hours. And then I would tell them to come back again at a certain time and then the last time was when it was about to get dark. Each day, I would change the opening hours as a way of avoiding arrests by police.'

Despite these attempts to sell during specific times, demands by his clients eventually compelled Paul to extend opening hours up to 3am. The illegal selling of beer was undertaken against a backdrop of rising liquor prices, fear of the police, odd working hours and above all, the risk of contracting COVID-19. LDF patrols in particular were the greatest threat and most feared because the officers often refused to take bribes and had a tendency of unleashing violence on beer drinkers and curfew breakers. LMPS on the other hand tended to accept either cash or beer bribes instead of enforcing restrictions as required by law. Most interviewees defined the

police as partners in crime. It was very rare for them to institute arrests for those breaching the lockdown by illegally selling beer at undesignated points.

One liquor provider claimed that at the peak of the lockdown in 2020, his clients simply knocked, and the door was opened only to known patrons. Clients were taken to an inner room where they imbibed until late on condition of keeping their voices low (Interview with Mantsabeng, 6 August 2022). Social distancing and the wearing of masks did not matter here. There is little doubt that such places were linked to the spread of the virus. The boredom at home was driving some people towards deviant behaviour with little fear of contracting the corona virus. The COVID-19 pandemic was an opportune moment for enterprising liquor dealers to order their drink from any district in Lesotho and disburse to clients at exorbitant prices. Daring entrepreneurs gathered courage to collect their liquor supplies from outside the district of Maseru. One woman who identified herself as Jane (23 August 2022) used to obtain her stocks of beer from Mafeteng District. She had to operate the business under difficult conditions with the risk of arrest any time while her customers desperately demanded the drink. She pointed out that despite being frequented by the army, she continued to operate. One of the factors that saved her was that she did not allow gambling at her premise because it (gambling) usually led to fights that attracted police.

Some Chinese dealers in Maseru loomed large in the liquor provision industry. Another interviewee, James, remembered instances where Chinese businesspeople became key partners in the supply-chain,

> 'Before lockdown we were already selling food and alcohol from a shack and when we were forced to close due to restrictions, my uncle brought about 5 cases of alcohol for my mother to sell. When it ran out, my mother's Chinese employers sold her 12 cases of 500ml Flying fish beer cans. In the interim, we were searching for suppliers and eventually we found them. The nice thing about these suppliers was that my mother was able to negotiate getting alcohol in bulk on credit because she spoke fluent Chinese (Interview with James, Maseru Border Area, Lesotho, 30 September 2022).'

Despite restrictions, drinkers continued to hunt for beer and in the process, exposing themselves to the pandemic. Illicit ginger beer, for example, was shared among imbibers with little regard of the possibility of contracting COVID-19. Drinking partners uncaringly shared the cup, can or bottle of beer.

Liquor consumers and the pandemic in Maseru

One of the reasons for unusual drinking patterns was social problems that were compounded by staying at home, sometimes with a partner one had tried to avoid before the lockdown. Palesa (29 September 2022) was one such victim. She lamented that, 'I started drinking before lockdown because I could not handle the stress of my marriage, which was already strained, and I was stuck with this person in the house'. She went on to add that drinking was her way of preventing gender-based violence that had the potential to erupt in these tense moments. Social isolation and job losses created high levels of stress which resulted in people consuming alcohol in order to cope with changed circumstances. Neo (Interview, 7 September 2022) confessed that,

> 'We were bored because our world had come to a stand-still, no work, no school, we were to be indoors, and the regulations stated that Basotho were to leave their houses only for essential services. Our essential services were alcohol and we had established a network of people where we could buy alcohol. Money was not an issue, schools were closed and that meant monies for fees, transport and lunch was redirected to finance our new lifestyle. Depending on what we felt like drinking, we would have the person to call, for instance, if we wanted ciders, we had it delivered to us in a random place the seller would choose to ensure that it was not a trap.'

Securing alcohol during the lockdown was associated with deviant behaviour of suppliers and clients. The concept of deviance takes many forms and can be contradictory; in some regards an action can be praised by others and condemned by some. The illicit selling and buying of alcohol in the pre-COVID-19 era was not ordinarily considered as deviant behaviour; however, in the COVID-19 lockdown, it was widely considered as deviant as laws were now invoked. To understand deviance, it should be noted that there is no reliable consensus on what might be identified as such, nevertheless, most people would say that they know deviance when they see it (Clinard & Meier 2008: 4-6). In Maseru, deviant behaviour became commonplace as adults sought to secure liquor by any means available to them. Thus, some people began to move about with forged documents that granted them free movement as providers of essential services while in practice, they were in search of beer**.** This was covert resistance. One such respondent was Thabo (Interview, 23 August 2022) who took advantage of a friend who was in essential services and had a permit to travel from one district to another even during curfew hours. Drinking involved a cat and mouse game with security forces. According to Lineo (Interview, 28 September 2022), fleeing or hiding either from the police or the army became a daily activity.

Many beer drinkers at undesignated spaces were sometimes beaten by the army or escaped harm by a whisker. The most common form of punishment was *pitika*. This is a Sesotho word that

means rolling on the ground; it is a common statement that is known among Basotho. This term came to popular use in the 1998 State of Emergency also referred to as '6 to 6'. The '6 to 6' makes reference to curfew from 6pm to 6am. Those who broke the curfew were punished by rolling on the rough ground surface in order to inflict pain on their bodies. Members of the LDF meted out this form of physical humiliation on curfew breakers, most of whom were beer drinkers. As beer lovers searched for alcohol, encounters with law enforcement agents mounting roadblocks were common. Lerato (Interview, 1 September 2022) explained that,

> 'I had a permit to drive after the curfew hours. One day on my way back from deliveries, we bumped into a LDFRoad block. I was in a car with a companion, and we had been drinking from the car. When the soldiers came to my window and asked procedural questions; I answered them and produced my permit. My friend on the passenger seat was either too drunk or scared and was trying to deter the army from asking. She started using words of endearment to the officer calling him by her totem 'Mokuena! yes Mokuena'! One female officer came closer, and she called her colleagues saying that there is a party in this car. Next thing I know my car was surrounded, I was so scared, I thought '*re ne re tlopitika*' (we are going to roll). I had to be strategic by shifting all the blame on her and apologising for her drunkenness and that as a woman I could not risk driving alone at night, and she was the only companion that I could find at such short notice as my husband was not feeling well. They let us go.'

The art of telling lies and deceiving was deployed as people imbibed on their favourite drink as if there was no pandemic. Deviant behaviour was further compounded by lack of reasonable activity at home that compelled beer drinkers to be innovative. The search for alcohol became another aspect of the new game. Majara (Interview 15 September 2022) brought to our attention that, 'Before COVID-19 hit, I was an occasional drinker, but the fact that I did not have access to alcohol made it appealing to me. I was also excited by the alcohol-hunt and house parties that we attended, that was an escape from uncertainty.'

The poor in areas such as Sea Point in Maseru resorted to illicit brews. One interviewee name Richard (18 September 2022) highlighted that patrons in his neighbourhood began to resort to traditional brews. These brews were a lot cheaper with 2 litres costing only 20 Maloti. Prior to the outbreak of COVID-19, flags defined where the brew could be found. Due to the pandemic, flags were no longer being hoisted and drinkers had to rely on word of mouth to locate where these illicit brews were being sold. The most common names of brews which appeared in our interviews were *hopose*, *sekumukumu*, *Sesotho* (sorghum beer), *thinya-u-fafohe* (turn staggering) and *qhoma-u-cheche (*jump and reverse walk). The common behaviour of those consuming some

of these brews is actually in their self-explanatory names, drinkers when walking actually 'turn and stagger' and 'jump and reverse'. This was in addition to the usual brews as found in licensed liquor outlets. Imbibers consumed their drink but always alert of law enforcement agents if they were not drinking from home.

With liquor difficult to secure due to closure of bars, drinkers searched for local brews as the last resort. This was done without regard to the possibility of contracting COVID-19. The word *'joala'* generally means alcohol, but it can also be used to refer to *joala ba Sesotho*, which is the Basotho traditional beer otherwise known as the 7-day brew. *Mamotsatsa,* on the other hand, is also a home-brewed beer which takes a shorter or longer time than 7 days. Basotho have different recipes, from fermenting grapes over a long period of time, to ginger beer with hops or fermenting sorghum with hops. This alcohol is made for personal consumption or for sale. Those who sold this type of beer had more patrons because of the closure of formal liquor outlets. Fieldwork proved that illicit beers became popular especially among the poor communities in Maseru while some public servants brewing their own from government offices (Interview with Mohapi, 8 August 2022). The shortage of beer in bars was also a compelling factor to the drinking of traditional beer and other improvisations. One interviewee summed up the state of desperation in the following words,

> 'I am a beer drinker; however, in the first lockdown when our local bars ran out of beer, and we had nothing to drink we experimented with *'mamotsatsa'*. I was very particular about the type of a drink, plus we experimented as a group and in a way, I did not very much feel like I had been downgraded. There was a guy workin in some government department who fermented ginger beer with hops, and he would then add food colouring and my friends and I would drink it from wine glasses. We added class to it! I don't like the fact that we became overly drunk because unlike the beer we are used to, this brew had higher alcohol percentages. We were not able to regulate our level of drunkenness, or rather know our limit. That was an experience I will never forget (Interview with Nkeletse, Paul Public Bar, Maseru, Lesotho, 22 August 2022).'

Traditional beers which were obtained clandestinely sometimes sickened their victims. The symptoms were not radically different from those of COVID-19. Naledi (15 September 2022) testified that,

> 'Unbeknown to me, my husband and his cousins had been drinking *'mamotsatsa*.' At one time, he received a call from his cousin telling him that he is not well and he needs to be driven to the hospital. When he told him his symptoms over the phone,

> I was apprehensive because I thought he had contracted COVID-19. However, my helper put me at ease when the cousin mentioned a painful back and a feeling of something moving up and down his spine. She mentioned to me that her mother often gets the exact symptoms from drinking '*mamotsatsa*', true enough, when they returned from the hospital, the doctor told him that he had a bacterial infection from the home-brew he was drinking.'

In the same vein, when death struck a family, some insisted on following traditional Basotho rites associated with burial. Even where the victim had died of COVID-19, some would still brew the traditional brew. In one such incident encountered by one of the authors, during the preparations of the funeral, there was a debate about whether to brew *'joala ba Sesotho'* or not. The family decided to go ahead and break the alcohol ban on the ground that it would not be right to bury their dead without it because, '*joala ba Sesotho*' is regarded as food for the dead. Thus, the slaughtering of a cow was set aside but not the brewing of beer due to its cultural significance. Brewing and serving traditional beer is a deserving send off for an adult Mosotho. Breach of restrictions was therefore an everyday experience among Basotho.

Conclusion

The paper has argued that social, psychological and economic problems that were created by the COVID-19 pandemic brought deviant everyday drinking patterns in Maseru which both the army and the police failed to subdue. The research has proved that historically, Basotho have defied restrictions to their new habits of drinking. Bans that were brought by the pandemic compelled bar owners and beer drinkers in Maseru to come up with new strategies of getting *joala* by actively or passively breaking the law guiding conduct during the pandemic. Traditional and other new brews erupted to service those desperately in need of beer. In the end, neither the police nor the army were able to stop the sale and illegal consumption of alcohol. We concluded that, in part, the lockdown resulted in overt and covert resistance and new strategies of selling and buying alcohol. The lack of sincerity in attempting to stop the trade by corrupt police officers worked in favour of illegal supply and consumption of liquor. Social distancing, wearing of face masks and other recommended guidelines were not observed during these drinking sprees.

The paper has therefore highlighted the need to research on behaviours associated with alcohol restrictions during pandemics. We also questioned the effectiveness of lockdown measures in the absence of social safety nets to meet the daily requirements of different sectors in society and concluded that restrictions bred deviance. As policies were formulated and directives given, scant regard focused on the impact of instituted measures on the ordinary people. The result was little adherence to directives which in turn put challenges to efforts of containing

pandemics as the case of COVID-19 in Maseru has demonstrated. The poor on the fringes of society resisted regulations in ways which had the potential to spread the viral disease further. Increased alcohol consumption was facilitated by bar owners who continued to get beer to their clients by unorthodox means.

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General Management of COVID-19 and the implication on the ordinary South Africa:

The need for network governance

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This article advocates for a shift towards the network governance as efficient and effective measure in addressing service delivery. It focuses on the management of Covid-19 administratively through the regulatory framework and how that led to integrated approach by all role players. It addresses government regulatory framework such as the Disaster Management Act: Regulations Relating to Covid-19, the role of National Institute for Communicable Disease (NICD). A reference is made to challenges that affected the citizens and how government was exposed. The value and application of network governance is demonstrated to provide functional environment.

Keywords: Public Policy; good governance; Covid-19, networks governance, disaster management.

Introduction

Fundamental to the management of Covid-19, which is an infectious disease caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus and affected the entire world (World Health Organisation, n.d.1) in South Africa was the adoption of the Disaster Management Act: Regulations relating to Covid-19, Government Notice no. 318 of 2020. The act was passed to cater and regulate the administration of Covid-19 by government to prevent the spread of the pandemic and ensure the safety of the citizens. To manage this process, the act made provision for prevention of activities such as the gatherings, quarantine and isolation, closure of schools and partial care facilities, regulation of visits, imposition on liquor distribution, emergency procurement procedures and the minister of Health was appointed as the leading authority to issue direction on addressing, preventing, combating the spread and on developments regarding the pandemic, while each cabinet minister would be responsible for their specific department in terms of Covid-19 (RSA, Disaster Management Act, 2020:5). The act was meant to provide direction and ensure a hassle-free management of a destructive pandemic. Second to that, is that the act was adopted as a tool that will ensure uniformity and consensus on how the citizens should conduct themselves in the time of crisis to protect each other. The act was clear on how to respond to each aspect that was covered. The conditions were set up and these conditions were accepted at the beginning. The

importance of the study is to highlight how the act was manipulated and rendered ineffective leading to serious policy compromise.

The developments led to the citizens starting to lose interest and developed disgruntlement due to the negative effects of this act. Amongst the key concerns of the society was the increase related to economic inequalities that became reflective through indicators such as race, hunger and income. According to Nwosu (2020:3) "Africans were reported to be in poor health than white counterpart and that was a case with hunger and income worsened health inequalities through the richer being less likely to be in poor health" and Mubangizi (2021:3) further outlined the race issue by quoting the UK office of National Statistics which indicated that "black people are more than four times more likely to die from Covid-19 than white people. The issue of hunger is corroborated by the study conducted by the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) that "out of the 2680 students who said they relied on food donations, nearly 10% said they were dependent on food parcels, while a further 14,9% said they only relied on handouts sometimes" (SA news, 2021:2) "the lack of food and financial resources led to hunger riots, shop looting and confrontation with the police" (Stiegler and Bouchard2020:2). These conditions created challenges for the government because the economy continued a downward trajectory and aggravating the circumstances. The people's livelihoods were compromised, and it called for a more sustainable approach to the crisis and beyond. The government had to apply specific measures to manage the situation and the measures together with their effect will be discussed in this paper as part of the paradigm shift that occurred in the administration of Covid-19. The study attempts to show how network governance could have benefitted both government and the society in minimising the corruption cases throughout the country.

The New Paradigm

Governance and administration Perspective

The effects of the Covid-19 pandemic in South Africa led to government decision to enter the lockdown that started on 26 March 2020. The lockdown introduced conditions such as social distancing, the wearing of masks, regular sanitisation, and frequent washing of hands. The health sector had to ensure the monitoring, diagnosing and tracking of new cases and recording of the statistics. Furthermore, there was an introduction of curfew whereby people's movements were regulated, alcohol and cigarettes sales were banned all these measures were aimed at controlling the spread. The challenges that were encountered included and were not limited to lack of laboratories for diagnosis and treatment; the delay in sampling and Covid-19 tests; shortage of skilled health workers; high financial insecurity and limited education on good hygienic practices (Hatefi, Smith, Abou-El-Hossein and Alizargar, 2021:3). The situation forced government to

mitigate by passing regulations and strategies to manage the pandemic. The measures started with the amendment of the Disaster Management Act, of 2002. The amendment led to the adoption of the Disaster Management Act: Regulations relating to Covid-19, a legislation which was passed on 2020, April 20 (RSA, Disaster Management Act, 2020:1).

The adoption of the Disaster Management Act on Covid-19, enabled government to establish structures that would manage the spread of the virus. These structures worked under the guidance of the National Institute for Communicable Disease (NICD) which is the institute responsible for planning of policies and programme to support communicable disease control and elimination efforts and provides numerous specialised diagnostic services (RSA, NICD, 2002:1). In addition, was the inter-ministerial committee on Covid-19, an Emergency Operations Centres and the National Command Council which was chaired by the president and the Corona virus hotlines were established for immediate response from the police, health service, rapid response to crime, fire services and other services delivery needs of society (Sekyere, Bohler-Muller, Hongoro and Makoae, 2020:2).

Furthermore, the Department of Health adopted the National Plan for Covid-19 Health Response: South Africa which was finalised on 07 May 2020. The purpose of the plan was to "guide the government 's response at National and Provincial level to Covid-19 pandemic in South Africa, it envisaged to be implemented using the "Whole-of-Society" and "Whole-of-Government" approach, recognizing the social and economic impact" (RSA, Dept of Health, 2020:10). The plan was structured along the network system hence the whole society and whole government approach. It was envisaged to involve every stakeholder and ensure their direct involvement. Inter-governmentally, various departments had to play a role for instance, the Department of Defence had to release and mobilise their resources including human resources, stores, equipment, ships, aircraft platforms, vehicles and facilities and ensure the delivery of essential services as required to prevent, limit, contain, combat and manage the spread of covid-19 (RSA, NICD, 2002:5). The Department of Defence worked in close contact with the police to ensure the adherence to all the Covid-19 regulations. The institutions at all levels of governance were ordered to make funds and resources available to handle the demands associated with Covid-19. The Department of Treasury both national and provincial had to ensure compliance through the application of section 27 (2) of the Act, in relation to the national state of disaster (RSA, NICD, 2002:5). Compliance and prudence were followed through the application of acts such as the Public Finance Management Act, of 1999 and the Municipal Finance Management Act, of 2003. In terms of policy, the government did what they could to ensure that policy is applied and adhered to the maximum. Policy is according to Starling as "a kind of a guide that delimits action" (De Coning and Wissink, 2018:6).

The policies that were applied and implemented were adopted with the specific intention of regulating people's actions or delimit them to the benefit of all while securing better service delivery in trying times. The fact that these policies encouraged a more network approach to the management of Covid-19 warranted for policy implementation to guide and control developments. The policies provided framework which had to be followed by all stakeholders involved in the management of Covid-19. The government valued the collaborations that were forged to support the affected communities as it was a well-known fact that the people who were mostly affected were the poor who lacked services such as proper sanitation, food parcels and medical health resources. The networks especially the private sector secured essential health stock, which later led to the development of an integrated health stocks database which helped to increase the production of face masks. At the same time, a solidarity fund was established to protect the vulnerable and needy and regulators supported intensified cooperation to keep businesses to enable deeper collaboration and working together (SA news, 2020:2). The national plan made provision for multisectoral systems and governance which are network related and they made strong linkages that made resources available and accessible. The benefits of these networks are empowering and enabling individuals and communities to protect themselves. It also made provision for data driven approach guided by the evidence at hand for informed decision making while standard surveillance data from local, district and provincial levels was used for implementation purposes. The approach enabled effective communication amongst stakeholders. The networks were extended to regional and global partnerships which made the sharing of resources and information amongst the SADC, AU and WHO possible and efficient (RSA, Dept of Health, 2020:14). The new paradigm prescribed that government had to extend networks and forge new partnerships. The new paradigm made isolationist management irrelevant. The network approach led to the which was a strategy that enabled the country to source help from others, led to the deployment of Cuban doctors in health facilities, these doctors arrived in the country on 26 April 2020 and that led to the transformation of facilities such as sport stadiums to interim hospitals (Stiegler and Bouchard, 2020:5). Network system work to the advantage of the country because the connections benefitted the society directly.

The socio-economic and legal aspects of Covid-19 were underpinned in the Constitution of South Africa, act 108 of 1996, with the poor people placed at the centre of developments. There was an ethical consideration in terms of response to the pandemic and it started with the basic principles aimed at protection, equity, individual liberty, privacy and confidentiality, care and stewardship to prevent and treat this deadly pandemic (RSA, Dept of Health, 2020:13). The ethical consideration had to be adhered to because citizens possess rights that are legally protected and that are not supposed to be violated in a name of protection against the pandemic. The government had to ensure that the individual rights of citizens are secured while they are prevented from contracting

the virus because the right to good health is also a basic right. The prevailing conditions did not have to compromise their well-being as well as their right. The government had to strike a balance between the two to restore their dignity. However, the process was not an easy one. A lot of sacrifice and compromised happened and the society lost a lot despite the preventive measures. The loss was experienced through the challenges that were identified below.

Social Challenges

Socially, Covid-19 impacted negatively at all levels of society but the following superseded the list:

Poverty and inequality – is defined by the United Nations as "the total absence of opportunities, accompanied by high levels of undernourishment, hunger, illiteracy, lack of education, physical and mental ailments, emotional and social instability, unhappiness, sorrow and hopelessness for the future; it is characterised by a chronic shortage of economic, social and political participation, relegating individuals to exclusion as social beings, preventing access to the benefits of economic and social development and thereby limiting their cultural development"(Mubangizi, 2021:7). Poverty hit South African severely during lockdown and the aftermath is a dire state. The severity of poverty in South Africa was aggravated by the virus "rapid human to human transmission resulting in its ability to spread widely and quickly across communities and nations" (Mubangizi, 2021:4). The social dynamics changed from bad to worse due to closure of economy in trying to salvage their wellbeing. In the last quarter of 2020, unemployment rose to 7,2 million and people lost income while salaries were cut severely… 16% of households reported that their children were suffering from hunger (Moodley, 2021: 1). With a rise in unemployment, poverty levels increased and the number of people living below poverty levels increased. The situation was aggravated by the rise in inflation which meant that food became expensive and affordability is a challenge.

The greatest blow was the budget cut from Statistic South Africa, which is an agency that is supposed to provide accurate data to enable planning and implementation of programme, whilst influencing the budget allocation for social expenditure. A budget cut of R200 million from Stats SA compromised the legitimacy of data required to plan for the very pandemic that the country faced. According to Wilkinson (2020:2) "income expenditure survey was hardest hit … the survey collects data from around 25 000 households nationally on poverty, income, consumption and spending patterns". The compromised budget meant that valuable data that was supposed to support government planning and decision making was lost or not accurately collected. Therefore, it is possible that the gap between the poor and rich is greater than what is currently projected because the data collection process was compromised. Accurate data is necessary when dealing with poverty and inequality in a pandemic era. As Wilkinson (2020:3) "saving lives should be viewed in terms of making the right policy decisions, informed by

accurate numbers and the role of Stat SA is invaluable to the country, its people and to attempt to solve numerous pressing challenges". An attempt at resolving issues related to poverty and inequality relies solely on statistics and when this aspect of governance is not adequately managed it aggravates problems for the poor and vulnerable. As a result, majority of poor and vulnerable communities in South Africa are receiving a disservice from government because of the impact of poor data collection.

Poor Health and Emotional Distress – According to a survey conducted by the HSRC "65% of student experienced mild to severe psychological distress" (SA news, 2021:2). In addition, "the number of South Africans screening positive for depression increased from 24 to 29% and 2 in 3 South Africans reported experiencing hunger everyday had depressive symptoms (Moodley, 2021:2). The psycho social effects of Covid-19 were severe for citizens and some could not cope. The situation was aggravated by the increasing number of Covid 19 death statistics that continued an upright trajectory. Adaptation to Covid-19 regulations that encouraged isolation and social distancing intensified the conditions that were unbearable already. Central to the health-related condition were the following:

- Lack of laboratories and health-care centres for diagnosing and treating people, compromising healthcare quality;
- Delay between sampling and the outcome of the Covid-19 test in many locations affecting the treatment, isolation and follow-up strategies;
- The effects of Covid-19 lockdown implementation on HIV care continuum;
- Shortage of skilled health-care workers;
- Children under the age of 10 were infected by Covid-19;
- The Covid-19 testing process taking up to 10 days to confirm; and
- Low levels of safety and high financial insecurity in poor locations affecting provision and coverage of public health care (Hatefi et al, 2021:3).

Government had a lot to manage in as far as health is concerned and the resources were minimal. Apart from the resources, were issues of infrastructure that could not fast track the provision of services especially for the poor and rural communities. Health care laboratories could not provide medication and could not keep up with the demands for diagnosis and treatment. The issue of limitations regarding testing capacity and facilities such as laboratories and testing centres is also highlighted by Mishra (2020:11). The country was caught by surprise and was not ready for the pandemic situation. The country did not have manpower required to manage Covid-19. Hence, at one-point government had to source the assistance of doctors from Cuba to provide support and these specialists arrived in South Africa on 26 April 2020 (Stiegler and

Bouchard,2020: 5). The available health care workers were also severely affected and infected in some cases leading to loss of life. According to Stiegler and Bouchard (2020: 2) "500 medical staff tested Covid-19 positive in the first two months of the pandemic, while 26 medical doctors had been hospitalised and 2 health workers, a doctor and a nurse had died from Covid-19 by 6 May 2020". The Covid-19 situation exposed serious governance challenges in the health care sector, with regulations that were detrimental to the economic growth with the closure of key economic drivers. The risks were very high for South African government to sustain livelihood while maintaining functional economy and this proved to be impossible.

Environmentally, the municipalities were already struggling to provide basic sanitation and some communities could not access clean water and the water was prescribed as one of the basis resources that could be used to manage Covid-19 because people were encouraged to wash their hands frequently. Therefore, it can be concluded that practicing good hygiene that involved washing hand and hydrating posed a challenge to South Africans because all they knew was access to poor quality water supply (Sekyere, et al, 2020:4). Some governance challenges in municipalities were long standing challenges that municipalities failed to resolve pre-Covid-19 and it became difficult for municipalities and government in general to address them during the pandemic period.

Corruption – Chapter 14 of the National Development Plan (NDP) is dedicated towards the fight against corruption. The chapter was informed by the discovery by the National Planning Commission that made a finding that the country suffered high levels of corruption which undermined the rule of law and state's ability to fight economic imbalances that were inherited through Apartheid System. Corruption also compromised good governance that is centred around the principles of accountability, openness and transparency. It is based on this background that the Commission recommended "a more resilient system consisting of political will, sound institutions, solid legal foundation and active citizenry that is empowered to hold public officials accountable" (National Planning Commission (NPC), 2011:2).

When the country declared lockdown due to Covid-19, corruption also raised its intensity. In July 2020, the president signed a proclamation empowering the Special Investigative Unit (SIU) to investigate the allegations of fraud and corruption related to Covid-19 funds across all spheres of government. The SIU was given powers to refer matters for prosecution; institute proceedings for recovery of any damages or losses incurred by the state; and ensure speedy action (SA news, 2020:1).

Despite the government action, service providers working with some officials in some cases exploited the country's moment of vulnerability to enrich themselves while the poor and the vulnerable suffered. A lot of corruption allegation were made amongst them were "Unemployment Insurance Find (UIF) claims, overpricing of goods, and services, violation of emergence procurement regulations, collusion between officials and service providers, abuse of food parcels distribution and the creation of fake non-profit organisations (NPO) to access relief funding (SA news, 2020:2). The government experienced challenges in managing this situation while the poor and vulnerable continue to bear negative consequences. The services did not reach the intended beneficiaries and life was difficult. The awarding of personal protective equipment (PPE) tenders were found to be fraudulent and unlawful. According to the information that was sighted by the Special Investigative Unit (SIU) in the report to Presidency the following were managed:

- Forty-five matters constituting a combined value of 2,1 billion were enrolled with the Special Tribunal on Corruption, Fraud and Illicit Money Flow;
- The SIU made 224 referral cases for disciplinary action against government officials;
- The SIU made 386 referrals to the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) as well as three referrals for Executive Action;
- The SIU made 330 referrals for administrative action, which include blacklisting;
- The rand value of actual cash and assets to be recovered based on the investigation is R551, 5 million, while cash and assets recovered to date total R34, 2 million; and
- The value of potential loss prevented by the investigation is R114, 2 million, while contracts set aside amount to R170, 4 million (SA news, 2022: 2).

The corruption statistic reflects the weakness in government to manage the processes and procedures for procurement. It seems as if the government compromised good governance in because if transparent processes were followed and accountability was amongst those responsible for Covid-19 relief management some problems would be curbed. Governance focus on decision making and processes followed to reach a decision. The actors involved concentrate on implementation of the decision and such decision. Good governance can defuse conflict because of the agreements and consensus that is reach before any implementation (Jaja, 2014:1). What transpired in South Africa depicts deliberate collapse of procedures and measure. It shows application of poor controls or no measures at all. Greed took over and inequality gap was extended, and beneficiaries of relief measure continued to suffer at the expense of the few. Corruption contributed to the collapse of the economy because most expenditure that was meant for relief and help for the citizens fell in wrong hands and the cases that are mentioned in the study bear reference.

Education – the greatest loss in education was the learning time due the closure of schools which meant compromised the contact sessions between learners and educators. According to Dr. Taylor, "the Covid-19 measure led to a loss of about 50% and 75% of a normal year's worth of learning in 2020 … and evidence from National Income Dynamic Study – Coronavirus Rapid Mobile Survey (NIDS-CRAM) shows more school aged children are not attending school than usual" (SA news, 2021:1). While Reddy (2022:3) calculated the learning loss amongst grade 2 and 4 learners between 60% and 80%. Either way, the loss was too much, and recovery cannot be easily guaranteed. Education is the fountain of development and its disruption means a compromised future and the effects are detrimental. According to Reddy, (2022:3) learners from poorer households and countries, earlier grades and mathematic and reading were severely affected by the Covid-19 regulations.

The introduction of remote learning brought about challenges for most learners and students especially from the rural communities where infrastructure is not developed and access to facilities such as internet remains a privilege for the few. Section 29 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, states that "everyone has the right to a basic education, including adult basic education and to further education, which the state through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible" (Constitution, 1996:14). Under Covid-19 conditions and restrictions, the right became an impossibility because the state was never ready for such a crisis in education. The education system was exposed and inequalities that existed in the system became glaring. School closure meant no access to education for the poor and the rural communities because of poor resourcing by the state. Covid-19 exacerbated the inequalities, put learners at risk of exclusion with institutions offering teaching and learning through online and virtual approaches. The greatest challenge for learners and students was poor infrastructure that contributed to the marginalisation of the poor due to their inability to access devices such as data, electricity and internet connection (Mubangizi, 2021:15). The situation meant that only the rich will access education and the poor were left behind. The rights of these communities were infringed upon by lack and poverty.

Schools were forced to come up with innovative measures to curb the total collapse in education, but it was not easy. Amongst the measures that were implemented in schools were emergency remote learning system, rotational time-table, catch-up on teaching and learning and reduction and trimming of curriculum content (Reddy, 2022:2). Absenteeism by teachers did not make life easy for the overall education fraternity with some working from home due to comorbidities. Schooling was in a real predicament. The educational conditions in the country were sad and strenuous. The governance of the situation was difficult with the Department of Basic Education providing generic guidelines and letting schools to adapt and adjust the regulations in line

with their specific conditions. Therefore, there was no uniformity in the implementation of these conditions. Some schools could apply for exemption from rotation and go to school daily depending on how resourceful they were. The situation extended the social inequalities further because the schools that could afford to bring all learners to school were still those who could afford.

Poor Monitoring and Evaluation - The above- mentioned challenges reflects poor monitoring especially the corruption which led to many poor people missing out on resources that were meant for their consumption. Inequality and poverty levels were expanded because the relief measures could not benefit the rightful beneficiaries. In most cases, the monitoring was based on the virus itself. The focus was less on the psycho-social impact on society but on the standardised monitoring which was prescribed by the World Health Organisation (WHO). Factors such as the distribution of PPE to communities; ensuring adequate delivery of food parcels and ensuring that procurement systems are not flawed were not monitored in-depth hence corruption allegations that costed billions of rands. The government failed to implement good governance and the administration was weakened with opportunists taking advantage. There is a clear indication that government failed to adhere to basis monitoring and evaluation attributes of "driving M&E from top level to ensure implementation and compliance; focusing on outcomes and results of public programmes; policies and formally institutionalising M&E by means of legislation or performance agreements and providing guidelines to ensure the effective and efficient use of evaluation information (Cloete et al, 2018:370).

Government was more concerned about monitoring and evaluation in line with WHO which developed a risk score methodology adapted to countries existing data and needs, it combined four Key Performance Indicators, focusing on attack rate, laboratory testing, increased case load and case fatality ratio (WHO, 2020:15).

South African government monitored the Covid-19 through the existing monitoring tools and people took advantage. Compliance to PFMA and MFMA did not happen despite treasury regulations clearly stated prescription that the accounting officers must appoint Chief Finance Officers who will be responsible to assist the accounting officer in discharging the duties as prescribed in chapter 5 of PFMA in order to ensure effective financial management of the institution; the exercise of sound budgeting and budgetary control practices, the operation of internal controls and the timely production of financial reports (RSA, Treasury, 2001:7). The management of Covid-19 funds failed to meet the set standard in the Treasury Regulations and monies where lost despite the existence of policies and the appointment of people who are supposed to guard these monies. The failure to monitor the processes and procurement during Covid-19 era intensified corruption and collapsed the economy completely.

Application of network system

The diagram below is a measure that is recommended for better administration and to bring collaboration and coordination of services in society. It is an explicit demonstration that shows that it is possible for different sectors to function while each upholds its autonomy. The system is called network system which defined as a holographic model whereby temporary relationships forged amongst various sectors fashioned to work out problems and challenges through informal channels of communication, to connect, communicate and collaborate (Asaduzzaman and Virtanen, 2017:8). Nakamura and Smallwood in Cloete et al, 2018:203) concur with the notion by indicating that networks "are functional environments with various actors and arenas connected through communication and compliance linkages". What is necessary is for each sector to keep its mandatory goals as a priority and keep focus on those to provide holistic outcomes to service delivery and policy implementation. The approach is recommended because of its ability to ensure transparency and ensuring the implementation of good governance as one of government's principal needs if it is to thrive. The following is the diagram showing the functionality of network governance:

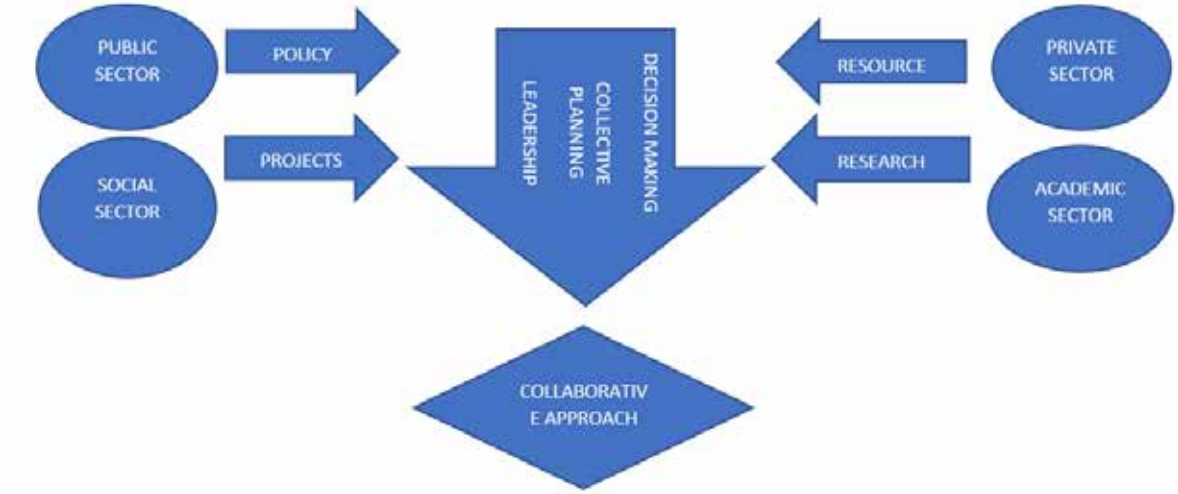

Diagram: 1 Strategic Network Governance (Phokontsi, 2022:375)

The diagram shows the functional way in which governance processes can flow to ensure adequate service delivery. The process stems from the network governance that advocates for collaboration and cooperation in the implementation of services and how various sectors feature in ensuring involvement of each stakeholder and how they can contribute. The advantage of the approach is that it intensifies accountability because the process is open and that is what the networks need and that is in line with network governance. The process flow in the diagram also promotes integrated approach to problem solving and that is what South Africa need to reach

its societal needs. It also assists each stakeholder to see their role and responsibility according to their primary mandate. The Covid-19 period exposed government in that its silo approach when the policies call for integration. It showed that government is individualistic in approach hence the involvement of private sector was specific towards provision of some resources but where not entirely involved as was indicated on health-related matters. The corruption cases that are discussed in this paper also reflects the manipulation of processes by private sector because of lack of direct involvement by public sector in some activities. Inaction led to poor accountability by private sector. Network governance promotes transparency which is something that lacked during Covid-19 period. The policy controls and procedures were easily flawed and by-passed in government sector through corrupt collaborations by individuals. Private sector took advantage of the situation hence the claims that food prices were escalated due to lack of interdependent approach in managing the pandemic situation.

The problem with government is the inability to implement its own policies because the District Development Model which was endorsed by the state president is based on network governance and it would have strengthened governance and minimised corruption through collaborative and cooperative working relations. The government should have adopted the one plan approach in the management of Covid-19. The approach follows the two most important processes which is the spatialization focusing on development priorities and objectives into localised areas while reprioritisation focused on reviewed plans and budgets for impactful services (RSA, Dept of Cooperative Governance, 2020:5). The approach promotes network governance because it calls for joint planning thus redistribution of roles and responsibilities.

The approach was going to benefit government because of decentralisation, specialisation and focused service provision. Unlike in a situation where government had to carry the brunt alone without assistance. Networks promotes collaboration, integration and cooperation and government required that more during the Covid-19 period and the approach is could be backed by legislation such as the Inter-governmental Relations Framework Act, 2005.The approach boosts accountability and transparency in governance. It boosts the relations between society, state and private sector. Another important factor is the decentralisation of services and sharing of resources, these are very important to ensure efficiency, effectiveness and value for money. In this paper, conclude that governance is a multi-organisational action rather than state institutions working alone but all sectors work together in problem solving (Asaduzzaman and Virtanen, 2017:4). Network governance would have worked well in the management of Covid-19. The poor management of networks may lead to the networks deciding to work against the government and that may be detrimental.

Findings and Conclusion

On paper, the structures and measures that were adopted to curb maladministration of Covid 19 were supposed to be effective and efficient. However, the challenges that are outlined in the study gives a negative picture. Government did a lot from the amendment of the Disaster Management Act to accommodate the pandemic era. It began with the adoption of the Disaster Management Regulations related to Covid 19 2020, then the establishment of the NICD which was responsible for policy planning and programme support. The approach was more towards network governance in that they also established the inter-ministerial committee on Covid 19, the Emergency Operation Centre were data related to the pandemic was managed from and the National Command Council. Despite all these a lot of irregularity that led to disgruntlement of citizens happened. Adherence to legislations such as the PFMA of 1999 and the MFMA of 2003 together with the Treasury regulations did not stop the ruthless from taking advantage. Private sector came into collaboration through provision of necessities, yet these did not reach the intended beneficiaries and this act is a show of non- compliance to the Constitutional rights of the poor and the vulnerable in South Africa.

The study discovered that the poor and vulnerable remained in the unacceptable conditions. The economy did not help their situation instead, poverty and inequality gaps were stretched more. More people lived below poverty levels. Unemployment increased, and affordability became a challenge. The budget cut at Stat SA compromised government planning and that was a blow for the citizenry. The study remains with an element of scepticism about how government managed to plan when it is known that statistical data collection was compromised.

The loss of life associated with Covid-19 together with other challenges such as unemployment and poor health led to more South Africans getting into a stage of psychological distress and depression. Adaptation to regulation especially social distancing led to psycho-social deterioration amongst citizens. Health conditions were also compromised by the municipal failures to provide basic services like water and sanitation.

The study observed that corruption cases increased. The vulnerable were exploited to a level where the SIU had to be invited to investigate. Corruption robbed citizens, millions were lost within the system while the people continue to suffer. Education is another sector that was severely affected in that schools had to close, children lost on curriculum deliver and those who depended on meals provided by schools had to miss out. The online and virtual teaching could not reach all the learners and students due to obvious reasons of infrastructure and access. Therefore, the gap between the rich and the poor expanded further.

It can be stated that the management of Covid 19 in line with good governance in South Africa failed the citizens and the recovery is far reaching. The study recommended the adoption and full application of network governance to broaden the oversight and monitoring of services to the communities. The involvement of all sectors in service provision is essential to ensure value for money.

It must be stated that the findings and the recommendations that are made in this study are based on the desk top research and the study can be upgraded through in-depth acquisition of data through the engagement of those who were affected. The question that remains is "why is government failing to put its own theory into practice? Is it because of lack of skills, ignorance or deployment of wrong cadres?

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Pandemic panic in the time of mass social media (ab)use:

Social media and misinformation during COVID-19 pandemic in South Africa

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The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic was a global black swan event that changed the direction and trajectory of the globe for over two years. It emerged seemingly without warning and very few nations escaped the devastating social and economic consequences the pandemic sowed, with very few countries fully equipped to deal with such a fallout. The virus, discovered in Wuhan, China in late 2019, created a clear and present danger to millions of people around the world, particularly the elderly and immune-compromised. However, this virus is highly unpredictable and prone to mutations, so it made understanding predictability of the virus challenging. To complicate matters, the virus was quickly socially stigmatized as 'Wuhan pneumonia' or 'China virus'. This stigmatisation quickly grew traction on social media platforms and created a stage for any person to voice their opinion on the virus as fact. This article therefore seeks to unpack the dangers of social media and misinformation campaigns in the time of COVID-19 as well as highlighting the importance of critical thought engagement on social media platforms through oral testimonies of social media experts, creators and users.

Keywords: COVID-19, social media, misinformation, oral testimony, critical thought

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic was, and perhaps still is, one of the most disruptive global events in recent history. It affected millions of people worldwide (609 million cases and a global death rate of 6,52 million). The virus moved with incredible speed and brought normal development of human society to a temporary standstill. Economies around the world suffered greatly as global supply chains were disrupted with weaker demand for goods and services and a total disruption to international tourism. This unseen enemy touched every single facet of society politically, socially, economically, and left serious, long-term consequences that people are only starting to experience now as the knock-on effects become more evident. Notwithstanding the major effects to one's physical health, there was also the constant fear of the unknown facets of

the virus which played havoc on peoples psyche as well as the emotional and psychological pain of seeing loved ones gravely ill with the virus while not being able to take action. It was a time of panic, confusion, and helplessness for millions of people around the world, with isolation, restrictions and lockdowns in various countries contributing to this feeling of malaise. People were separated from loved ones for extended periods of time, while others lost their jobs due to economic cutbacks of the virus. The effects of COVID-19 are still being felt today and are so broad, they eclipse the parameters of this article. While millions of people globally were forced to stay at home, access to a computer and the internet proved a solace to many as one could now communicate virtually with friends, family and work which provided some stability. The internet also became a metaverse of massive amounts of information about COVID-19, some of which hugely informative and others which was pure misinformation, both of which has real-life effects on those consuming data. Therefore, this article seeks to analyze oral testimony from various sources on the issue of misinformation of COVID-19 through social media channels and the effect thereof.

Research Process

This study was conducted by interviewing key individuals that played a role in the fight against the COVID-19 pandemic in the form of medical personnel, medical journalists, and scientists. There were originally seven identified interviewees with five respondents. The justification for the inclusion of these participants is firstly, their professional contribution through collective years of experience and secondly, their firsthand knowledge of the social media content regarding COVID-19 versus that of professional and academic research. The study is approached from the perspective of the participants in their expression of research data and statistics regarding vaccines versus the promulgation of misinformation around COVID-19 and the vaccine. The prime aim of this study was firstly, to gather oral testimonies and collective memories of the COVID-19 pandemic from medical doctors, health journalists, molecular scientist and leaders in social media journalism in the field. The second objective was to gather oral testimonies on the proliferation of misinformation on COVID-19 through social media platforms. These oral testimonies were conducted virtually so there was no handicap in terms of reaching interviewees geographically. The interviews conducted on a one-on-one basis lasted roughly thirty minutes to an hour. Interviews were virtually recorded and transcribed for the ease of referring to statements during the writing and editing process. Although this article describes the three types of overarching fake news that can be spread, this article will be confined to the issue of misinformation and the unintentional impact it had on people from all walks of life at the time. The questions posed to interviewees were broad based and divided into four major questions such as 1) experiences of COVID-19 misinformation on social media and some examples; 2)

the impact of misinformation; 3) the creation and dissemination of misinformation and 4) the curbing the spread of misinformation.

Originally, seven interviewees were identified to participate in the study but there were five participants in the time frame available to the author to complete the article. The interviews were conducted virtually in the month of September 2022 and their various fields of expertise / positions were cross-cutting and interdisciplinary. For example, Mia Malan is the founder and editor-in-chief of the Bhekisisa Centre for Health Journalism. She played a key role in informing the public of COVID-19 statistics as well as debunking certain myths and misinformation peddled by the media and public at large over this period. Simon Allison is a foreign correspondent and Chief Editor of The Continent (weekly newspaper produced in partnership with the Mail & Guardian). Allison's contribution was interesting from a continental perspective and response to the pandemic and could be juxtaposed to that of South Africa. Dr Peter Benjamin, PhD, is a medical health architect and assisted in the author's understanding of the political nature of pandemics and how vaccines hesitancy could help fuel confirmation bias around the pandemic. Donald van der Westhuizen is a molecular scientist and diagnostician that unpacked some of the rumours and myths around the COVID-19 pandemic and the devastating impact of misinformation around this. Professor Herman Wasserman, is a leading academic at the University of Cape Town, dealing with disinformation and media ethics. His contribution was invaluable in understanding the role the media has to play in reporting accurate and timeous information to the public.

Consent was granted by all five participants to use the data as well as their names. This consent was granted in writing as well as verbally during the virtual interview. Each participant was referred to by their first name including title. Example Professor Herman Wasserman (hereafter referred to as Prof Wasserman) for the participants 'voice / quotation'. The findings were surprising and wide-ranging and contributes significantly to social memory sciences as it illuminates ones understanding of the key drivers of misinformation in the time of emergency by highlighting responses by individuals as a human condition.

Background

It may seem difficult to imagine, but social media platforms such as Facebook was only launched in 2004, YouTube in 2005, Twitter in 2006, WhatsApp in 2009, Instagram in 2010 and WeChat in 2011. Others include TikTok, Weibo, Reddit, Pinterest and Snapchat (McFadden 2020:1). This makes mainstream social media platforms that we live and interact with every single day only twelve to eighteen years old. In this time, these social media platforms have grown exponentially in terms of users as well as content shared. To cite an example, Facebook now has over 2,4 billion users worldwide with YouTube and WhatsApp one billion users each which relates to roughly

1 in 3 people (Ortiz-Ospina 2019: 1) using social media platforms and accounts for two thirds of all internet users. As of July 2022, global statistics indicates that 59% of the world's population uses social media, accounting for 4.7 billion people worldwide (Datareportal 2022). The average daily usage is 2 hours and 29 minutes (Chaffey 2022:1). With these rapidly changing and highly accessible platforms available, it has changed the way in which humans interreact, create, disseminate, and consume information. It is also making it increasingly difficult for users to accurately identify misinformation and fake news and stay accurately informed. At the best of time, there is an information overload, and it is overwhelming to disseminate fact from fiction when information is shared so rapidly across multiple platforms, but when a global pandemic like COVID-19 becomes a reality, the spread of inaccurate information is far faster as it is fueled by panic and confusion, intermingled with one's own personal bias and belief systems.

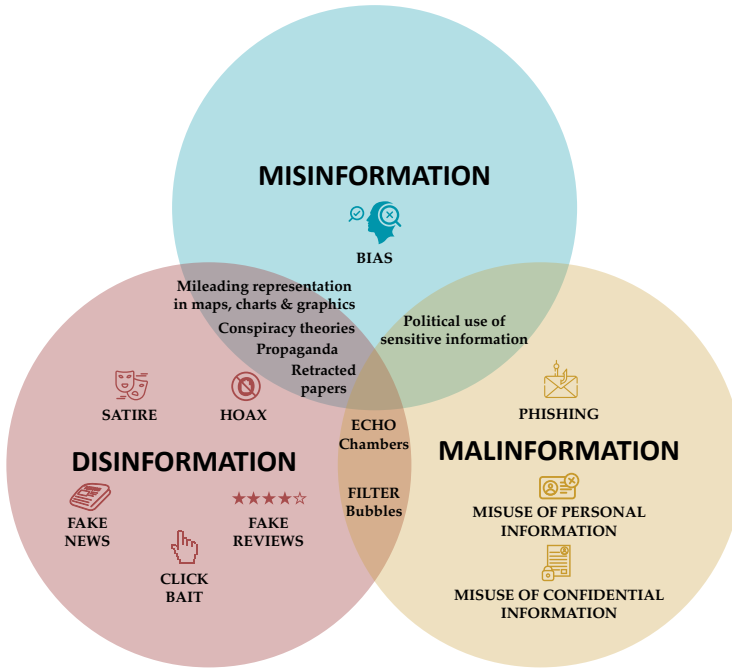
Existence of COVID-19 Misinformation

The COVID-19 pandemic has been one of the most swayed and biased infectious disease events in recent times where fear and information go viral. We are currently co-existing with social media and access to information at a pace that is unprecedented. In fact, the term 'infodemic' was coined in 2003 referring to the rapid spread of information - both accurate and inaccurate – in the age of the internet and social media (Cinelli *et al* 2020). It has also given rise to 'disinfodemic', in this instance the falsehoods fueling the pandemic and its impact (Santos-D'Amorim & Fernandes de Oliveira Miranda 2021). Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, the director general of the World Health Organization, stated 'We're not just fighting an epidemic; we're fighting an infodemic' (Baines & Elliot 2020). Simon Allisson describes this infodemic eloquently when describing how social media users have not quite got to grips with the massive amounts of information coming their way and the ability to sift through it critically:

> 'I think we take for granted somehow that we have access to all of this information and all of these ways of accessing information, but this is an incredibly recent development. About 20/30 years ago we had a newspaper and a television channel. As of 50/60 years ago you only had a newspaper. As of 200 years ago you didn't have a newspaper. We are dealing with an exponential increase in the amount of information available to us and we have not yet figured out ways of coping with all that information, and I think we are seeing it sure, in the older generation who struggle to … who can struggle to get to grips with the technological tools available, but we are also seeing it in the other younger generations who may not have the critical reading skills and critical research skills that are necessary to figure out what is real and what is not so real, and that is something we are going to have to grapple with as a society.'

There are also three broad categories of fake news that can exist on social media, namely misinformation, disinformation and malinformation and one needs to carefully distinguish between the three. Baines and Elliott (2020:9) define misinformation as 'representational data that unintentionally misleads,' whilst disinformation could be refined as 'representational data that intentionally misleads.' Malinformation is factual data that is used to exact harm on a person, organisation, or country.

The chart below shows the distinction and overlap of the three types:



(Santos-D'Amorim & Fernandes de Oliveira Miranda 2021).

Dr Peter Benjamin succinctly describes the three types of fake information that exists in the social information space:

> '…. To give you the jargon, misinformation is an unfortunate but honest rumour that is being sent. So, someone is not trying to trick you, they are just passing something on that may not be accurate. Disinformation is people where they intentionally are trying to cause a problem, whether that is for profit or political reasons, or just because they want to cause trouble. Then malinformation is a much less used term, but it is based on something true, genuine information, but that is intentionally being misused to cause trouble.'

However, Professor Herman Wasserman believes the distinctions between misinformation and disinformation may not be watertight as it largely depends on the person's intent who is sharing the information. He goes on to explain:

> 'I think around misinformation there are often just sort of rumours around things like lockdown, you know there is a rumour that there will be a new phase of lockdown for instance or a rumour that vaccines are you know ineffective or misinformation also maybe around how vaccines work, have they introduced the virus into your body and those sort of things, so often information that maybe misunderstands aspects of say vaccination or that confuses different things, so maybe the virus and the vaccines, that you know … and so on. Disinformation were more I think to do with specifically trying to dissuade people for instance from vaccination, so a lot of vaccine disinformation went around, telling people that 'It will make you sick.'

This article will primarily deal with the spread of misinformation in the South African social media landscape as to include disinformation and malinformation will become too broad and fall outside the parameters of this article.

Social Media and the Creation and Dissemination of COVID-19 Misinformation

Simon Allisson believes that the spread of misinformation in South Africa during the COVID-19 pandemic was not intentionally meant to harm but rather spread from a sense of panic and not truly understanding the situation. Of course, the spread of this misinformation in turn heightened one's anxiety and stress levels even further as people were bombarded with images, articles and post (Fullerton 2021: 1):

> 'I think a lot of it is people desperately looking for hope in what was a very bleak situation and if you have got a piece of information that says, 'Oh, don't worry, steam inhalation can cure COVID-19', you are going to want to believe it, because all the other news is pretty miserable and then you are going to want to share it with your own friends and family, and that is how it kind of spreads. So, I do think that most of it didn't originate maliciously and if it did originate maliciously, it certainly wasn't shared maliciously.'

The spread of fake news was also motivated by many people looking for a cure when there was non-available. It is the human condition to wish to control and make sense of circumstances and situations that are not understandable or confusing. This was never more apparent than the spread of the use of Ivermectin to treat COVID-19. Ivermectin has now been used for over three decades to treat parasitic infections in mammals. As the pandemic surged, so did the public

interest in this drug as a miracle cure. A great deal of false science around this drug was touted but the truth is that the Ivermectin has never been approved by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) for treating COVID-19 and current available data does not show Ivermectin to be effective against the virus and potentially harmful to humans in large doses (United States Food and Drug Administration 2021). In fact, the study conducted by Shellack *et al* analysed social media posts for Ivermectin in South Africa, between January 2020 and June 2021. They found that post about Ivermectin directly correlated with the spike in Ivermectin use (Schellack 2022).

Simon Allisson describes this phenomenon below:

> '….a big one is the idea that Ivermectin could cure COVID-19 and I think that was one of the most insidious and damaging bits of misinformation, and certainly that one started coming up a lot in the early months of the pandemic, particularly in parts of rural South Africa where Ivermectin is readily available and so people turned to it as perhaps as an easy and available solution to what is a terrifying threat, except it wasn't of course and we know that now. We knew that at the time as well, but less definitively. We certainly don't have any evidence that Ivermectin actually worked and yet many people took that claim very, very seriously and acted upon it, sometimes with fatal or life-threatening consequences.'

Mia Malan indicated that panic was a huge contributing factor to fake news being spread on social media about COVID-19:

> 'There was definitely a great deal of panic with different information, and I think sadly what contributed to that panic is not just the people who spread the disinformation, is the Health Department's late response to information, inconsistent response.'

Molecular scientist, Donald van der Westhuizen also echoed the sentiment of panic by indicating that very often, inaccurate information is not spread maliciously but rather through fear and ignorance of the virus and the consequences thereof.

> 'There was also an element of just general chaos with people being quite scared and there is a very distinct psychology behind people being scared and looking for answers. So, in the case of the pandemic going, it can't possibly just be a virus that is causing all of this. There must be something more sinister, because how can just a cold virus, just a respiratory virus does this and they started looking for more answers and just … and once you start looking for the things, you have got your confirmation bias, and it just gets completely out of hand.'

Misinformation, particularly pertaining to South Africa, was an interesting as most of the fake news spread as one mimicking what was being said abroad. Dr Peter Benjamin explains some of the examples of misinformation being spread in South Africa:

> 'Much of the misinformation spread around through social media in South Africa with us modelling the misinformation from abroad. It was just people forwarding or directly the memes, hugely from the North America, also from Europe, also from elsewhere, very little from other parts of Africa and the sorts of things … there was the from 'COVID is a hoax' or 'COVID is a bioweapon', to the vaccines are … first it was an effort to control the population that was a form of poison, other ones that it was Bill Gates' tracking devices.'

However, the South African example of misinformation was also loaded with political agendas and objectives. Dr Benjamin explains by saying:

> 'First there was quite a lot of Christian beliefs against the vaccines and [political parties] like the ACDP [African Christian Democratic Party] actually made oppositions to the vaccine close to their main political position before the Local Elections in November of last year and the former Chief Justice Mogoeng Mogoeng also came out very strongly against vaccines, and so much (indistinct) in the media there were other religious groups against it. There were some of the Rastafarian groups were very strongly against vaccines, more seen as sort of a pollution of your body from Pharmaceuticals of any sort. The other thing which I really did not expect, but it was fascinating to watch, is the degree to which opposition to the vaccine became party-political in South Africa.'

In later 2021, the ACDP attempted to stop the rollout of Pfizer vaccines to children aged 12-17 citing that children should not be obliged to take any medicine they do not approve of or deem safe by their standards (Ellis 2021). In May 2021, Pieter Groenewald of the Freedom Front Plus indicated that he chose not to get vaccinated as it was his choice. In June 2021, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) leader, Julius Malema, marched to SAHPRA's offices in Pretoria, in contravention of lockdown regulations, demanding Russia's Sputnik and China's Sinovac vaccines to be authorised. However, a standard progression for the assessment of a vaccine requires that all the mandatory data regarding product safety, effectiveness, and quality be offered at the time of submission. The debate around vaccines also grew around the time of South Africa's local government elections in November 2021 with Dr Peter Benjamin adding, 'vaccination roll-out has been called a race between infection and injection. Now add election.' (Benjamin & Maketa 2021)

The COVID-19 pandemic was so disruptive and frightening that many of the stories pedaled on social media stemmed from that fear driven by the unknown and fueled by wild conspiracy theories. Professor Herman Wasserman explains:

> 1Often misinformation and conspiracy theories draw on those anxieties, people's fears. They often make people feel more afraid even, they make you … (indistinct) that sense of panic, but also sometimes it gives people false hope and false sort of reassurance, you know that whatever this … another remedy might be, you know, people tell them there is this magic remedy, it will work and it gives people … sort of assures people's anxieties and also conspiracy theories, people want to know who to blame, where does it come from. So, conspiracy theories draw on those uncertainties and lack of knowledge.'

One of the most interesting aspects of this study was to learn that some of the misinformation shared on social media around COVID-19 was fueled by the need for satire and comedic relief in the time of great confusion and panic. This was especially seen in South Africa and Africa and Professor Herman Wasserman explains his findings:

> 'Another big motivation that we found is sort of just for jokes and satire and humour, and that again can partly be because people just wanted light relief. One of the stark responses, especially South Africans, but also Africans broadly when these things happen, is to laugh about it or like as you know with things like load-shedding or whatever other crisis we make jokes about things, it is a way of dealing and coping … it is a coping mechanism. So sharing humorous memes and jokes and misinformation that is funny for instance might play into that motivation, that people just want to share things because they want light relief, but also because there is a long history in Africa of satire and humour also being used … also being trusted even more than the official narratives, because people can't trust the official narratives because they come from colonial powers or from State media or whatever. So, humour is the one big motivation that we found and the other one is that sort of sense of community, a sense of 'I'm sharing something because somebody might benefit from it.'

Impact of COVID-19 Misinformation

In the South African context, the impact of misinformation, it appears from oral testimonies that misinformation largely depended on the audience and the intention of the person. In the beginning of the pandemic, there was a lot of debate around whether vaccines will be made

available and whether it will combat the threat of COVID-19. When vaccines were later made available, there was a genuine and valid concern about the speed at which vaccines were developed, their efficacy and possible side-effects. Stemming from that, one could see a sharp rise in vaccine hesitancy, anti-vaccine rhetoric and misinformation spreading fast around this topic. Dr Benjamin explains:

> 'It depends on the audience and what the intention of the person is, and it went two different ways in South Africa. At the start of the vaccine period – I'm talking about April or so last year, 2021 – there was almost no information about the vaccines. Lots of interests, lots of fear and then, if you like, the general understanding was driven by social media and disinformation. So, because there wasn't much real experience of it, what was being said on social media was what was driving the debate in South Africa, including what people were talking about offline in their normal lives and so over time it went from then at the start the perception that the vaccine was hugely dominated by what was being said on Social Media.
>
> By about September when most people in the country were allowed and encouraged to get the vaccine, there was much more – if you like – normal, reasonable concerns about 'Will it work, will I get sick, what are the bad side-effects, how was it developed so quickly? I thought vaccines took a decade', whatever and so to clearly differentiate some … a lot of concerns about the vaccines are absolutely valid, are absolutely reasonable ones, someone who has got … is nervous … from different angles, from the level of literally people being nervous of not wanting to get a jab, particularly when there were some high profile cases of deaths in other parts of the world.'

Vaccine hesitancy was one of the largest impacts of inaccurate information about COVID-19 being disseminated on social media. Donald van der Westhuizen refers to vaccine hesitancy in South Africa in particular:

> 'The impact never really became clearer than when people started refusing to wear masks and the whole vaccine hesitancy. So, there has always been murmurings about vaccines not being the best for you and the whole Alan Wakefield, and the autism thing with the MMR [mumps, measles rubella] vaccine. So, there has always been a small element of people that are anti-vax, but this just completely blew out of hand and with all the misinformation there was … especially in South Africa, it was global, but South Africa was very, very distinct, there was massive vaccine hesitancy and across the spectrum. So, we had a very weird dynamic that people that would normally be quite educated or quite open and rational were

> now petrified of a vaccine purely because it was around COVID and developed quickly, and not appreciating the effort that went into it and how much money and resources, and global effort went into it.'

However, vaccine hesitancy in a time of a global pandemic is completely a completely normal and expected reaction from certain sectors of society. Donald van der Westhuizen highlights this:

> 'Don't get me wrong, I also understand people's misgivings about the vaccine, so a lot of people said, 'Okay, we haven't had time for safety trials' and I get that, even though the technology isn't old. I think people, especially if they have influence and substantial influence, should be held accountable for saying things that are blatantly against rationality and in the best interest of public health or safety.'

Mia Malan indicated the impact can be two-fold:

'So, I think the impact is seen on various levels and it is harmful. So first of all you see it on the … the immediate impact is, if you start to use Ivermectin and Chloroquine and you know, like Interferon, you start to … you could potentially be damaged medically, you know or biologically, because you could be using things in wrong quantities and we have seen a lot of … you can go and see, there is a lot of studies of people who took Ivermectin in large quantities where it has been harmful, where they have conditions now. secondly, if you look at studies coming out now or media reports of people who were anti … who didn't get vaccinated during COVID, they were vaccine hesitant, but they did have their children vaccinated – you know, they had no problem with childhood vaccinations – who are now not wanting to vaccinate their children, because this information about vaccines … like who knew how vaccines work or like what are the different types of vaccines that you get, I wasn't that familiar with it. It was COVID that taught me that, but now people became a lot more conscious of vaccines and of the criticism against vaccines during COVID, that they now don't even want to vaccinate their children during Measles … against Measles or childhood stuff, because they weren't that informed or aware of criticism against vaccines. Now they just use that criticism to transfer it to childhood vaccines and lots of children are now not going to be vaccinated against childhood illnesses, in addition to the fact that many weren't vaccinated during COVID because of the whole lockdown things and people couldn't get to clinics, so you could imagine. So probably that is going to contribute towards us.'

Professor Herman Wasserman concurs that misinformation around COVID-19 and touting certain 'miracle treatments' such as Ivermectin has a major negative impact, some ranging from vaccine hesitancy to complete disdain for science, vaccines and a growing sense of anti-West sentiment. He explains:

'…. Ivermectin and so on can actually kill you if you take it in … or it can cause severe liver decease for instance, because it is not really meant for humans. On the other hand some of it might offer people a false sense of protection, so that they wouldn't get vaccinated or they wouldn't use masks and so on, because they think they are safe and so I think the impacts of that can range from actually being really dangerous in itself and others can be … maybe because it undermines … or let me say some of those sort of cures that are prescribed can be very dangerous in themselves. Either it could be dangerous because they prevent people from getting vaccinated or taking precautions, and then I think thirdly another danger – maybe more broadly speaking – is that it undermines sort of faith in science or maybe also draws on suspicion around Western medicine for instance, and that can cause a large … a longer lasting I think skepticism around science and so-called Western medicine that might also last after the pandemic is over.'

Social media has also contributed to the exacerbation of polarization of people on society. Van der Westhuizen adds:

'The way the Internet had been put together and very, very much apparent with Social Media and over the last ten years or so there has been this massive trend towards polarisation on any topic, whether it is meningitis and feminists or vaxxers and anti-vaxxers [people for or against vaccines] or I don't know, religious and atheist, whatever it is, but I had a very distinct feeling that the Internet was sort of … or Social Media specifically was pushing people into different camps and just silencing any sort of rational moderate, and it turns out that is completely true…. So, everything is algorithmically based and the more emotive something is, the more people are going to spend time on it, the more it is worth advertising to and all of that, and so it becomes a self-perpetuating issue.'

The issue of polarization and the inability to effectively communicate with one another is another major issue that came to the forefront in the spread of misinformation on social media. Allison speaks to the issue of establishing one's own view as fact and then doubling down on one's confirmation bias:

'….all the schools and training it can be nearly impossible for people to figure out what they can rely on, and of course this has an impact in public health, where you are not sure what drugs you should or shouldn't be taking, but I think it has an even bigger impact on society as a whole, because if you start not agreeing on the foundations of what is and isn't true, there is no actual basis for a debate, you

can't talk to each other and we are seeing this kind of polarisation then play out in places like the United States very publicly, where different groups are arguing from a different set of 'facts' and it is very hard to see how society recovers from that kind of division, how we regain trust in information.'

Initiatives and interventions against the spread of misinformation

Journalists have an important role to play in the conveyance of complex information that can be understood by a wide variety of people. Mia Malan indicated the following with regard to journalism:

'I found with my own reporting that the less I understand of something, the more complex I start to talk about it, because I don't know how to translate it or how to (indistinct – poor connection) give it and that part I think is an acquired skill. I think it is something that is generally lacking in South African journalism to explain things in a way that people can understand, whether that is medical stuff, whether it is you know policy stuff or legal stuff and I think there are very few journalists that would be…'

The importance of critical thinking and engagement is now paramount given the 'infodemic' that we experience in our daily lives. Van der Westhuizen reiterates this:

'We started off without the Internet and we communicated in a very personal human-to-human way, whereas so much communication with the current generation is purely virtual and there needs to be an awareness of how to communicate and the consequences of communication, and the prevalence of misinformation, I think that needs to be a life skill, but I think they should really teach them how to communicate effectively online and to not believe everything you see.'

Effective government communication is also highly effective when trying to control the dissemination of inaccurate information. Mia Malan explains:

'I think the Health Department needs a complete revamp of communication strategies and it needs to be consistent, and you know, I think they almost need to reallocate their budget, but I think that would make a massive difference. If you look at medical institutions around the world with good communications departments, the level of trust in them is significantly higher and the cooperation that they receive, so I think that is definitely necessary. Then we can build on partnerships.'

Allisson also indicated that social media platforms have an immense role to play in curbing and moderating the spread of misinformation on their platforms.

> 'I think the first and most important action that needs to be taken is that there needs to be a far greater degree of responsibility taken by Social Media platforms for misinformation that spreads on their networks. We have seen counties like Europe and now the United States taking increasingly aggressive action against the likes of Facebook, to try and make sure they have enough content moderators, that they have systems for you know reporting fake news and threats of violence, etcetera, etcetera, in place. We are not doing that as South Africa and we need to be. We need to be making sure that the companies that are providing these extraordinarily powerful tools are also taking some responsibility for the information that is present on them.'

Alisson also worked as a journalist on the Facebook leaks investigation, and he revealed very telling information about Facebook and their algorithm and tools:

> 'I spent many hours reading you know hundreds of pages of internal Facebook, memos and the incredible thing that emerged from there is that the company is completely aware of the damage that its algorithms do. They understand how it leads to polarised discourse; they understand how it promotes radical positions. They have also developed tools to combat this, and they are very effective tools, they can be relatively simple things…. what came out through those internal memos is that repeatedly the company declined to put those tools into practice because that might diminish how fast Facebook posts were shared or how fast the network grew, and so those considerations of one company's growth and profit margins prompt the potentially devastating, potentially fatal impact that this network was having on society, and that came through very loud and clear from the internal documents.'

The role of journalism is also as important as it has ever been. Allisson indicates:

> '... the journalism fraternity, which has always been the primary medium through which people get information – as budgets have got tighter newsroom have become more juniorised, become smaller, the quality of news has decreased, as the quantity of news being produced has increased and that is a fundamental contradiction that is unlikely to generate further trust in Journalists or Journalism, and I think that we need to be changing those dynamics. We need to be focusing on really high-quality news, not trying … you know, we cannot have a situation where every single newspaper and media house is trying to do 24-hour rolling news coverage, which is kind of where we are at the moment. Of course, the quality will decrease, mistakes will happen and trust will erode. So, the only way to build that trust back up is to really increase the quality control of the Journalism that is

produced, which means bringing back the layer of Editors and Copyeditors, and Proof-readers and fact-checkers that used to exist, but generally speaking don't exist in our newsrooms anymore.'

Trust also plays a major role in curbing the spread of misinformation on social media. Dr Peter Benjamin explains that by saying:

'It is not about the lack of knowledge. It is about not trusting the people and if you don't trust what the Government can say, it doesn't matter what the Government is going to say in anyway at all, which is why that in so much of this health communications the effort is to try … and if like people don't trust the Government, piggyback on people who are trusted, so get the local church leader or the sports star or the pop singer or local councilor, if they trust it, or the traditional leader…. Governments earn trust over time, as you were saying, by being transparent, being approachable, being available to respond to questions, to reliably come back and produce information, provide ways so that people can question it or understand it, make sure it is in different languages rather than just so much overwhelming in English, which has still been a huge, huge problem so yes, absolutely. In particular remembering that there are many different ways that people now are accessing information and Government should basically be available through people, in whichever way and form they have.'

Professor Wasserman agrees that trust is a fundamental factor in curbing the creation, dissemination, and absorption of false narratives around COVID-19. He says:

'You understand why people share it, then it is easier for you to address it. So I think what we often saw during COVID was people just wanted to throw more Science at people, so you know, to think that people are hesitant to get vaccinated, so let's give me them more and more facts about how the vaccine works and so on, and that will pursued them, whereas in fact I think what you need to address is people's fears, people's distrust and so on, rather than just to try and think that you can convince them with more Science. So, I understand for instance how people are routed in certain communities, especially faith communities and family networks, and so on. Try and work within those, also try and tailor your messages so that they speak to those motivations. So if it is to do with for instance people are sharing disinformation because they want to support their communities or they want to like look out for their family members, what you can then do is to say for instance

'Well, don't spread false information because it is harmful for your uncles and your family, and your older' … you know, something like that.

So draw on those motivations, but I think … by and large I think the first thing is to try and understand where it comes from, you have got to understand the social and political, economic reasons why people are anxious, why people are uncertain and try and address that holistically, rather than just giving more information, more information as sort of a blunt weapon.'

Findings

In extrapolating evidence from oral testimonies, most of the misinformation created or disseminated on social media was not done so maliciously but rather from a sense of not quite understanding the science behind the virus, vaccine development and rollout and possible side-effects. The use of satire and humour, while it provided comedic relief, unintentionally spread misinformation that became cemented as truth because it was shared many times over a period.

The second finding is that when people don't quite understand or appreciate the dynamics around a frightening situation, it can give rise to panic. This is understandable and part of the human condition. In a matter of months, the world was thrust into a strange and isolated world of lockdowns and restrictions that were foreign to many. This panic can often fuel conspiracy theories underpinned by one's own personal bias. While this is not intention, it is harmful, and society will have to become more critically discerning in the way we consume information.

Another major finding of this study was the issue of trust as a whole – trust in science, trust in so-called Western medicine, trust in governments, and trust in the intentions of scientists, doctors, journalists. Certain inherent biases exist in every single person so if you lack trust in your government, and the government is touting the vaccine as a solution to ending the pandemic, one might be sceptical of receiving the vaccine on this basis. If you are deeply religion and a person of stature such as Chief Justice Mogoeng Mogoeng felt the vaccine was linked to a satanic agenda, one might tend to believe this and refuse to receive the vaccine on this basis (Nicolson 2020).

Another major finding is that journalists and newsrooms have a major role to play in disseminating information that can be easily understood and accessible. Mainstream media has an unenviable task of relaying data quickly and to many people to inform and educate people. They play a pivotal role in shaping decision-making and critical thought of the end-user. The COVID-19 pandemic, coupled with an 'infodemic' means the role of impartial, dependable, and accurate information has never been more important (Sharma 2020).

Social media platforms have a responsibility to curb the spread of misinformation on the platforms by employing the tools to do so. Effective, reliable, and consistent forms of government information is important in conveying truths about COVID-19 and combating misinformation. The more access to information we have, the more polarized society is becoming and is paramount that critical thought and debate need to be promoted.

Finally, Vusi Ribombo is quoted as saying, 'In every lie there is always an element of truth'. This could not be more apt when describing the creation of misinformation on social media. One of the findings of this study was that many of the untruths coming out during the COVID-19 pandemic were based on an element of truth. Many people were deeply concerned about the speed of vaccine development and the science underpinning it as well as the possible side-effects. These were all valid concerns and required critical research and debate.

Conclusion

The world is only starting to feel the ramifications and ripple effects that a pandemic of this scale has on society. As the world slowly emerges from its pandemic slumber, people around the world in various roles are starting to quantify the effect of COVID-19 socially, politically, and economically. Hardly a single person on earth was able to completely outrun the effects of the pandemic and it hit with speed and force which many of us were unprepared for. It is therefore natural that fear and anxiety would dominate much of the pandemic as there were so many unknown variables in the early days. People sought refuge in their homes and the internet was a lifeline of information and connectivity which allowed for the proliferation of a great deal of information and consequently misinformation to flow freely and without check. However, the creation and dissemination of false narratives, whether intentional or otherwise, had an overall negative impact and it is our responsibility to be able to critically engage in information on a meaningful and analytical manner to be able to identify fact from fiction. This is no easy task and internet users have the unenviable task of sifting through an 'infodemic' that may seem insurmountable. The powers of knowledge at our fingertips also come with responsibility and creation, dissemination and ultimate assimilation of certain information comes at one's own peril.

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The impact of COVID-19 on teaching and learning of the Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems:

Voices and perspectives from North-West University students

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The combat against COVID-19 is continuing to take place around the world and universities moved the method of teaching and learning from physical contact to online using Information Communication technology as an innovative strategy to prevent university closure and postponing lessons. This happened because COVID-19 was predicted to be with us for a long period of time. This was an explorative study of which a qualitative data was collected using *Lekgotla* method (focus group interviews) through Zoom meetings to gather perspectives and voices of students. Qualitative data collected from 15 Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems students was analyzed using thematic analysis. This study found that Information Communication technologies (ICTs) are significant for teaching and learning Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems. Although the majority of students did not adapt to online teaching and learning due to not having devices. Other contributing factors to unsuccessful online pedagogy was load shedding, poor network connectivity, access to Indigenous Knowledge custodians through physical interactions and a suitable study environment. Therefore, Indigenous Knowledge pedagogies, strategies of using ICTs for online teaching and learning Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems should be explored to ensure a feasible teaching and learning under COVID-19 and other upcoming pandemics.

Contribution: The study explored the teaching and learning experiences of Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems students caused by COVID-19 lockdown at the North-West University, Mafikeng campus. This influences knowledge development and ongoing research on implementing new strategies to overcome any pandemic for a feasible and successful teaching and learning using blended pedagogies in higher education.

Keywords: Indigenous Knowledge, Indigenous Knowledge Systems, Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems, COVID-19, Teaching and Learning, Information Communication Technology.

Introduction

Various scholars have different perspectives on the definition of indigenous knowledge systems. Hence, every indigenous community have their own meaning of what Indigenous Knowledge Systems is. According to Noyoo (2007:167), indigenous knowledge systems is defined as 'the complex set of knowledge, skills and technologies existing and developed around specific conditions of populations and communities indigenous to a particular geographical area'. Senanayake (2006) mentioned that indigenous knowledge systems are the local knowledge developed by the local communities for the purpose of surviving. These knowledge systems are practical and orally shared from one generation to the next (Domfeh 2007; Maferetlhane 2012; Bereda 2015; Atoma 2011; Higgs 2015).

There is lack of universal utility of indigenous knowledge systems (Kaya & Seleti 2013). Breidlid (2009) supported that indigenous knowledge is not take seriously when it comes to sustainability. Due to the relevance of indigenous knowledge systems to sustainable development, higher education institutions started courses that deals with conserving, protecting, managing and promoting it so it becomes useful. North-West University is the first university to develop a course called Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems. Hence, indigenous knowledge systems are becoming extinct (Ayaa & Waswa 2016; Tanyanyiwa & Chikwanha 2011). For example, indigenous knowledge holders are dying with indigenous knowledge systems (Lalonde 1991). However, other universities such as University of Venda and University of Kwa-Zulu Natal collaborated with North-West University to secure indigenous knowledge systems by documenting, promoting, protecting and managing it through research.

The method of teaching and learning Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems was face-to-face before the introduction of COVID-19 pandemic. As documented by Helmy *et al*. (2020), coronaviruses were discovered in the 1960s. Swelum *et al*. (2020) mention that Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) and Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS) are the previous recorded coronavirus epidemics. Kandola (2020) stated that coronaviruses are a collection of viruses that causes diseases in people and animals. COVID-19 is the coronavirus disease of 2019 of which is the disease caused by SARS-CoV-2 related to the SARS-CoV detected in 2002 based on research findings (Hu *et al*. 2021; Shangguan *et al*. 2020; Harapan *et al*. 2020). On the year of 2019 in December, the first case of COVID-19 was reported by the Chinese officials in Wuhan city (Zhu *et al*. 2020; Helmy *et al*. 2020; Anderson *et al*. 2021; McIntosh 2020; Parasher 2021). The world was not aware of the rapid spread of the virus due to lack of knowledge about it since it was under clinical trials until new cases of COVID-19 started being discovered around the world in various communities.

As a result of the rising of new COVID-19 cases around the world, the World Health Organization (WHO) regarded COVID-19 as a pandemic (WHO 2020). The spread of COVID-19 was caused by migration of people who are positive with mild symptoms (Shereen *et al*. 2020). The first case of COVID-19 reported in the United States was on the 20th of January 2020 (Hu *et al*. 2021; Figueiredo *et al*. 2020). While on the other hand, on the 5th of March 2020, a 38-year-old man who migrated from Italy to South Africa with his female partner spread COVID-19 to ten people who travelled with them (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2020). Therefore, the COVID-19 rapidly spread in South Africa.

Broadbent *et al*. (2020) indicated that on the 15th of March, the South African government urgently responded to the global pandemic by issuing a national lockdown as State of Disaster. Before COVID-19 started, Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems was taught through face-to-face pedagogy. As a result of COVID-19 lockdown regulations, universities were forced to change the method of teaching and learning to online (Sharma *et al*. 2021; Khanal 2021). The national lockdown alert level five includes strict regulations that caused closure of universities and schools, cancelled outdoor events and social gatherings, restricted travelling to domestic and international purposes and limited business and commercial activities (Pillai *et al*., 2020; Maluleke 2020; Engzell *et al*. 2021). Thus, Molefi *et al*. (2020) concluded that the lockdown policy succeeded to significantly reduce the occurrence and spread of COVID-19 in China.

South Africa has nine provinces, and more outbreaks of COVID-19 was established in Gauteng and KwaZulu Natal than other provinces (Moonasar *et al*. 2021). Nevertheless, COVID-19 cases increased even during lockdown level five due to people breaking the lockdown regulations (Arashi *et al*. 2020). Therefore, the North-West University management committee responded to the lockdown restrictions connected to the COVID-19 pandemic by approving measures such as taking the university students and staff to recess from 17th to 29th of March 2020, postponing graduation ceremonies until further notice, shifting the curriculum of teaching and learning from physical contact to remote teaching and learning while allowing postgraduates students to do practical based work under strict access when applicable, allowing library services to be online and allowing students to leave campus residences when they need to and granting permission to those who are unable to vacate campus residences (University-Management-Committee 2020).

The implementation of the online teaching and learning through using ICTs brought challenges and benefits to students studying Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems. Kgwadi (2020) informed students and staff on the 24th of March 2020 that they should work from home and access to the campus premises will be restricted by providing permits to control the spread of COVID-19. 'The COVID-19 training test is available on the *eFundi* site under the COVID-19 training tab' (LIbAnswers 2021). This training test of COVID-19 enable the university to scan

student's knowledge about COVID-19 and their health status so to check if they are eligible to enter in the premises. According to Shepherd and Mohohlwane (2021), education institutions where remote teaching and learning were already utilized had an advantage of adapting to the '*new normal'*. However, North-West University was not fully prepared to change the pedagogy from physical contact to online due to lack of necessary resources since it was an emergency response to COVID-19 lockdown regulations.

The impact of COVID-19 on higher education

Cranfield *et al*. (2021) explored and compared the perceptions of higher education students in Hungary, Wales and South Africa and further found that most students in South Africa agree on having access to suitable devices for online teaching and learning than the abovementioned. El Said (2021) established that internet connection was poor for students to write online exams and tests. Students' performance was affected due to postponed examinations (Butnaru *et al*. 2021).

Sa and Serpa (2020) pointed that the emergence of COVID-19 brought about to the emergency changes in the education sectors. Therefore, universities had to rapidly transition from physical contact teaching and learning to remote, training educators on how remote teaching has to be carried out to students and ensuring that students have access to online resources at an affordable price because of COVID-19 pandemic (Rashid & Yadav, 2020; Farnell *et al*. 2021). Centers for Disease Control and Prevention CDC (2021) mentioned that to prevent and contain the spread of COVID-19 in a public place, people should abide by COVID-19 lockdown restrictions such as social distancing, staying indoors to avoid being in a crowded space.

The shift of pedagogy from physical contact classes to online classes aims to decrease the COVID-19 cases and deaths among students. For instance, using Information Communication Technology to attend online classes to avoid risks of being in contact with other students who may be COVID-19 positive without knowledge. Particularly, full-time enrolling students in different higher institutions did not successfully partake in online classes due to lack of resources during early COVID-19 pandemic (Goldberg 2021).

Khan (2021) found that the impact of COVID-19 on higher education revolve around the online learning, psychological impact of COVID-19 on remote learning, the remote transition to emergency virtual assessment (EVA), challenges of online learning, and creating collaborative cultures. Furthermore, in relation to remote learning challenges during COVID-19 pandemic, some students are unable to use technological devices for their studies, the culture of digital learning can be beneficial to students to interact with their peers and lecturers during COVID-19 pandemic (Khan 2021). 'Schools adopted relevant technologies, prepared learning and staff

resources, set systems and infrastructure, established new teaching protocols, and adjusted their curricula' (Barrot *et al.* 2021).

Department of Communications and Marketing (2020) mention that the University of Venda prepares for the return of some students during COVID-19 lockdown level 3 on the 22nd of June 2020. Furthermore, students and staff were orientated to online teaching and learning and ensuring that necessities such as devices, data and connectivity are available and ready (Kgwadi 2020). Balfour (2020) communicated that the North-West University webpage will be zero rating on data as different network services approved it so that students and staff can use the services for free.

As online teaching and learning sessions takes long hours using internet, students and staff experience difficulties to prioritize due to having responsibilities to take care of when at home such as taking care of children, family chores and other duties of which leads to bunking sessions (Bania & Banerjee 2020) As a result, during physical contact teaching and learning, there is full participation and focus as teaching and learning happens in a classroom during a specific period. Blankenberger and Williams (2020) articulated that the number of students enrolling with colleges and universities in an online environment has dropped as compared to physical contact enrolment because of finance problems, lack of resources to study online and university decisions such as giving options to students to choose between taking a gap year or study online.

Salmi (2020) mention that most of students around the world did not complete their studies successfully of which led to failure while some finished their studies late due to inability to complete tasks on time such as practical work, assignments and projects caused by lack of access to university resources, internet, and other resources. Academic calendar changed due to the impact of COVID-19 pandemic on higher education Strydom *et al*. 2020; Marinoni *et al.* 2020).

Summary of COVID-19 alert levels and regulations on education sectors

The first COVID-19 lockdown was alert level 5 with strict regulations of which became effective on the 26th of March in South Africa (Schroder *et al.* 2021; Stiegler and Bouchard, 2020; Pillai *et al*. 2020). During the period of Lockdown alert level 5, no movement of people or goods allowed and public transports are prohibited (Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2020). This mean students, and lecturer cannot come to the university. However, In South Africa, people were allowed to move from their residences to the nearest shops to buy necessities such as medication and food while following strict COVID-19 regulations. Throughout COVID-19 lockdown alert level 4, all gatherings excluding funerals are prohibited (Department of Co-operative Governance 2021). University outdoor activities were postponed until further notice

resulting pending graduation ceremonies, school trips and outdoor research activities including indigenous knowledge systems community engagement activities.

Department of Basic Education (2020) specified that learners who were in grade 7 to grade 12 may return to school on the 1st of June 2020. While on the other hand, 33% students returned to their respective campuses according to phases and needs during COVID-19 lockdown level 3 and 66% returned in COVID-19 lockdown level 2 (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2020). Students who lived close to campus, final year students who needed university equipment such as tangible library study materials and laboratory returned to their campuses.

Through COVID-19 lockdown level 2, students in all years returned to their university campuses including university staff. Department of Basic Education (2022) stated that all learners may return to traditional education during 2022 academic year, but education institutions still need to ensure that those learners always adhere to the COVID-19 regulations to prevent and combat the spread of COVID-19 under alert level 1. Hence, international and national travelling were allowed, international students were able to travel to their respective universities to pursue their academics.

Methodology

Study setting

The study was conducted at the North-West University, Mahikeng campus found in Ngaka Modiri Molema District situated in North-West Province, South Africa. The district consists of six local municipalities called Tswaing, Ratlou, Ditsobotla, Ramotshare Moiloa and Mahikeng. North-West University falls under Mahikeng municipality. However, North-West University has 3 campuses namely, Vaal Triangle and Potchefstroom campuses (Ejoke *et al*. 2019; Frencis *et al*. 2010;.van Rensburg *et al*. 2019).

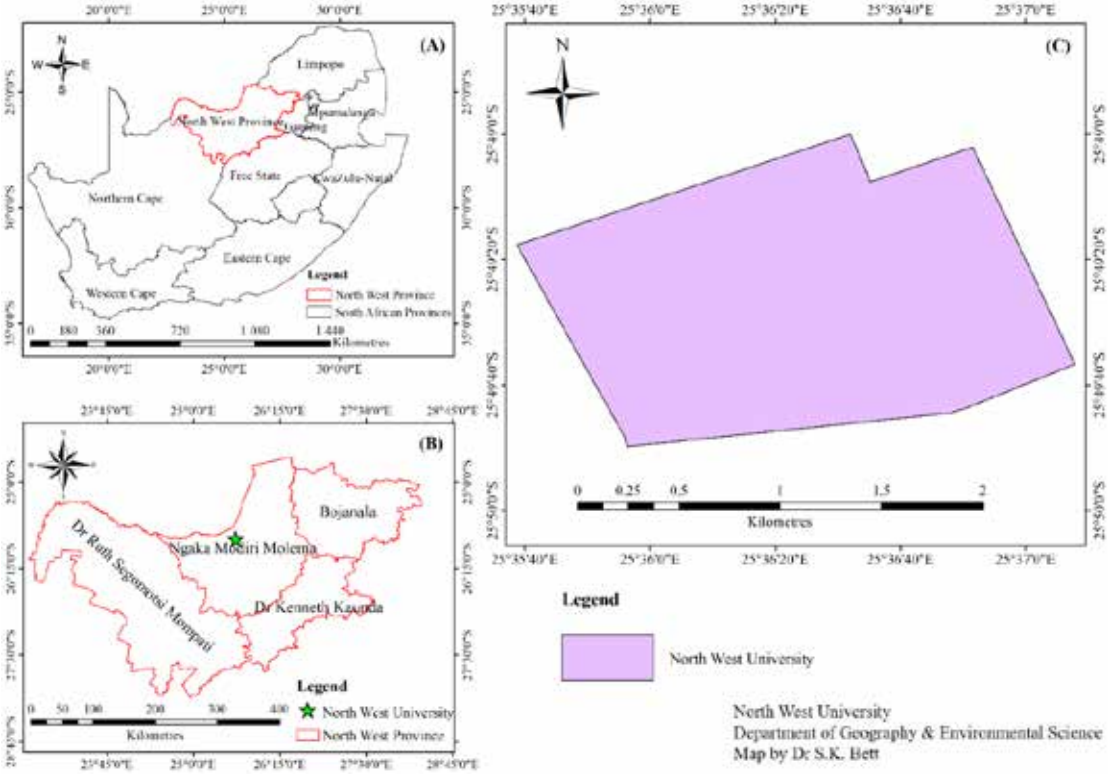

Figure 1: GIS Map location of study setting

Methods and Materials

This study followed an explorative approach of which qualitative data was gathered using the *Lekgotla* method (focus group interviews) through Zoom meetings to gather the voices and perspectives of students studying Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems under COVID-19. Interpretivist paradigm was used to explore and understand various teaching and learning experiences of Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems students from North-West University, Mahikeng campus. All 119 Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems students were invited to participate in this study of which are the target population of the study. Written informed consent was given to all BIKS students for voluntary participation. The *Lekgotla* was conducted with 15 participants representing all levels of the BIKS qualification. Stratified random sampling was applied in identifying these participants. Table 1 below projects how participants were selected randomly using their level of study. Each focus group interview conducted had 5 participants of which vary according to their academic level of study. To be concise, 5 participants were first year students, 5 participants were second year students, 5 participants were third year students.

Open ended questions were asked to participants, and they were allowed to respond in the language that they are confident with. The data collected was then transcribed and translated into English. Qualitative data collected was analysed using thematic analysis by following the steps outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006), (i) The research read all the transcribed data from focus group interview carefully; (ii) After being familiar with the data, phrases and concepts that were considered significant and recurring were highlighted by colour-coding; (iii) The codes that matched from different datasets were then regarded as themes; (iv) Themes were defined and defined themes influenced the emergence of subthemes and similar themes; (v) Themes are reported here as the findings of the study.

Level of study	First years	Second years	Third years	Total
Number of students	48	37	34	119
Sample size	5	5	5	15

Table 1: Stratified random sampling procedure of participants

Ethical considerations

The researcher obtained an introductory letter from North-West University, Indigenous

Knowledge Systems Center as a formal document that proves the approval of the topic and ethics involved in the research project. The introductory letter was obtained on the 18th of October 2022 after the successful research proposal. Prior and informed consent was developed by the researcher to let the potential participant know about the aim and objectives of the study, their benefits from the study and risks involved in the study. Moreover, the document highlighted the intentions of the researcher about the study results and how he will share them. The researcher informed participants that the results will be published for academic use. Participants sent their demographic information to the researcher to demonstrate their voluntary interest in participating in the study after completing and signing the prior and informed consent and non-disclosure agreement. A non-disclosure agreement was developed to ensure the anonymity and confidentiality of the personal information of participants.

First year students	Second year students	Third year students
Males = 3	Males = 2	Males = 2
Females = 2	Females = 3	Females = 3
On-campus residence = 1	On-campus residence = 1	On-campus residence = 1
Off-campus residence = 1	Off-campus residence = 2	Off-campus residence = 2

First year students	Second year students	Third year students
Studying at Home = 3	Studying at home = 2	Studying at home = 2
Tswana = 3	Tswana = 3	Tswana = 3
Xhosa = 1	Xhosa = 0	Xhosa = 0
Swati = 0	Swati = 0	Swati = 1
English as language of communication = 5	English as the language of communication = 5	English as the language of communication = 5

Table 2: Manually calculated demographic information of participants

Results

This study investigated the impact of COVID-19 pandemic on teaching and learning Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems at the North-West University, Mahikeng campus. Challenges and benefits of using online pedagogy for teaching and learning were identified during focus group interviews. Furthermore, support systems that students received during teaching and learning Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems under COVID-19 lockdown were also recognized. These support systems differ according to the residences of students while studying.

Challenges faced by Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems students with online pedagogy

Ten participants among others agreed that they were negatively affected by the change of the method of teaching and learning from physical contact to online. Loadshedding of electricity negatively affected the online classes of students since 15 participants said that in their homes, they rely on electricity to charge their devices. However, some students indicated that they charge their power banks and laptop batteries in advance so that they can use them when electricity is off. Participant 1 said that *when there is no electricity, the network connectivity becomes poor.* Participant 2 added that:

> 'where he stays in KwaZulu Natal, network connectivity is not poor due to load-shedding, but it is due to that the geographical area where he lives is in the rural areas where there are poor facilities for good network connection.'

At the end of the day, students are expected to complete their assignments, attend classes and study even under the circumstances. Participant 3 said that *ge ke tseba gore mohlagase o tlile go tsamaya, ke charge laptop le sellathekeng gore ke tle ke di dirise* of which translates to 'when I am aware that there will be load shedding of electricity, I simply charge my laptop and cellphone so that I can use them'. Participant 4 added that *ke direla mereko wa sekolo ko pele* of which translates

to that 'I forwardly complete my schoolwork'. Meaning that the participant does his tasks in advance to avoid pressure for submission and disturbances caused by the absence of electricity. All of participants indicated that they have difficulty to attend classes and complete assignments without electricity and a stable network connectivity.

Participant 3 said that *motlakase o na le nako e o tsamayang ka yona* (and in my community), *tsamaya ka* 5h00 in the morning and 17h00 in the evening. Majority of students argued that they only do their academic work only when the electricity comes back while others can work even during loadshedding. Participant 5 pointed that:

> 'I do not usually use my phone for connectivity to internet in my bedroom because in my bedroom there is poor network connectivity, so I am used to study, attend classes, and do all my academic work in the sitting room where network connectivity is good, funny thing is that I would move from one room to the other *ke batlana le* 'looking for' network.'

Nine participants indicated that they have no devices to use for online teaching and learning. This is mainly because most of participants reported to the university about not having devices to access online learning. Participant 1 said that

> 'I am using National Student Financial Aid Scheme allowances to purchase data monthly so that I can connect to the internet for searching for study materials, attending online classes and doing other things that needs data.'

All students declared that they purchased devices through the help of their parents. These devices include, laptops, wifi rooters and smart phones. Access to data is essential for online teaching and learning because students need to connect to the internet to search for information, connecting to WhatsApp and Zoom meetings platforms for communication with lecturers and peers. Participant 2 responded that:

> 'I am using a Wi-Fi rooter that I pay for the unlimited data monthly, so I am not desperate to receive university data.'

The university data was open to be provided to all students who requested it, but some students requested for the university data and did not receive it while others requests were approved. However, participant 2 argued that:

> 'When data that I got from the university gets depleted, I purchase less amount of data just so I can do academic work while waiting for the university to allocate data in the next allocation date.'

Majority of participants showed that data is expensive and data charges are high as it depletes quickly. Examination cancellation and the temporary change of type of assessment from summative to formative had a negative impact on the performance of students studying Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems. Participant 3 pointed out in the process of a discussion that 'formative assessment were no second opportunities to re-write online tests when students had issues such as network connectivity and load shedding of electricity while at home. However, lecturers understood their situations and offered second opportunities for them to re-write. All of participants agreed that their lecturers gave them piles of assignments which caused pressure for submission.

All the responses from participants shown that Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems are different from other courses since it is practical and theoretical. Since COVID-19 lockdown was implemented and with strict lockdown regulations, students studying Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems were not able to have access to indigenous knowledge custodians due to restricted movement. Participant 5 who is a second-year student said that:

> 'I was given an assignment of IKSM 213, and the question of the assignment required me to choose a culture and find different specific diseases of that culture and managed to complete the assignment, through the help of indigenous knowledge holders in my community.'

13 of participants out of 15 said that they were having challenges with using online platforms such as Microsoft teams and Zoom meetings for attending meetings due to lack of knowledge and skills since they were using them for the first time. Participant 2 responded that:

> 'As a first year of 2021, I did not have adequate knowledge and skills about how to operate a laptop or computer, but ADLE 122 helped me to know how to use devices to complete my academic tasks.'

ADLE 122 is an academic literacy development module that literate students about the use of computers and its programs for their academics and only first time registered undergraduate students.

Students who were at home while studying Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems responded that they several of challenges in an online environment. One of the participants provided a heart-breaking response that her mother was sick due to high blood pressure, and she

was the only female child who was there to help her with the needs such as taking medication since her brother stayed far away from home. As a result of that, she had challenges with online teaching and learning since she would miss online meetings due to that. Participant 2 replied that, 'the Wi-Fi connectivity in their off-campus residence is poor.'

A single participant out of 15 had no proper studying environment in their home. Participant 1 pointed that:

> 'It is uncomfortable for me when I am studying because I do not have a contented study table and chair as I am using a sitting room chair and table. Further stated that when I am sitting on the chair for too long, I would get back pains and after I consulted from an orthopedic doctor, I was diagnosed with chronic upper thoracic spine pain.'

Six out of 15 participants responded that they would sometimes study in their bedrooms, and it becomes difficult for them to keep studying since they would eventually fall asleep. Participant 1 stated that 'I study during the day because that is the time when I become energetic'. Participant 4 said that there are distractions at home when he attends online meetings because family members would make noise and distract him. All of the participants who stayed at home agreed that they would do home chores while they have to study or attend to online classes. Participants who stay at home while studying indicated that they would be cooking and washing dishes instead of doing academic work. Participant 4 mentioned that 'when I attend classes at home, I do not have time to rest since I am the only female in my family who is responsible for home chores.' While on the other hand, 5 of participants pointed out that their parents and family members assist them with home chores so they can have time for schoolwork.

Prospects of online teaching and learning in different study environment

Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems students enjoyed the benefits of online teaching and learning in the comfort of their homes and student residences even though they had challenges. As much as the change of pedagogy from face-to-face to online challenged students, there are also benefits that students had from the altering of pedagogy. Participant 5 stated that 'ever since we started with online teaching and learning, I was able to get distinctions and passed my semester modules successfully.' The majority of students agreed that they gained more skills and knowledge on how to use online platforms to attend meetings and look for online study materials.

The researcher established that students who reside at home while learning and being taught online benefit from the pedagogy by saving travelling costs to go to university, living costs are reduced such as food and toiletries. Participant 1 responded that:

> 'I receive an amount of R6000 monthly allowances from Department of Arts and Culture bursary and it is more than enough to buy stationary, save, and help my parents with the needs in the house.'

However, respondents who use National Student Financial Aid Scheme for funding their studies are not satisfied with the number of allowances provided. Participant 2 provided that he regrets applying for NSFAS since it provides R1500 food allowance that is not enough to cover living costs.

Students who reside at on-campus residences responded that they were enjoying benefits such as access to network connectivity through university Wi-Fi and access to university computer laboratories. Participant 3 argued that living in the university residence increases safety of students since there are security services and people all over who make the environment to be safe. Students who stay on-campus have access to unlimited library use for getting study materials and other academic uses. While on the other hand, students who stay off-campus had to rush back home when the sunset. 3 of participants who stay in private residences responded that where they stay there are availability of free Wi-Fi connectivity of which they use to access internet for online meetings and writing of assignments.

Participant 3 said that 'I could not use online platforms such as Zoom meetings, Microsoft teams, Google meets but due to attendance of lesson meetings, I learnt how to do so'. The more students engaged with their lecturers and peers using various online platforms, the richer their skills and knowledge became. 15 participants mentioned that they benefited from online teaching and learning even though they had some challenges with it. Participant 4 commented that 'if it was not by the change of method of teaching and learning, I would not have got a laptop and a smartphone.' The participants indicated that they got laptops from the university while others bought them through bursary allowances.

The support systems given to Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems students during COVID-19

It is vital for the university management and staff to play their roles in supporting students during difficult times of COVID-19. 6 out of 15 participants agreed that they received satisfying support from the university and staff. Participant 1 commented that they received a laptop from the university through the help of a program coordinator at the Indigenous Knowledge Systems center. 14 out of 15 participants agreed that they had access to university data provided although it was not enough, but it helped them to accomplish most of their academic tasks.

Participant 2 mentioned that,

> 'when we missed a zoom session, lecturers creates another zoom link for students who missed it so they can catch up. Participant 3 provided that when students missed a submission date and time for assignments, lecturers make a means to extend the date and time for submission.'

The university recruited more academic peer mentors, tutors, and student assistants to help and support Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems students to adapt to online teaching and learning successfully. Participant 3 pointed that 'lecturers were always available to assist us with our academic problems.'

Parents and guardians also played a huge role in supporting their children who are students at the North-West University during online teaching and learning. Since, majority of participants agreed that their parents and guardians reduced their home chores so that they can have enough time to study and attend online classes. While on the other hand, participant 1 commented that in her home, there is a hired helper who assists them with home chores so that she can perform online teaching and learning without having too many house responsibilities. Participant 3 said that 'when I do not have data in the middle of the month, my parents help me with money to buy data bundles.'

Discussion

Researchers such as AI-Maskari *et al*. (2021), Schreiber *et al.* (2021), Radish & Yadav (2020),

Marinoni *et al.* (2020), Jena (2020), Makafane & Chere-Masopha (2021), Mthethwa & Luthuli (2021), Alex (2022) and others who have done related studies found that students experiences load-shedding of electricity, poor network connectivity, lack of technological devices and knowledge to use them for online teaching and learning. Hence, the researcher found that one of the factors that contributes to poor network connectivity is the location of where students stay because some stay in the rural areas where there is bad network connectivity.

Access to network data for online teaching and learning was a challenge. However, some students indicated that the university provided them with data and devices. According to Bouchey *et al*. (2021), students had access to support services provided by their leaderships. All universities in South Africa provided support to students with laptops, health support by vaccination sites and testing sites, academic support of access to online library, student counselling sessions, website, and provision of data. Van Wyk (2020) stated that Open Distance Learning (ODeL) course students were satisfied with academic support provided in an online environment. In this study, it was found that the majority of participants received support from their lecturers and

university. However, others were not satisfied with the support provided by the university since they demanded more about increased bursary allowances and provision of enough data.

Thaheem *et al*. (2021) reviewed that teacher and student benefited from online education. In this study, participants were satisfied with online pedagogy since their academic performance improved, their financial budget became stable, and they managed to adapt to the pedagogy due to help provided by the university, parents, and lecturers. Oyedotun (2020) argued that university students and lecturers were able to use technological tools for online pedagogy while the university management were able to discover prospects for the improvement of assorted learning. The study found that students who stay in sub-urban areas had more benefits of online teaching and learning, than those who stay in rural areas. This is due to the perspectives of participants that in the rural areas there are many challenges such as poor network connectivity and lack of electricity that contribute to unsuccessful online teaching and learning.

The study found that some parents of students were helping their children with home responsibilities so that they can have enough time to study and attend classes while on the other hand, other participants were affected by having too many home chores with no support from parents, guardians, and family members. Fontenelle-Tereshchuk (2021) found that parental support is significant for the success of students living at home while studying in an online mode. The support from parents to students includes purchasing data and devices for students (Pokhrel & Chhetri 2021).

Strengths and Limitations

COVID-19 pandemic did not stop the researcher from completing the study, since the methods of data collection were undertaken online using Zoom meetings. All participants had adequate knowledge and skills to join the meeting successfully and partake in the *Lekgotla* process. For example, writing comments in the comment section of Zoom meetings, unmuting and muting their microphones. However, there were challenges faced by participants and researchers during data collection process.

These challenges include less participants volunteered in this study due to having no access to data for online focus group interviews, load shedding of electricity which affected the schedule of the focus group interviews and the progress of the study, personal issues experienced by participants which led them hold back from partaking in the study and traumatizing frustrations caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. However, the researcher and participants did what was expected from them to overcome and adjust to those challenges. For example, buying data for

participants who did not have access to it for attending Zoom meetings and changing schedules to suit the load shedding schedules.

Conclusion

COVID-19 is not yet over but due to vaccination and protocols implemented, the spread of it is very less. Therefore, there is a need for the combination of online and face-to-face pedagogies in the higher education curriculums so that students have alternative choices on how they would like to being taught and learning. This is due to that there are students who prefer online pedagogies and those who desire face-to-face teaching and learning. Moreover, strategies of adapting to future pandemics while studying Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems needs to be further explored so to have feasible teaching and learning under any future pandemics. This applies to any course offered by any higher education institution in South Africa and abroad.

The researcher will be furthering this topic with the study titled 'A comparative study on the impact of COVID-19 on Bachelor of Indigenous Knowledge Systems (BIKS) students at the University of Venda and North-West University, Mahikeng campus for the completion of Master of Indigenous Knowledge Systems. Thus, the exploration of the topic will be building on the knowledge generation and distribution. The motivation to pursue the study is to establish the differences and similarities on the impact of COVID-19 on BIKS students at these universities. There is also a need for literature in this focus area since the study of the impact of COVID-19 on BIKS students is still being explored to make a change for the benefit of students and staff.

Recommendations

- In the future pandemics that may contribute to the changes of pedagogies, universities
- must ensure that all students have access to necessary ICTs for online teaching and learning.
- Universities must develop suitable programs that educate staff and students about the use of ICTs for successful online teaching and learning.
- Since the results shows that many students preferred online teaching and learning regardless of the challenges it brought, the Indigenous Knowledge Systems Center must consider developing online learning methods for teaching and learning BIKS.
- Parents should support students with necessary needs for an effective online teaching and learning.
- More research must be done in this field so to have diversity of knowledge documented.

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The use of oral history in the teaching of the subject Creative Art in a KwaZulu-Natal primary school:

The perspective of educators

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Literature indicates that oral history (OH) is an important traditional pedagogical tool that can be used to supplement textbooks in the classroom. It can help learners, including those in the foundation phase, during 'border crossing' from home to school-based education. However, OH is frequently disregarded in the education system, despite it being able to assist in articulating creative art (CA) skills among learners in CA-related subjects such as storytelling, folk telling, singing, praise singing and dramatisation. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to explore the use of OH in the teaching of CA. The study objectives were to understand how OH is used to impart knowledge about the subject of CA and to determine the perceptions of educators regarding its use. To gain insight into the phenomenon studied, a qualitative explorative case study underpinned by the social constructivist paradigm was used. Data were collected using a questionnaire comprising open-ended questions. Two Educators participated in the study. Purposive sampling was used to select educators responsible for teaching the CA subject. Findings revealed that OH is important in facilitating learning by doing and listening (apprentice education) but some learners have weak listening skills. The findings underscore the importance of subject integration to strengthen some weak learning skills among learners. It also transpired that current educators are teaching the digital generation who get bored with one teaching method, hence emphasising the need for multiple teaching approaches including the use of innovative technologies such as digital storytelling.

Contribution: The study is considered important as it will contribute to existing knowledge regarding the importance of taking OH to the classroom and how it can help improve CA skills among learners. This is critical for sustainable socio-economic development.

Key words/concepts: Oral history; primary school education curriculum; creative arts; ; School Environment Education Programme; SEEP; primary school educators; KwaZulu-Natal Province, South Africa

Introduction and Background

Moss (Bradsher 1991:148) describes oral history (OH) as a 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. The evidence embedded in historical records is considered important. Moss (1991) asserts that OH includes oral tradition (OT) – folk wisdom and folk history that have traditionally been handed down from generation to generation solely by word-of-mouth but lately has also been recorded using audiotapes, videotapes, and digital means using, for example, cell phones and other innovative technologies as (Bradsher 1991:148). Moss (1991) avers that OH has become a part of the archival experience and archivists need to know this to meet their professional obligations. The three principles Moss underpin in OH are: i) one must not confuse the record with the original events or underlying memories of those events; ii) the original recording of the events is the archival record that requires custodial integrity; and iii) both the interviewer and the participant or respondent are the co-creators of the archival record, and they share responsibility for its validity and integrity (Bradsher 1991:149).

In many African countries, elders have used folklore (OT) as a medium or tool to educate younger generations. Proverbs, riddles, songs, legends and myths have been used to educate youngsters about the experiences of the past (Morapa 2009:145-146; Zimu-Biyela 2016:48). Ntuli (Odora-Hoppers 2002:58) and Zimu-Biyela (2016:48) aver that in almost all societies the beginning and meaning of life lies within the world of myths, which are provided through rituals. For these rituals to be effective, Ntuli describes that storytelling, songs, dances and other cultic acts are performed, and various objects are created such as beadwork, grass mats and sculptures (Odora Hoppers 2002:58. Furthermore, Ntuli (2002) asserts that these rituals accompany us throughout life, from cradle to grave. Schellnack-Kelly (2017:19) reiterates that the OT is an effective method for transmitting knowledge from one generation to the other and that through folklore and legends, guidance is provided. Schellnack-Kelly (2017) points out that all cultures worldwide have myths, legends and fairy tales. For her, all these narratives have 'fantastical' origins of the world and life, heroes and villains, of how we as people – children, mothers, fathers, grandparents, friends and colleagues should behave with humanness (Schellnack-Kelly 2017:19). However, in South Africa, the concern is raised that awareness and respect for the country's cultural diversity have been lost along the way (Zimu-Biyela 2022:2) hence the importance of taking OH to the classroom.

Many studies relate oral history projects to the gathering of oral testimonies for various purposes such as academic or educational, archival preservation and journalistic use (Bhebhe 2022; Horn 2014). For example, for the oral history project of the National Archives of Zimbabwe, Bhebhe (2022) found that not knowing the ethnic language was a challenge when collecting oral testimonies. Horn (2014) conducted a study concerning the use of OH in the classroom

and the importance of understanding the historical context. The findings revealed students' misunderstanding of the past. For Horn (2014) the use of OH can help educators to clarify those misunderstandings. In addition, it can help in developing students' critical thinking, analysis, evaluation, research and communication skills. Both Horn (2014) and Crocco (1998) agree that oral history in the classroom holds multiple benefits for learners such as the development of historical skills and content knowledge, and the understanding of the historical context in relation to historical events.

Crocco (1998) asserts that OH projects have the potential to extend the range of learning modalities such as oral and interactive skills that are gradually being replaced by reading priorities. OH projects open up opportunities for bringing families and the community of students together in the classroom (Crocco 1998). For Horn (2014) oral history taken to the classroom can help learners acquire and compare vocabulary used between home and school. Consequently, a multicultural dimension is integrated into the education content. In periods when teaching resources are scarce, the use of OH provides a means of including individual life stories without necessitating an investment in new classroom materials (Crocco 1998). Furthermore, Crocco (1998) posits that oral history, can give an opportunity to students to make 'textbooks about their lives', and thus provide reflections about themselves and others. Mehaffy, Sitton and Davis (1979) aver that the accumulated oral histories (memoirs) can help in developing an invaluable archival collection about important school, family, local communities and institutional events.

As alluded to above, given the challenges facing public schools in South Africa such as the scarcity of resources including textbooks (Mojapelo 2018), OH can be used as an alternate teaching, learning and research tool (Crocco 1998). Mehaffy, Sitton and Davis (1979) reiterate that OH as a teaching and learning tool can be stimulating, exciting, and fun for students. This is due to the fact that it promotes participatory research as students can tell their stories and intermittently go to the local community members and other people to collect more oral testimonies. For Ngoepe (2022) oral memory has been relied upon since time immemorial, as the need for recollection occurs naturally in any person, community, institution or country (Ngoepe 2022); however, it cannot be completely relied upon as it gets tainted. Notwithstanding this, OH has multiple benefits in the classroom and in the context of this study, it is viewed as a strategic tool to transmit knowledge in the subject of Creative Art (CA). The linking of CA and OH is elaborated on below.

Creative Art subject

Within the Australian primary school context, CA is viewed as comprising a group of subject areas

considered important for the teaching and learning process (Alter, Hays & O'Hara 2009). OH, storytelling, and music are considered some of the subject areas. While they are unique and different in appearance and method from each other, the subjects employ similar cognitive processes, ultimately allowing language and thought to be expressed through a variety of representations. These subject areas represent forms of communication that allow people to experience the opportunities and challenges of the artist as an actor, storyteller, poet, dancer, visual artist, or musician. They are a way of presenting ideas and developing understanding through interaction at a symbolic level. CA contains basic skills for the positive growth and development of students (Alter, Hays & O'Hara 2009). For Nompula (2012), the arts in many preschool classrooms are valued as precursors to written language, as aids in promoting oral language, and as bridges to developing cognition, creativity, social interactions, and motor control. The arts serve as entryways to the processes of thinking and learning, as they have many cognitive areas, such as analytical thinking, problem posing, and verbal reasoning (Nompula 2012).

Furthermore, Alter, Hays and O'Hara (2009), indicate that in most Australian primary (elementary) schools, it is the generalist teachers rather than the specialist teachers who are largely responsible for teaching CA. The key learning areas of the elementary phase include English, mathematics, human society, and its environment (HSIE), science and technology, personal development, health and physical education (PDHPE), and CA. A concern that has been highlighted is whether generalist primary teachers are able to realise the learning potential and outcomes of CA in schools as they are expected to teach what they do not know nor love. In tandem with this statement, Nompula (2012) underscores that the decline in arts education in schools has had a direct impact on the appreciation of classical music and participation in the arts industry in adulthood, resulting in poor concert and art exhibition attendance and a decline in jobs in the arts and music industry. The successful learning and appreciation of the arts are important for long-term impact on future generations (Nompula 2012).

In South Africa, the Department of Basic Education (DBE) has been striving to improve the education system by introducing education reform policies. For example, the implementation of Curriculum 2005, based on outcomes-based principles, was a break-away from the content-laden apartheid education system. These reform policies aim to teach curricula based on the learners' own socio-economic environment and to equip them with the skills they will need in real-life situations. Other policies introduced include the National Curriculum Statement (NCS), the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) and the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) all of which reflect a period of rapid transformation and democratisation (Dumbrajs, De-Jager Bergstrom-Nyberg 2013)

The current National Curriculum Statement (NCS) is divided into categories, which are the

Foundation Phase (grades R to 3), the Intermediate Phase (grades 4 to 6), the Senior Phase (grades 7 to 9), and the Further Education and Training Phase (grades 10 to 12). Although there is an overlap in terms of subjects offered, they differ depending on the phase (DBE 2015; Zimu-Biyela 2019:45). From 2012, the two NCSs, for grades R to 9 and grades 10 to 12 respectively, were combined, to be known as the NCS for grades R–12. The NCS for grades R–12 builds on the previous curriculum, but also updates it and aims to provide clearer indications of what needs to be taught and learnt on a term-by-term basis. The NCS for grades R–12 represents the CAPS for learning and teaching in South African schools (DBE 2011; Zimu-Biyela 2019:45).

The NCS comprises subjects such as languages, life skills/life orientation, natural sciences and technology, social sciences, creative arts, economic management sciences, and mathematics. Some primary schools in the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) Province subscribe to a programme known as the School Environmental Education Programme (SEEP). The programme is based on a memorandum of understanding between the DBE and the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) (Zimu-Biyela 2019:59). It comprises a variety of themes, namely, Culture, outdoor and education; English and environmental education; Green projects; Healthy environment; and science, Technology and education. By integrating the SEEP theme of culture, outdoors and education and subjects such as CA, life skills/life orientation and languages, primary schools can take OH-related teaching tools such as storytelling, poems and folklore to the classrooms.

Prior to discussing the problem statement, the concepts of teaching and learning in the context of OH and CA are explored.

Teaching and learning in the context of Oral History and Creative Art

Hoy, Davis and Anderman (2013) assert that constructivist perspectives on learning and teaching, which are increasingly influential today, are grounded in the research of Piaget, Bruner, Dewey, and Vygotsky. Inquiry and problem-based learning, cognitive apprenticeships, and cooperative learning are typical teaching strategies that are consistent with constructivist approaches. The essence of the constructivist approach is that it places the students' own efforts at the centre of the educational process, thus the notion of student-centred teaching. In South Africa, the need to move away from teacher-centred and content-centred education to student-centred is imperative as the pre-democratic education system had tended to be teacher-centred (Nompula 2012). Camp and Oesterreich 2010 (cited in Nompula 2012) recommend learner-centred, integrated multicultural pedagogy that uses tools such as inquiry and constructivism as approaches for powerful learning experiences. In this scenario, the teacher becomes the facilitator and engages

the learners in inquiry-based research on abstract concepts they learn in the classroom. This is done to compare and construct personal meaning that relates to the learners' own social background, thus guiding them to an understanding of the complexity of human experience. For example, the Australia CA syllabus is considered inquiry-based as it entails the process of exploring and creating (making) art and displaying an end product (presenting). Furthermore, students are expected to engage as an audience (responding) to the artwork. This requires them to analyse their own and other artists' work. Analysis entails the description, interpretation, and evaluation of artworks studied within any of the CA subjects. Within the different syllabus documents, there are 'stage statements' in each art form that provide an overview of student achievement at the end of each developmental level (Alter, Hays & O'Hara 2009).

In support of integrated multicultural learning, the former President of Tanzania, Nyerere, advocated for educating for self-reliance. This was premised on the assertion that education is about self-confidence, independence, responsibility, and democratic involvement (Uzomah 2018). Nyerere argued that any educational reform in Africa must be relevant to society; education must be problem-solving and work-oriented and that educated individuals need to strive for this. However, the key obstacles to actualising self-reliance in Africa's education policies were (and are) the unavailability of the resources needed for quality education and governments' inability to transform school curricula in line with contextual needs (Zimu-Biyela 2019:50). Malebese, Tlali & Mahlomaholo (2019) advocate for socially inclusive teaching strategies. These teaching strategies are based on the principles of critical emancipatory research which evolved from critical theory within the transformative paradigm. They help in the understanding of the actual teaching practices in the context of learners' experiences and backgrounds (Malebese, Tlali & Mahlomaholo 2019).

For Nompula (2012), the global trend in art education also includes web-facilitated learning. Web-based learning is considered more effective in reaching all kinds of students and thus reduces the gap in academic performance among different student learning styles. To make arts learning more contemporary and effective for learners, educators should employ the latest technologies in the classroom. However, the authors argue that in South Africa, where the education system is still considered a 'tale of two cities' – one comprising affluent and well-resourced schools and the other poor and under-resourced schools. Web-based learning might well be a dream to the latter schools due to the dearth of, or limited, resources.

It is in this context that this study aimed to gain insight into how OH, as a traditional pedagogical tool that remains relevant today, can be used in the teaching and learning of the subject CA in a primary school in KZN.

Problem statement

As highlighted earlier, Horn (2014:78) asserts that the use of OH in the classroom holds several benefits for learners including developing historical skills and content knowledge, and understanding historical context as it relates to the significance and meaning of historical events. Regarding skills development, OH is viewed as an important method to demonstrate and make clear to learners the issue of multiple perspectives as well as a method to develop learners' critical thinking skills in that they learn to employ the same techniques as historians when learning and conducting research. Alter, Hays and O'Hara (2009) argue that CA comprises a group of subject areas which represent forms of communication that allow people to connect with the artists as actors, storytellers, poets, dancers, visual artists, or musicians. Put differently, the subject areas become tools to present and transfer ideas and their meaning through interaction at a symbolic level. This tallies with Horn's (2014) view that OH has the potential to be utilised as an enrichment resource and as an alternative to textbooks.

Despite the importance of OH in a didactic context, generalist teachers are responsible for the teaching of the CA subject. As noted, Nompula (2012) is of the view that teaching CA requires specialised skills. Therefore, prior preparation for the lesson can be time-consuming. For example, the teaching of music involves music literacy (theory of music), music listening (history of music) and performing and creating music. Therefore, an educator who is not trained may well lack the content knowledge and skills required to teach the subject effectively (Nompula 2012). Ngoepe (2022) notes that the challenge of educators trying to speak on primary school learners' behalf as they attempted to tell their stories during a storytelling community engagement project is evidence that educators need to be trained in the use of OH for the teaching of CA. In this study, OH is viewed as a traditional method for transmitting knowledge but one which remains relevant. Innovative technologies such as digital storytelling methods can be used to keep up with technological developments. In this regard, Nompula (2012) states that to make arts learning more contemporary and effective for learners, educators should employ the latest technologies in the classroom. As already noted, Nompula (2012) considers web-based learning to be more effective in reaching all types of students and reducing differences in academic performance among different student learning styles. However, also as noted, access to technological resources might be a challenge for poorly resourced schools.

There has been debate on whether archivists and librarians are sufficiently skilled to be the collectors and preservers of OH (Bhebhe 2022; Ngoepe 2022). Ngoepe (2022) opines that letting OH preserve itself organically may result in problems such as the griots or the carriers of oral memory changing the narratives. Oral memory faces the same challenges as recorded information, as it may have diverse narratives and interpretations of past events (Ngoepe 2022).

Mehaffy, Sitton and Davis (1979) and Bhebhe (2022) agree that in many communities there are still gaps in oral testimonies, hence the importance of classroom oral history projects to help close these gaps. Partnerships between educators, archivists, taxonomists, information technology specialists, and other specialists are imperative in this regard.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study was to explore the use of OH in the teaching of the subject of CA in a primary school setting. Furthermore, the study sought to establish the perceptions of educators regarding the use of OH to teach CA.

Research objectives

In light of the purpose above, the research objectives were to:

1. Understand how OH is used to teach the subject of CA and consequently inculcate a love for such history.
2. Determine the perceptions of educators regarding the use of OH to teach CA.
3. Make recommendations regarding the integration of OH as a teaching tool for the subject CA at the fundamental level.

Research questions

1. How is OH used to teach the subject of CA and inculcate a love for such history?
2. What were the perceptions of educators regarding the use of OH to teach CA?
3. What recommendations can be made regarding the integration of OH as a teaching tool for the subject of CA at the fundamental level?

Theoretical framework

This study adopted a model for facilitating CA learning developed by Alter, Hays and O'Hara (2009) (see Figure 1).

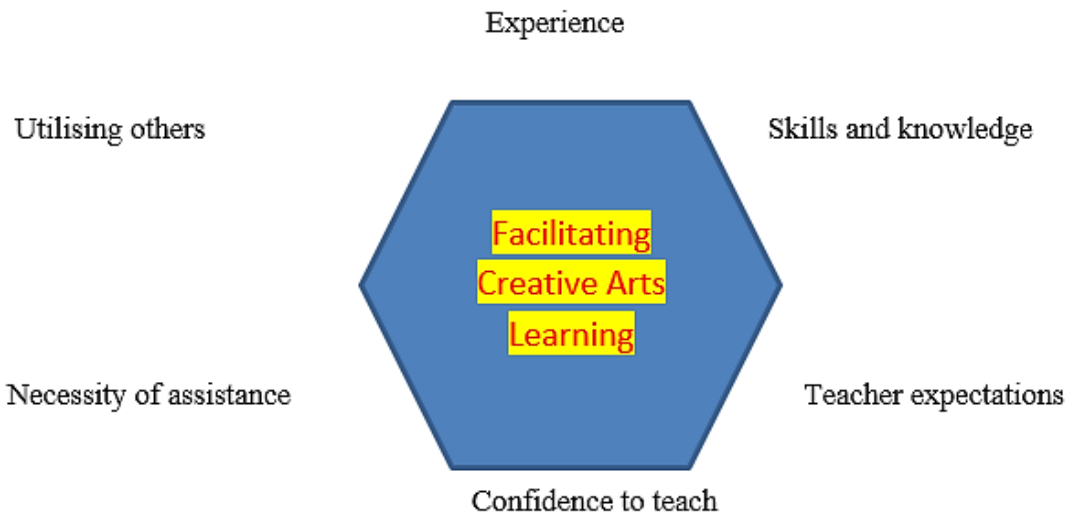

Figure 1: Omodel: Facilitating CA learning (Adapted from Alter, Hays and O'Hara (2009)

The model explains how educators/can move through the stages of knowing what they have to teach in CA and then apply this knowledge in initiating the teaching and learning process. The corners in the hexagon represent different stages of awareness. These stages highlight the approaches and perspectives of the participants for CA as experts in the subject field (Alter, Hays & O'Hara 2009). It has already been indicated that OH entails the OT of folk wisdom and folk history. OT was used by elders to transmit knowledge from generation to generation. Various methods of knowledge transmission were used such as storytelling, music, dance, and artefacts. OH, as emphasised, is considered a traditional method for transmitting knowledge but one which remains relevant. It is not static but dynamic, hence, if taken to the formal classroom, it must be modified to keep up with the technological trend. It can help in stimulating visionary and imaginary thinking and learning and can be used to drive inquiry-based, problem-solving, and purposeful learning.

To strengthen the teaching and learning of CA, a constructivist learning model is deemed important. OH, as a sub-discipline of CA, is considered an art subject. It is deemed an important subject to prepare foundation phase learners for the next learning levels. It helps them during 'border crossing' from informal home education to formal school education and, in addition, helps in developing learners who can think critically. As Nompula (2012) has indicated, successful learning and appreciation of the arts are important for a long-term impact on future generations (Nompula 2012). This tallies with the principles of constructive learning as advocated by

Nyerere, namely, that the education system needs to educate for self-reliance, self-confidence, independence, responsibility and democratic involvement (Zimu-Biyela 2019). Constructivists argue that learning needs to be understood from the learners' perspectives (Hoy, Davis & Anderman 2013). However, the challenges facing the education systems in Africa are the dearth of resources and skills and OH classroom projects can help in closing that gap.

Research methodology

A qualitative explorative case study was used to gather the necessary data to respond to the research objectives/answer the research questions posed. It was underpinned by a social constructivist paradigm hence constructivist learning model was adopted to assist in understanding the phenomenon studied. A qualitative study has the ability to focus on phenomena that occur in natural settings and the ability to capture and study the complexities of the phenomena (Leedy and Ormond 2014).

The study used purposive sampling to identify two educators responsible for teaching the subject of CA in the targeted primary school. In addition, they were also responsible for the implementation of the aforementioned SEEP in the school. Data for the study were collected using self-administered questionnaires with open-ended questions. The questionnaires were e-mailed to the two participants and the completed questionnaires were returned via email. Follow-up telephone conversations and WhatsApp messages were used to clarify misunderstandings. Data were analysed thematically in line with the objectives of the study. Themes were compared repetitively until the saturation stage was reached (Gray 2009:495; Neuman 2003:439).

Ethics in research involves being aware of the consensus shared among researchers about what is appropriate and inappropriate (Babbie 2011:67). It also involves being responsible for the well-being of respondents that participate in the research. Thus, it entails obtaining the consent of the participants before engaging them in research and truthfully reporting findings. It also entails undertaking research in a transparent manner to ensure integrity and quality (Bryman 2012:135, 142). These ethical requirements were applied in the current study using written consent. The aim was to adhere to the three principles such as respect for persons; beneficence and non-maleficence and justice as recommended by Wessels and Visagie (2017). Respect for persons promotes respect for dignity of participants, beneficence has to do with the protection of participants from harm by ensuring a favourable risk–benefit ratio and justice entails fair procedures that must be followed during the selection of participants. As previously highlighted the two educators were selected purposively because of their relevancy to the phenomenon studied.

Findings

The findings are presented in line with the objectives of the study and the specific questions posed in the questionnaire (see below). To begin with, some brief biographical information regarding the participants is provided.

Data for the study was collected from two purposively selected educators from the targeted primary school. Both were responsible for teaching the subject of CA for grade seven (senior phase). In terms of gender, one educator was female and the other male. Both educators were over the age of 40 years and both had a Bachelor of Teaching qualification. In terms of teaching experience, one had taught for 10 years and the other for 19 years.

The two educators provided feedback on a series of questions that were posed to them. The questions posed were:

- What are the types of SEEP themes used for teaching the subject of CA?
- Which are the various teaching and learning activities used to integrate or incorporate indigenous knowledge systems in the teaching of CA?
- If poems, music, drama, and other methods are sometimes used in the teaching of CA, what is the importance of using poems and storytelling when teaching CA?
- Are community members such as the chief, headmen, elders, and traditional healers invited to tell stories as part of the teaching of the CA subject and what are the types of stories they share?
- What are the challenges of using oral teaching methods or activities such as poems, and storytelling in the teaching and learning of CA?
- Do you have any additional comments that could be shared or added?

The responses received to these questions are as follows:

1. Type of SEEP themes used for teaching CA:

   Respondent 1: Science and technology, CA, culture and indigenous knowledge.
   Respondent 2: Health environment, green projects, culture, outdoors and environmental education.

2. Teaching and learning activities used to integrate or incorporate indigenous knowledge systems when teaching CA:

Respondent 1: Learners get to incorporate indigenous knowledge when they perform a dance during cultural activities.

Respondent 2: Learners incorporate indigenous knowledge through dance, drama, poems, music literacy, visual arts, cultural and social events and storytelling techniques.

3. The importance of using poems and storytelling when teaching CA:

Respondent 1: The learners gain vast experience in communicating and expressing their viewpoints and abilities to create their poems and stories.

Respondent 2: It is very important to teach poems such as folktales and let learners interpret the performance of dramatic forms. The learners use their voices and bodies to study and interpret folktales and choral verses as dramatic forms.

4. Invitations to community members such as the chief, headmen, elders, and traditional healers to tell their stories as part of teaching CA:

Respondent 1: Older people from the community are helping with remembering the past so that learners see the connection between the past and present. The learners also experience how music is performed and the meaning thereof.

Respondent 2: Community members talk or tell narratives and dramatic lyrical poems by using their body language and facial expressions. Folktales are old stories that have been passed down from one generation to another.

5. Challenges of using oral teaching methods or activities in teaching or learning of CA:

Respondent 1: Learners learn fast when they see the demonstrations of performances. Listening is a skill that learners battle with, as they do not listen in the same way as they view the narratives being shared.

Respondent 2: The learners are the digital generation. These learners sometimes get bored in practicing both vocal and physical characterisation as well as the integration thereof, where appropriate. Nevertheless, the learners do enjoy listening to the elders when they visit the school.

6. Additional comments:

Respondent 1: SEEP and subjects like CA and life skills are highly recommended for all learners because there is much integration with other subjects, and they teach learners indigenous knowledge. SEEP provides opportunities for learners to know where they are going and where they come from.

Respondent 2: CA is extremely important when integrated with other subjects such as English, life orientation and natural sciences. Through CA, learners learn many life skills.

Discussion

Moss (1991), in the introduction above, asserted that OH includes the oral tradition, folk wisdom and folk history that have traditionally been handed down from generation to generation solely by word-of-mouth. Zimu-Biyela (2016:48), Morapa (2009:145-146) and Ntuli (2002) aver that proverbs, riddles, songs, legends and myths have been used to educate youngsters about the experiences of the past. The findings of this study reveal that these traditional pedagogical tools remain relevant despite not being used as much as they could be. For example, the two educator respondents indicated that dance, drama, poems, music literacy, visual arts and storytelling are used as teaching and learning tools and that cultural and social events also help in harnessing CA skills. Thus, when asked whether community members are sometimes invited to tell stories to the learners, both educators agreed that community members do tell stories so learners can see connections between the past and the present. One educator explained that folk tales are old stories that have been passed from generation to generation. Further, it was explained that community members usually tell narrative, dramatic and lyrical poems using body language, facial expressions and music.

It has been enlightening to learn that some primary schools have been proactive in implementing and facilitating outcome-based, learner-centred education as recommended by the NEC of the DBE. In the context of this paper, this is what Fakudze (2004), Aikenhead (1996) and Jegede (1995) call 'border crossing' from home to school education. Horn (2014) posits that this helps learners acquire and compare vocabulary used between home and school. For Crocco (1998), OH projects have the potential to extend the range of learning modalities in class and Nompula (2012) opines that CA-related subjects are important for long-term impact on future generations. It is thus crucial that generalist educators responsible for the teaching of CA-related subjects are educated on how to teach them effectively and in line with changing needs of the time. Nompula (2012), Alter, Hays and O'Hara (2009) have raised the concern that the teaching of CA subjects requires specialised skills. The concern is whether generalist primary educators are able to realise the learning outcomes expected from the learners (Alter, Hays & O'Hara 2009).

Objective two aimed to establish the perceptions of educators regarding the use of OH to teach the subject CA. It was found that both educators agreed that the use of OH, such as storytelling and poems, was important because learners got the opportunity of communicating and expressing their viewpoints. One educator was of the view that learners learn quicker through apprentice education, demonstration, and observation as what they view is easy to remember. However,

the listening skills among learners varied and this was seen as a challenge as some have good listening skills while the skills of others are weak. One educator indicated that learners learn to use their voices and bodies to study and interpret folktales and choral verses as dramatic forms. A concern raised was that learners are a digital generation that gets bored easily in practising vocal characterisation and integrating songs appropriately. Despite this, it is evident that learners still enjoy listening to elders who visit the school. This confirms Nompula's (2012) view that to make arts learning more contemporary and effective for learners, educators should employ the latest technologies in the classroom. For Nompula (2012) the global trend in art education includes web-facilitated learning.

When asked if they had any additional comments, one educator recommended that the themes of the SEEP must be integrated with other subjects such as CA and life skills as they help in integrating indigenous knowledge into the school curriculum. The second educator reiterated that it was important to integrate CA with other subjects such as English, Life orientation, and Natural science because children can learn many life skills through CA. This is in tandem with the Australian primary school curriculum, where CA is viewed as a subject that comprises a group of subject areas which are important for the teaching and learning process (Alter, Hays & O'Hara 2009). It is apparent that CA-related subjects including OH have the potential of giving space to indigenous ways of knowing that have long been marginalised.

Conclusions and recommendations

It can be concluded that OH is a teaching and learning tool that can be used in the teaching of CA. It is considered one of the sub-areas of CA. However, there have been concerns that its use needs to be modified in line with technological trends (Nompula 2012). Findings revealed that the current digital generation learners get bored easily with one pattern of learning and there is thus a need for multiple approaches and models when conducting teaching and learning activities, particularly in the subject of CA.

The importance of taking OH to the classroom in order to give space to the knowledge systems that have been disregarded for a long time cannot be over-emphasised. From the archival perspective, this is considered important in closing archival gaps within communities especially rural communities (Bhebhe 2022). Findings confirmed that the use of OH for the teaching and learning activities of CA is important as learners learn more quickly through apprentice education, which is learning by observation, demonstration and doing; however, as pointed out, some learners have weak listening skills. For the teaching and learning of CA-related subjects to be effective, the integration of themes such as healthy environment; environmental education; and culture, outdoors and education with CA was pointed to. It is thus recommended that the

DBE, especially in KZN, must intensify projects such as SEEP as they help in promoting the integration of subjects, including OH. Given the highlighted challenges, it is also recommended that OH projects must be taken to the classroom and that they need to adapt to current technology needs. For example, digital storytelling can be gradually introduced into the education system to help learners create both print and digital storybooks about their histories and oral testimonies. In addition, generalist educators must be trained on how to use innovative technologies to teach CA and its related subjects effectively. For the teaching of CA to be effective, training must be done during in-service training.

This study is deemed important in that it contributes to the increasing awareness of the need to take OH and CA projects to schools, especially at the foundation phase level. This is vital for assisting in 'border crossing' from home to school education. Doing so also helps in the decolonisation of the foundation phase school curriculum. In terms of further research, it is recommended that more studies be conducted to establish the long-term impact of OH projects on the development of CA skills of learners as well as their socio-economic benefits. This is crucial as Nompula (2012), as reported above, has pointed to the decline in arts education in schools having a direct impact on the appreciation of classical music and participation in the arts industry in adulthood, resulting in poor concert and art exhibition attendance and a decline in jobs in the arts and music industry.

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Schreiner family narratives: Written and oral sources in biographical research

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This article reflects on the research required in biographical studies. The biographical focus is on the role of three generations of the Schreiner family: W.P. Schreiner (one-time Prime Minister of the Cape Colony), Justice O.D. Schreiner (judge of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court) and Professor G.D.L. Schreiner (scientist, academic, liberal and early conceptualiser of alternative models to apartheid). All three were involved in developing, defending and sustaining liberal policies and values in South Africa from the late 19th century until the advent of democracy in 1994. The clarifications and contradictions within and between oral and written sources are examined, and individual cases are discussed in which they are highlighted. The research sources include family papers, official archives, publications and, crucially, oral testimony. The oral testimony includes formal and informal interviews. This study is a contribution to the history of a family, a university and a set of values. It covers a long period in South African history during which colonialism tightened into apartheid, resistance developed and the eventual vision of a democratic South Africa came to fruition.

Contribution: The primary scientific contribution is the exploration of liberal policies and values in South African political and academic history through the prism of biography. Methodologically, the article discusses possible shortcomings with oral testimony when relied on as a sole source and examines how oral evidence can be utilised in conjunction with research based on archival and published sources to develop a fuller and more nuanced picture in biographical research.

Keywords: biography; Buthelezi; constitutions; liberalism; oral history; research techniques; Schreiner; South Africa; universities.

Introduction

The contributions of the Schreiner family to South African history and culture span nearly two centuries, and their influence has been profound. The most well-known member of the family is O.E.A. (Olive Emily Albertina) Schreiner, author of the classic *Story of an African Farm* (first published in 1883), pioneering feminist and human rights campaigner whose life story is told in the Olive Schreiner House Museum in Cradock. Her legacy is too profound and complex to do justice to within the space of this article. The focus here is on the lives of three generations of male members of the Schreiner family: Olive's brother W.P. (William Phillip) Schreiner (1857–1919), former Prime Minister of the Cape Colony; his son, Appellate Division Justice O.D. (Oliver Deneys) Schreiner (1890–1980); and his grandson, Professor G.D.L. (George Deneys Lyndall, described herein as Deneys) Schreiner (1923–2008), scientist, and academic and constitutional modeller. Their lives fostering liberal politics in South Africa from the late 19th century to the 1980s are explored with particular emphasis on Deneys Schreiner.

For most of his career (from 1959 to 1987), Deneys Schreiner taught at, and later administered, the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg (now part of the University of KwaZulu-Natal). Both the university and the city of Pietermaritzburg were centres of South African liberalism in ways that other English language universities and centres were not. Alan Paton (1903–1988), a graduate of the university, author of *Cry the Beloved Country* (first published in 1948) and one-time leader of the Liberal Party, resided in Hillcrest, halfway to Durban (Alexander 1994), and retained a strong association with the university throughout his life.

The university's credentials were also enhanced by its association with another great South African liberal icon, E.H. (Edgar Harry) Brookes (1897–1979). Edgar Brookes served as a diplomat,

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senator, professor and ordained Anglican priest during an illustrious career. He was also one of the founders and leaders of the Liberal Party (Webb 1979:39–42). Deneys Schreiner was mentored and befriended by both these towering figures.

Liberalism is often attacked in the democratic South Africa, as it is sometimes confused with neo-liberalism, which is an economic theory advocating privatisation and the free market (Cardo 2012:16–20). Some demagogues have even equated liberalism with racism, which is a complete contradiction, and with colonialism, with which liberalism has had a complicated relationship. This is apparent in the origins of the Liberal Party in South Africa (Vigne 1997:19).

In South Africa, liberalism grew out of the Cape Liberal Tradition, which, in turn, had evolved through British Liberalism from the French Revolution and the ideals of the Enlightenment. One feature of British liberalism was its gradualist top-down approach. Over decades and even over centuries, Whig aristocrats conceded rights to the wealthy middle classes and in turn rights were conceded to the labouring classes until eventually universal franchise was conceded, including votes to women (Taylor 1976:113–114).

Two strands of liberalism entered South Africa through the Cape Colony. Firstly, there was a structural, or constitutional, strand providing an elected legislature, independent courts and the rule of law. Secondly, there was a humanitarian strand, strongly propagated by missionaries, in whose ranks Gottlob Schreiner, the father of William Schreiner and Olive Schreiner, was to be found. Freedom of speech and human dignity were of major import to followers of this strand of liberalism. The three generations of male Schreiners fought for both strands as did Olive Schreiner who exercised a great influence on her politician brother throughout their lives.

Research methodology and use of sources

History needs to be rewritten in every generation because although the 'past does not change the present does' (Hill 1991:15). Each new generation asks new questions of the past in the light of the concerns of the present. History is, therefore, a version of events, and there is a constant interplay between the historian and the events (Taylor 1976:10). Within the historical discipline, biographical methodology favours a universalistic and encompassing approach, encouraging understanding and interpretation of experience across many boundaries, the better way to understand individual action and engagement in society (Bornat 2008:344).

Historical and biographical research can, perhaps, be best placed within the ambit of qualitative research methodology. Briefly, qualitative research methodology entails the study of the nature of phenomena, the context in which they appear 'or the perspectives from which they can be perceived' (Busetto, Wick & Gumbinger 2020:1). History and biography concern the thoughts and actions of people in the past which are phenomena in a sense. However, context and perceptions are of prime importance to historians and biographers. This article is a reflection of a research project that resulted in the publication of a biography of Deneys Schreiner, *The Man Behind the Beard* (Dominy 2020). It should be noted here that a biography of William Schreiner appeared in 1937 (Walker 1937), and a volume of essays in memory of Oliver Schreiner appeared in 1983 (Kahn 1983).

Online sources, published books, reports and journal articles, registers, guides, public archives[1] and private[2] papers were extensively consulted. The private correspondence[3] of Oliver Schreiner was made available by the family and proved to be an invaluable resource. Many of Deneys' Schreiner letters to his father, dating from the Second World War and the post-war years when he was first at Cambridge University and then in America, form a critical part of this body of information.

Twenty-seven interviews ranging from formal and structured, usually with academics or university administrators, to more casual conversations in social or other informal surroundings were conducted. These involved friends[4] and Schreiner family[5] members. The process and the technique followed were based upon standard professional oral history guidelines. These are perhaps best described (Grele n.d.) as follows:

> Oral history is not only getting the facts, it is the process of pushing memory, language and ideology as far as possible to bring into articulation the horizon of the interviewee, to understand how those facts are understood. (p. 1)

The image of Deneys Schreiner, as constructed in family, collegial and associated memories, has been described as that of a central figure (Gardner 2008) on the Pietermaritzburg campus of Natal University:

> He and his thinking stood out firmly and visibly; there was something permanent and reassuring about him … In fact, he was in his own very special way, an icon ... A cross between some of the old fashioned depictions of God the Father ... and Charles Darwin ... But if he was a sort of god or a venerable hero-figure, he was an extremely friendly and kindly one. (p. 85)

The informants were told in advance what the purpose of the interviews was and that what they said would be used for

1.*Alan Paton Centre & Struggle Archives (University of KwaZulu-Natal)*. 95APB16: KZN Oral History Project, Schreiner interview by Vigne, 12 April 1995. Cf. History Workshop 2004 (comp)., 'Oral History: A Guide for Educators' University of the Witwatersrand (Mpumalanga Provincial Government Department of Education) [pamphlet in library 1. Alan Paton Centre & Struggle Archives (University of KwaZulu-Natal). 95APB16: KZN Oral History Project, Schreiner interview by Vigne, 12 April 1995. Cf. History Workshop 2004 (comp)., 'Oral History: A Guide for Educators' University of the Witwatersrand (Mpumalanga Provincial Government Department of Education) [pamphlet in library of the National Archives of South Africa].

2.*Private Papers*. Schreiner Correspondance: G.D.L. Schreiner Letters.

3.*Private Papers*. Schreiner Correspondance: O.D. Schreiner Letters.

4.*Oral Interviews: In person; telephonic and email verifications*. Includes John Laband, 2016, childhood friend and academic colleague.

5.*Oral Interviews: In person; telephonic and email verifications*. Includes Deneys Schreiner (son of G.D.L. Schreiner), Heather Schreiner (daughter-in-law) and Lyndall Schreiner (granddaughter) in 2017.

research purposes and may well be published. All agreed to this, except for one family member who flatly refused to cooperate in any way whatsoever with the project.

The writing of the biography of Deneys Schreiner was shaped by a choice and an absence. A comprehensive three-volume history of the University of Natal has recently appeared (Guest 2015, 2017, 2018), which enabled the biography to be focused on family, public and political issues, rather than on academic administration. That was the choice. The letters between Oliver Schreiner and his soldier son, Deneys Schreiner, are missing for the war year 1944. This necessitated a reliance on published secondary sources and oral testimony to fill in the absence for this crucial year and for the period in the mid-1950s when Deneys Schreiner taught at the University of the Witwatersrand and before the family moved to Pietermaritzburg in 1959.

Oral testimony is of immense value to a biographer. It can confirm or clarify obscure textual references and provide insights into personalities rarely found in written texts. The practice of oral history in South Africa since the advent of democracy has been promoted as a means of capturing and conserving the stories of marginalised and neglected people whose lives and struggles are not highlighted in the official documentation. These are, therefore, not often found in libraries and archives. However, as a technique, it also illuminates what remains opaque in official records and provides context to otherwise narrow or dry narratives.

When one considers the intrinsic male bias in official documentation, oral history offers a unique method for balancing the record. Testimony provided by women demonstrates a 'text' that is a composite of history, community, family and cultural memories. This goes beyond a self-centred focus, but indicates concern and care for families, community interests and other people (Magwaza 2013). A cursory examination of the archives of the University of Natal for the 1970s and 1980s reveals that the governing bodies of the university, like most institutions in apartheid South Africa, were male dominated (and almost exclusively white). Just under half the informants interviewed for this project were women, and the three or four most important informants were women.

Two key informants were Colleen Vietzen, a former University Librarian, and Jennifer Verbeek. Colleen Vietzen,[6] as one of the relatively few senior university female administrators, provided interesting insights into Deneys Schreiner's abilities as a university leader and staunch supporter of the library and free access to information. She also pointed out that he was more sensitive to the challenges faced by women in the university academic and administrative environments than many of the other male professors of the day had been.

Jennifer Verbreek[7] was both an academic at the university and a close family friend. Her husband had also been a close colleague of Deneys Schreiner. Her perspectives were, therefore, well-rounded, enriching and amusing. She provided details on family matters, academic life and even on university discipline. All in all, her perspectives, and her ability to make connections between familial, professional and political matters, were unique. She epitomised what Magwaza values in female oral testimony.

The oral testimony obtained from the Schreiner family, colleagues and friends was, therefore, invaluable. A total of 27 interviews were conducted. Some were formal and structured, some were informal and some originated in conservations at social gatherings that were followed up and contextualised in exchanges of emails. Evidence given orally was, whenever possible, cross-checked against published sources or oral testimony from other witnesses of (or participants in) the same events. When discrepancies were discovered, the informants were notified, and sometimes, they modified their information, or justified their interpretations, more coherently or emphatically.

Deneys Schreiner's life has been explored from both private and public perspectives. His family life, his academic career and his involvement and leadership in public affairs have been examined. His military service during the Second World War represents a crossover between the personal and the public. The stress of wartime revealed many of his personal qualities, and the correspondence with his father revealed the thoughts and opinions of an intelligent young man well informed about world events and South African politics. His political activism and his family background led to his most public and consequential involvement, namely, his appointment as Chairman (as it was then described) of the Buthelezi Commission in the early 1980s. This was the first time that black South Africans had initiated an investigation into the constitutional future of South Africa. KwaZulu Chief Minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi selected Deneys Schreiner for this task because of his prominent public profile and his liberal reputation and because his grandfather had defended Buthelezi's grandfather, King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo against treason charges in 1909 (Dominy 2020:4).

To place all this in context, one must begin with the grandparents as critical relationships in the 1980s had their roots in the first decade of the 20th century.

W.P. Schreiner (1857–1919)

William Philip Schreiner was the son of Gottlob Schreiner and his wife Rebecca Lyndall, both missionaries (Schoeman 1991:13). Despite a chequered career as a missionary and as a businessman, his children received good education, and William and his sister, Olive, were both extremely well read and schooled, although only William, as a boy, received a

6.*Oral Interviews: In person; telephonic and email verifications*. Colleen Vietzen, 28 October 2016, academic colleague [interview].

7.*Oral Interviews: In person; telephonic and email verifications*. Jennifer Verbeek, 2016-2017, family friend [several interviews and reminiscences]

formal tertiary education. He went to the South African College in Cape Town and then on to Downing College at Cambridge to study law. His academic results were outstanding, and he loved the university, which he described as 'Jerusalem and Athens in one' (Walker 1937:22).

William was admitted as a barrister in London but began his legal career in Cape Town. He was an adviser to the Governor and many leading politicians before moving into politics himself. Elected to the legislature in 1893, he immediately became Attorney General and supported Cecil John Rhodes until he broke with him over the Jameson Raid. In 1898, he was elected as the Premier of the Cape Colony and clashed with the High Commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner. William campaigned for the holding of an Anglo-Boer conference in Bloemfontein in May 1899 in an effort to forestall the outbreak of war (Pakenham 1979:60).

William Schreiner married F.H. (Frances Hester) Reitz, a sister of the President of the Orange Free State, F.W. (Francis William) Reitz. This gave him a strong connection to the leadership of the Boer republics and reinforced his antipathy to the aggressive and imperialistic policies of top British officials such as Alfred Milner and Joseph Chamberlain, the Secretary of State of the Colonies. Milner interfered in Cape politics and succeeded in undermining William's position as Premier, forcing his resignation in June 1900, although they parted with many expressions of mutual esteem (Walker 1937:233–234).

William Schreiner's views evolved throughout his political career. When seeking office in the Cape, he annoyed Olive by repeating the paternalistic and almost contemptuous remarks of the colonists towards the African population. His election manifesto in 1893 contained a 'robust keep-the-native-in-his-place effusion' (Walker 1937:272). He later attributed what he called his 'Damascene Moment',[8] to a meeting he had with John Tengo Jabavu, editor of the first black-owned newspaper, *Imvo Zabantsundu*, during an official visit to the Transkei. It was the first time he had met an African who was his educational and intellectual match (Walker 1937:129).

William discovered that he was talking to an educated, intelligent man who was being discriminated against. William's period in the political wilderness, from late 1900 until 1908, also gave him time to reflect and rethink his own casual and ignorant bigotry. The war being fought so savagely between the two so-called civilised white groups in South Africa, while the black communities by and large conducted themselves in a more civilised manner, also had a profound impact on him. Then, as he began to look to fight for a seat in Parliament again, he realised that John Jabavu could mobilise those black voters on the roll in support of him; after all, William was a politician (Walker 1937:270–271).

8.A biblical reference to the experience of St Paul on the road to Damascus.

The re-elected Member of Parliament was already an elder statesman in 1908, and South Africa was on the path to unification. William was nominated as a Cape delegate to the National Convention that was to be held in Durban in 1909. However, William went to Natal on a different mission: he had been asked by the Governor, Sir Matthew Nathan, supported by the British Colonial Office (with Winston Churchill as a junior minister), if he would conduct the defence of the deposed Zulu king, Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo, who had been arrested by the Natal Government on very dubious treason charges in the aftermath of the Bambatha Rebellion (Marks 1970:272).

William faced an acute dilemma: should he attend the National Convention and work towards a new liberal constitution? Or should he follow his humanitarian impulse and defend Dinuzulu from the spurious charges against him? He tried to manage both, but the authorities in Pietermaritzburg manipulated the court dates and the schedule of the convention so William was forced to pick one or the other. He chose to defend Dinuzulu and hence spent his time at the special court in Greytown rather than at the political convention in Durban (Walker 1937:277–279).

William was praised for his legal achievement. Dinuzulu was acquitted of most of the major charges, but nevertheless the Natal Government jailed him after he was found guilty on some of the minor charges. This aroused protests from London to Pretoria, let alone from the Zulu people themselves. The important London journal *Spectator* praised William as, 'The ablest counsel in South Africa' (1909:2). Louis Botha, soon to be Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, was particularly aggrieved by the sentence as he was a longstanding friend of Dinuzulu, and he ordered Dinuzulu's release on the very day that the Union of South Africa was proclaimed, 31 May 1910 (Laband 2018:303).

The most powerful figures at the National Convention were the Transvaal leaders, generals Louis Botha and Jan Smuts who favoured a close union between the four component parts of what was to become one country. Natal, under weak political leadership, favoured federation, but did not favour political rights for Africans and Indians. The Transvaal and the Orange Free State favoured close union but were also against political rights for Africans and Indians. The Cape wanted to retain its own non-racial political franchise (Thompson 1971:325–364). Of course, at this time in South Africa's history, no women, of any race, had the franchise.

There were very few politicians of stature who favoured federation and the extension of political rights across racial lines, and one of them was William Schreiner. The machinations of the Natal Government kept William out of Durban so he could not influence the convention and fight for the inclusion of non-racial political rights in the draft *South Africa Act* that was to become the constitution of the new Union of South Africa after ratification by the United

Kingdom Parliament and assent by the King. Cape delegates managed to preserve voting and civil rights within their new province, but the Union Parliament could remove these by a two-thirds majority. William Schreiner sent an angry telegram from Greytown (Walker 1969) calling the bill:

> Narrow, illiberal and short sighted in conception of the people of South Africa. The great majority are not of European race or descent and their rights and future are not adequately safeguarded or provided for by maintaining temporary privileges of Cape natives or coloured electors. (pp. 313–314)

William then joined a delegation to London to try to persuade the British Government and Parliament not to approve of the *South Africa Act*, and this mission was a failure (Thompson 1971:357).

When the Union Parliament was constituted, William Schreiner accepted the nomination as a senator representing the interests of the disenfranchised African population. He was alarmed by the illiberal direction of the new Union Government, but his concern was tempered by the respect he had for General Louis Botha whose act in releasing Dinuzulu had resulted in widespread approval being expressed (Marks 1970:303). Unfortunately, his misgivings were not unfounded and battles that had been settled in the Cape had to be refought in the broader arena of Union. Olive Schreiner regretfully remarked: 'The waggon of South Africa is beginning to make a *long* slide backward on the muddy road of time' (Walker 1969:339).

William tried to resist the slide. He opposed the *1913 Native Land Act*, without success, and promoted broad human rights, including extending the franchise to women. In 1913, he submitted a petition from African women in the Free State protesting the imposition of the pass laws that were aimed at them. The petition was politely received and then ignored (Walker 1969:351). The following year, William visited London, and while he was in the British capital, the South African High Commissioner died. Louis Botha asked him to take over the position to which he agreed. Then, the First World War broke out and William remained in his position throughout the war, despite increasing ill-health, until his death in June 1919. Jan Smuts and Louis Botha were in France for the negotiations for the Treaty of Versailles and hastened over to London to his funeral. Among the family members able to attend were his wife, Frances Schreiner; his sister, Olive Schreiner; his elder daughter; and many prominent figures in South African history, including his former political foe Milner (Walker 1937:381).

William Schreiner was not a liberal at the beginning of his career, but his views were changed by his interactions with members of the educated African elite in the Cape. He came to realise that a political system wherein an ill-educated white wagon driver could vote, but an African university graduate could not, was utterly flawed. He was also challenged and inspired by other members of his family, including Olive Schreiner, but above all he was motivated by a sense of duty and a commitment to service (Walker 1937:131).

It is an unanswerable question as to whether William Schreiner's presence at the National Convention would have significantly influenced the *South Africa Act*. Powerful forces shaped the Union, including General Louis Botha, General Jan Smuts and influential representatives of the mining industry. None of these were politically liberal. William felt that it was the right decision to defend Dinuzulu as he had accepted him as a client before the dates of the Convention were set. Of greater importance is the fact the William felt that race relations were in a perilous state. Therefore, it would be a better example for him, as a white man, to defend a black man at a time when human rights for Africans were being attacked. Had he been present in Durban, his voice would have strengthened the minority report that went to London along with the draft law of the Union, but it is unlikely that it would have changed the outcome (Walker 1937:293).

The flaws in the *South Africa Act*, particularly regarding the voting rights for mixed-race people who had been protected in the Cape province, would come back to haunt the next generation of Schreiners.

O.D. Schreiner (1890–1980)

William Philip (W.P.) Schreiner was survived by his widow Frances Reitz and their adult children, two boys and two girls. One of the boys was Oliver Deneys (O.D.) Schreiner who followed his father's footsteps into a brilliant legal career and has been described as, 'the greatest Chief Justice that South Africa never had' (Kahn 1983:1).

Oliver was born in 1890, and his childhood and adolescence paralleled his father's progression into liberalism. As he came to understand these principles, initially in the context of the events of his father's life, they underpinned the philosophical influences imparted through his education. After studying in South Africa, he went to Britain and completed his studies at Trinity College, Cambridge University. Oliver Schreiner could easily have won a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford but, given his father's disillusionment with Rhodes over the Jameson Raid, this would not have been possible as 'no Schreiner [...]' would take '[...] such a gift from such a man' (Paton 1964:16).

Towards the end of Oliver's time at Cambridge, the First World War broke out and he joined the British Army. He saw active service as an officer in the trenches in France and was wounded in action at the Battle of the Somme. He was awarded the Military Cross for his gallantry (Kahn 1980:566–615). At the conclusion of hostilities, Oliver returned to Britain where he completed his legal studies and was admitted to the London bar as a barrister. He returned to South Africa and opened a practice as an advocate in Johannesburg. Activism entered his life in 1923 when he was one of a small group of advocates who fought to open

membership of the bar to all races (Selvan 1994). In December of that same year, his youngest son, G.D.L. (George Deneys Lyndall) Schreiner was born to his wife Edna (Dominy 2020:17).

Oliver's career progressed impressively, and in 1937, he was offered an appointment as a judge on the bench of the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court. Before accepting the appointment, he wrote[9] to General Jan Smuts, the then Deputy Prime Minister, to express his reservations that the offer should have gone to Adv. P. (Philip) Millin, the then most senior advocate at the Transvaal Bar. Millin's wife was the well-known biographer of both Cecil Rhodes and Jan Smuts, S.G. (Sarah Gertrude) Millin (Dominy 2020:18):

> I have the clear impression that he would have been appointed had he not been a Jew. If this is so it would be extremely distasteful to me to commence my work as a dispenser of justice by being, in effect, a party to an injustice.

Jan Smuts hastened to reassure him that no prejudice or anti-semitism was involved, so Oliver took the position and Philip Millin became a judge a few months later (Anon, 1952). Eight years, and another world war later, Oliver was elevated to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court (now the Supreme Court of Appeal) that sat in Bloemfontein. He spent the rest of his judicial career as a member of what was then South Africa's apex court and confronted legal challenges that required as much moral courage as the physical courage he had demonstrated in action during the First World War (Dominy 2020:18).

Before considering these challenges, it is necessary to highlight an important trial Oliver presided over during the Second World War. South Africa's war effort was hampered by anti-British sentiment and by a vocal segment of outright pro-Nazi support in sections of the Afrikaner community. One Nazi supporter, who was arrested in 1942 and charged with treason, was Robey Leibbrandt, an extreme Afrikaner Nationalist, fervent Nazi, German spy and former South African Olympic boxer. The case was heard before Oliver Schreiner who found Leibbrandt guilty of treason and sentenced him to death (Kahn 1983:574). Mindful of the fracas that resulted from the execution of Jopie Fourie in the First World War, the Prime Minister, General Jan Smuts, advised the Governor General to commute the sentence to life imprisonment. The new National Party Government pardoned and freed Robey Leibbrandt after the 1948 election. It is quite possible that this event aroused Afrikaner Nationalist hostility towards Oliver Schreiner long before he took his judicial stand against the removal of the mixed-race people from the common voters' roll in the 1950s (Dominy 2020:18).

The National Party won the general election in 1948 with a slim majority of seats in Parliament, despite receiving fewer votes overall than the United Party. D.F. Malan, the new Prime Minister, set about entrenching racial segregation, which rapidly became known as 'apartheid'. He was also determined to entrench his party in power, and removing mixed-race voters from the common voters' roll in the Cape province would kill two birds with one stone for him. However, the D.F. Malan Government lacked the necessary two-thirds majority required to amend this clause in the constitution, the old *South Africa Act*, opposed by William Schreiner many decades earlier (De Villiers 1975:405–406).

Despite this hurdle, D.F. Malan forced the *Separate Representation of Voters Bill* through Parliament with a simple majority. It was signed into law by the Governor General, but a case was promptly taken up by the courts and it reached the Appellate Division where the Chief Justice and the judges, including Oliver Schreiner, struck it down in April 1952. This was the very month that the Nationalists were arranging the 300th anniversary celebrations of the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck to establish the Dutch settlement at the Cape (Dominy 2020:19).

Undaunted, the Malan Government decided that Parliament should be the ultimate arbiter of its own legislation and passed the *High Court of Parliament Act* to that effect. Sitting as a court, Parliament then overruled the Appellate Court decision. Litigation continued and the Appellate Division declared the *High Court of Parliament Act* invalid. Prime Minister Malan and the Nationalists were not to be beaten so they changed the mathematics: the Senate was packed with enough government-nominated senators to give Malan his two-thirds majority when both houses sat together. As an additional precaution, the number of judges in the Appellate Division was doubled with the new judges all being government supporters (De Villiers 1975:405–406).

The first that Oliver Schreiner heard of the appointment of the new judges on the court was from the court registrar who heard it on the radio. 'There it is', Oliver wrote to his wife Edna, '[...] the only course is to take things philosophically, reminding oneself of the relative unimportance of the affair in the general scheme of things'.[10]

The odds were now totally stacked in the government's favour, the legislation entered the statute books and the enlarged Appellate Division acquiesced, with Justice Oliver Schreiner as the only dissenter. From then until 1994, mixed-race people in South Africa lost their voting rights, except for token representation under the Tricameral system in the 1980s (Dominy 2020:20).

Oliver Schreiner's dogged resistance to the apartheid government's legal machinations accounts for the fact that no Nationalist Prime Minister, or Minister of Justice, was prepared to allow him to become Chief Justice, no matter how senior he was, and what the precedents were. In 2008, then Deputy Chief Justice Dikgang Moseneke[11] delivered the

9.*Private Papers*. O.D. Schreiner Letters, 10 February 1937, O.D. Schreiner to Smuts [File 1939–1943].

10.*Private Papers*. Schreiner Letters, 26 March 1955, O.D. Schreiner to Edna [File 1955].

11.Deputy Chief Justice Dikgang Moseneke was denied the Chief Justiceship of South Africa for political reasons.

annual Oliver Schreiner Memorial Lecture at the University of the Witwatersrand. He remarked (Moseneke 2008) on Oliver Schreiner's privileged background, his illustrious family and yet it was Oliver's steadfastness which fascinated the judge:

> He did not need a social conscience or public spiritedness. He could have lived his life without the political fallout that led to the stunting of his bright judicial career by political executive disapproval. If he had stayed within his elitist confines he would have risen to become the Chief Justice, which he never was. (n.p.)

The mantle was passed on to the next generation, and so, the focus shifted to Oliver's second son.

G.D.L. Schreiner (1923–2008)

Professor George Deneys Lyndall Schreiner (hereafter referred to as Deneys), the second son of Oliver and Edna Schreiner, was born in Johannesburg in 1923. He completed his schooling at St John's Diocesan College, matriculating in 1939 at the age of 15 years, shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War. As he was not old enough to join the armed forces, he registered at the University of the Witwatersrand for a BSc degree in chemistry. Completing his qualification in 1942, he immediately enlisted in the Union Defence Force as a gunner in the artillery (Gardner 2008:83–85). Given his education, love of sport, famous name and social standing, his enlistment in the ranks and not as an officer somewhat annoyed the military hierarchy.[12]

Deneys served in North Africa and in Italy with the South African 6th Armoured Division. He was part of the force that liberated the Renaissance city of Florence later that year before the campaign bogged down in front of strong German fortifications, known as the Gothic Line (Orpen 1975:164). Here the enemy held out until the spring of 1945 when the Allies were able to break through and liberate northern Italy before the Germans finally surrendered (Kros 1992:284).

Deneys was a regular and lively correspondent. His letters to his father, William, his mother, Edna and other family members provide colourful detail about life for young South Africans during wartime in Egypt and the Mediterranean theatre of operations. Strict military censorship precluded him from commenting on actions and campaign matters, but his entertaining writing style vividly conveyed the tedium, discomfort, stresses, tensions and humour of army life. His insights into politics and world affairs were astute for a young man in his early twenties (Schreiner Letters: Files 1943, 1945).

The young war veteran did not return to South Africa at the end of the war but travelled directly from Italy to Britain where he registered at Trinity College, Cambridge, as his father had done before him. Deneys embarked on an abbreviated version of the Natural Science Tripos (having been given some credits for his University of the Witwatersrand BSc). He was a food lover who had experienced several years of army rations, and consequently, he objected to the rationing system still enforce in post-war Britain (Dominy 2020:52). Post-war Cambridge played a pivotal role in maintaining British scientific and intellectual pre-eminence across the Commonwealth and in the Transatlantic and European academic world, and Deneys was fitting into this network (Jöns 2016:94–114).

In 1946, Deneys was able to return home for the first time since 1943. On this visit, he renewed a brief and slight acquaintance he had made at the University of the Witwatersrand, with a young woman named Else Kops who had also been studying for a BSc, but a year or two behind him. On this occasion, they clicked. Else Kops obtained a research grant and followed him to England in 1948, the year in which the Nationalists came to power in South Africa and the year in which Deneys sat his final undergraduate examinations. It was also the year Deneys and Else Kops became engaged and they were married on 22 January 1949 (Dominy 2020:58–60).

Deneys and Else Kops settled in a flat in Cambridge, while he tackled his PhD in inorganic chemistry, which he completed in 1951. During this time, Else gave birth to their first child, a boy, and they named him Oliver. Over the years, the family grew to include two boys (Oliver and Deneys) and two girls (Jennifer and Barbara). Their son Oliver died in a tragic accident in Cambridge in 1977, leaving a young wife and a baby daughter (Dominy 2020:121).

Having completed and defended his PhD, Deneys and his little family moved to the United States where he took up a visiting position at Pennsylvania State College, now Pennsylvania State University (Dominy 2020:62). This was at a time when the United States was swept by a wave of anti-Communist hysteria, whipped up by Senator Joe McCarthy and hence known as McCarthyism (Kutler 1982:184). The paranoia affected the universities, and one of the results was that universities were required to administer oaths of allegiance to the United States to both staff and students (Shrecker 1999). This affected Deneys, and his resolution of the puzzle was imaginative and amusing. He conformed to the requirements by submitting a letter declaring that he would not attempt to overthrow the Government of the United States by force unless it was at war with the Union of South Africa.[13]

Oral testimony from a single individual requires verification, and Pennsylvania State University was contacted. The response was to acknowledge that the broad outline of the oral information was accurate, but Deneys' original letter could no longer be located. The respondents at Pennsylvania State University also shared their surprise at discovering that the oath of loyalty was still on the books although it was no

12.*Oral Interviews: In person; telephonic and email verifications.* Else Schreiner, 01 September 2016, wife [interview].

13. Interview: Else Schreiner, 01 September 2016.

longer enforced (Dominy 2020:70). The interview with Else Schreiner on this issue contributed to the development of Deneys' image as a man of principle as well as an astute manipulator of bureaucracy.

The Schreiner family returned home in 1953 to find his father Oliver was deeply embroiled in the legal crisis over the removal of the mixed-race people from the common voters' roll. The Nationalists won the general election in 1953, and this prompted a split in the opposition United Party with the more enlightened members forming the Liberal Party (Vigne 1997:19). The most prominent public figures in the new party were politicians such as Senator Brookes and Margaret Ballinger Member of Parliament, with Alan Paton providing what would today be called the 'celebrity' face (Dominy 2020:82). Deneys joined the new party on the very first day of its existence, together with his sister. The Liberals were strongly opposed to apartheid but divided on whether there should be a universal or a qualified franchise. Deneys firmly supported a universal franchise, termed 'one-man-one-vote' at the time. The party also debated whether to attend the Congress of the People at Kliptown, where the Freedom Charter was adopted, or not. In the end, their absence weakened their position in the eyes of the African National Congress (ANC) and its closer allies, even though there were Liberals who joined the armed struggle and committed acts of sabotage (Dominy 2020:83).

The break was not complete, and young African intellectuals paid heed to some of the liberal voices. Chief Justice Pius Langa said during his 1999 Alan Paton Lecture:

> We did listen intently to what was being said about us in Parliament and elsewhere, the Margaret Ballingers, Edgar Brookes, Helen Suzman and others. I think these, Helen Suzman in particular, were classified as good guys. (n.p.)

In 1959, Deneys left the University of the Witwatersrand and became a professor of inorganic chemistry at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg. He was drawn into local liberal politics from the very start. White English-speaking Natal was strenuously opposed to South Africa becoming a republic and leaving the Commonwealth. Deneys joined the committee organising the 1960 Natal Convention, which was one of the first attempts to devise a constitutional alternative to the oppressive central government's racially defined structures. His participation was at a junior level, and the minutes of the organising committee in the Alan Paton Centre refer to the fact that Professor Deneys Schreiner was responsible for arranging the ashtrays.[14] This is entirely appropriate given that he was a heavy smoker[15] for most of his life.

In the year of the Soweto Uprising, 1976, Deneys was appointed as the Vice Principal and Head of the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg. He held this post until his retirement in 1987 (Gardner 2008:83). The tensions in the years following the Soweto Uprising affected the entire country, including the universities. The incoming prime minister, P.W. Botha, began tinkering with the constitution, a process that eventually led to the Tricameral Parliament. Deneys saw this as an opportunity for the creation of a forum in which alternative views could be expressed.

With the support of the university authorities behind him (and funding from big business), Deneys arranged an academic conference, 'Constitutional Models and Constitutional Change in South Africa', that was hosted at the university in Pietermaritzburg from 14 to 16 February 1978. Given the restrictions imposed by the apartheid government, a wide range of opinions were represented, from what the media called *verligte* Nationalists, across the spectrum to the moderate left. There were also a few black participants, which was a rarity in the late 1970s.

This conference marks the point in the research project where oral testimony concerning a public event became as important as documentary and other sources. Two academics, professors John Benyon[16] and Douglas Irvine[17] from the disciplines of history and political science, were tasked with making the arrangements at short notice. They both expressed their admiration for Deneys ability to steer a pioneering academic conference through political whirlpools. After the conference, an influential set of conference papers that attracted considerable attention in political and academic circles was published (Benyon 1978). However, there was no reaction from the apartheid government.

P.W. Botha had put his faith in a new nominated legislative and advisory body known as the President's Council, which fleshed out what was to become the Tricameral Constitution. This provided the Indian and mixed-race communities with representation in 'toothless' chambers in an enlarged parliament. However, no move was made to address the fundamental inequities of apartheid or confront the unworkable concept that Africans would only have political rights in the independent homelands: P.W. Botha was adamant that the Bantustan policy was not up for discussion (Worden 1994:131).

This intransigence was challenged by the leader of the KwaZulu homeland, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who, while he had begun treading a different path to that of the ANC to which he had once pledged allegiance, nevertheless refused all offers of 'independence' for the scattered fragments of KwaZulu from Pretoria. He decided to establish his own commission in opposition to the proposals of the President's Council, and he had been studying the process that Deneys had initiated a year or two earlier (Dominy 2020:151).

14.*Alan Paton Centre & Struggle Archives (University of KwaZulu-Natal)*. PC 101, Ainslie Papers, PC 21/9/5/3, Natal Convention Organising Committee, 1961.

15.*Oral Interviews: In person; telephonic and email verifications*. Else Schreiner, 01 September 2016, wife [interview].

16.*Oral Interviews: In person; telephonic and email verifications*. John Benyon, 11 January 2018, academic colleague [reminiscences].

17.*Oral Interviews: In person; telephonic and email verifications*. Douglas Irvine, 15 January 2018, academic colleague and family friend [interview].

In early 1980, Buthelezi arrived in Deneys' office at the university to ask him to lead his proposed new commission. Deneys was a chemist by training, and there were numerous eminent lawyers and judges who could have undertaken the task (Dominy 2020:4). However, although Buthelezi had been influenced by the success of the conference Deneys had organised a year or two earlier, there was an even more important consideration from the Zulu leader's perspective: Mangosuthu Buthelezi's maternal grandfather was King Dinuzulu and he turned to Deneys, as the grandson of the man who had defended his grandfather against bogus treason charges in 1908 and 1909. All this was in addition to Deneys' 'impeccable liberal credentials'.[18] It was also Deneys who insisted that the commission be called the Buthelezi Commission. This was confirmed by Buthelezi himself, as well as Schreiner informants when questioned as part of the project research (Dominy 2020:156).

Deneys worked hard to obtain as broad participation as possible under the restrictions of the apartheid government. The Nationalists were utterly hostile to the commission and determined to treat it as entirely an internal Bantustan affair. Left-wing organisations were either banned internally, isolated or in exile, so there were no ANC or Pan Africanist Congress voices. The New Republic Party, the last remnant of the once powerful United Party of General Smuts, clung unimaginatively to its last vestiges of power in the Natal Provincial Council. It participated reluctantly and made no meaningful contribution. Nevertheless, a wide range of voices from civil society organisations, including labour and business, supported the strong academic and diverse contingent and were included (Dominy 2020:160).

Professor Lawrence Boulle compared the contents and quality of the Buthelezi Commission report and the report of the President's Council, which came out at more or less the same time and took an unfavourable view of the latter report (Boulle 1982:173). Boulle pointed out that each report identified common areas of concern and advocated similar structures of 'consociational' government (Boulle 1982: 257–305). The Buthelezi report was rooted in extensive socio-economic and political analysis, and it posited a complicated, but workable, power-sharing provincial government for KwaZulu-Natal that was inspired by clearly discernible liberal principles. P.W. Botha's government rejected the Buthelezi report out of hand. The President's Council's report was also gutted, although some of its recommendations were included in the Tricameral constitution in a watered-down version (Dominy 2020:167).

The Buthelezi Commission report did, however, have an influence on constitutional and administrative developments in the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) region and, to a lesser extent, in the country at large. Buthelezi pressed for the establishment of a joint authority in KZN based on the report (Dominy 2020:176). Eventually, P.W. Botha reluctantly conceded that a measure of shared power could be exercised by the KZN Joint Executive Authority (JEA) recommended by the commission. It was to be jointly headed by the Administrator of Natal, Radcliffe Cadman, and by Buthelezi himself. There was a cascading arrangement of joint liaison committees and shared meetings that went some way to reducing the absurdity of divided administrative control in KZN (Lynch 1987:231–248).

To Deneys' deepest regret, the JEA also provided the framework within which harsh repressive measures in the province occurred during the dying days of apartheid. The menacing so-called Third Force (in which Inkatha was heavily involved) was sheltered behind the confidentiality of JEA operations. Local authorities, military and police commanders could cross provincial and homeland 'borders' in peri-urban and peri-rural areas without fear of official consequences (Maré & Hamilton 1987:166–167). The liberal aspirations Deneys Schreiner took to his work on the Buthelezi Commission were thwarted by the structures of the JEA, a stepchild of the commission.

Another development in Deneys' gradual break with Buthelezi came in early 1984 when the KwaZulu leader demanded that medical students on KwaZulu Government bursaries sign pledges of loyalty to Inkatha and agree not to denigrate him as the homeland leader. Deneys was one of the leaders of a university delegation that visited Ulundi to attempt to convince the Chief Minister of the intellectual need to respect academic freedom and of the practical need to staff the KwaZulu health service. While they achieved some success in their endeavours, the gap between the Inkatha leader and the university professor was widening dramatically. This incident also harkened back to Deneys' own experiences[19] with the loyalty pledge in the United States in the early 1950s.

Yet from the bleak past came the new democratic dawn, and after fits and starts, the Convention for a Democratic South Africa and multi-lateral negotiating processes delivered the interim constitution, which was partly informed by the work of the Buthelezi Commission.[20]

Deneys completed his term as Vice Principal in September 1987, but there was no pleasant glide into retirement (Gardner 2008:83–85). Shortly before his official retirement, Jennifer (Jenny), his elder daughter, was detained under the draconian Section 29 of the *Internal Security Act*, the toughest anti-terrorism legislation then in force (Dominy 2020:183). Jenny, who had secretly joined the South African Communist Party, had been engaged in acts of sabotage on behalf of uMkhonto we Sizwe (Simpson 2016:411–412). This was a shattering blow to the family, and on retirement, Deneys and Else raced to Cape Town to support Jenny through the

18.*Oral Interviews: In person; telephonic and email verifications*. Arthur Konigkramer, 2018, informant and intermediary with Hon. Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi MP [email].

19.*Oral Interviews: In person; telephonic and email verifications.* Else Schreiner (wife) and Douglas Irvine (academic colleague and family friend), 2017 [interviews].

20.*Oral Interviews: In person; telephonic and email verifications*. Jennifer Schreiner, 05 April 2017, daughter [interview, the informant was a participant at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa].

protracted trial that only began in 1988. She was finally indemnified in 1991 (Schreiner 2000:243).

What is relevant here is that the dominant family narrative is that of complete unity behind Jenny and implacable resistance in the face of the trauma and of oppression. However, a close Schreiner family friend and academic colleague of Deneys' described the extent of the shock on the family at the time of Jenny's detention. Deneys went through the stages of anger, remorse and grief, common to most trauma sufferers. He was particularly agitated by Jenny's decision to resort to armed resistance when the family's liberal traditions favoured peaceful protest.[21] However, this tension was not revealed or discussed in any way by Schreiner family informants (Dominy 2020:184).

Discrepancies between oral and written sources

The Schreiner family firmly believed a story that, during his military service in the Second World War, Deneys Schreiner disobeyed a direct order. The extent to which Deneys himself was the sole author of this story, as opposed to elaborations made by other family members over the years, is difficult to determine, as Deneys died in 2008. According to the family reminiscences, as the South African 6th Armoured Division advanced against German forces retreating from the ancient and historic city of Florence, a senior officer ordered the artillery battery in which Gunner Deneys Schreiner was serving to open fire on the dome of Florence's magnificent Renaissance cathedral. The battery commander refused, and the senior officer ordered the second-in-command to open fire and he in turn refused. Down the line, the orders came to Deneys who also refused[22] to open fire. In this family narrative, the senior officer gave up in disgust in the face of this determined stand, and thus, a war crime was averted. Disobeying an order on the field of battle during wartime was, and still is, a court martial offence, but nothing happened.

Once this story was interrogated, firstly by checking the variations given in the accounts of various family members, the more suspect the story became. Extensive historical and archival research was then undertaken, and it became clear from a careful reading of the published military campaign histories that it was highly unlikely (Dominy 2020:44). The Allied Supreme Commander in the Mediterranean, Field Marshal Lord Alexander, had given a direct order that the city of Florence should be spared, and the Germans agreed to withdraw without damaging the city's cultural treasures. In other words, Florence was declared an 'open city'.

Alexander's order was passed down by the general commanding the South African 6th Armoured Division, Major General Everard Poole (Orpen 1975:166). If any officer had disobeyed a direct order coming from the very top, that officer would have been court-martialled. There is no evidence in the South African National Defence Force Archives of such a court martial taking place. Neither are there any black marks in Deneys Schreiner's service record.[23] Archival research also shows that the senior officer in the position to give the order was a gallant, reliable and intelligent soldier who was promoted and sent off to Britain for advanced training soon after the event allegedly happened (Orpen 1975:159).

According to Portelli (2006), oral history tells us less about events than about their meaning (Portelli 2006:36), and the recounting of this incident by the family serves to establish Deneys Schreiner, at a very young age, as a man of integrity who was prepared to stand his ground in the face of oppressive authority. A similar narrative trajectory is clear from the accounts of Deneys' relationship with Professor Owen Horwood, a right-wing Principal of the University of Natal who later became a National Party cabinet minister. The student newspaper was a vociferous critic of the principal who demanded that the Student President order the paper to cease its criticism. The concerned student leader consulted Deneys who advised[24] him to write to Horwood telling him that he was consulting on the matter and to take no further action, thus adhering to the letter of the law, but not implementing the undemocratic spirit of the letter.

There is also a very minor incident that arose where oral evidence corrected a mistake that arose from misinterpreting the written record. When he was writing home from Egypt, Deneys addressed a letter to the family dog, 'Handy', at least that is what the handwriting[25] looked like. Presenting one of the older family members with some photographs, during an interview,[26] elicited the remark: 'Oh, that was his dog 'Hardy' – they had two dogs, Laurel and Hardy – after the famous comedy duo of the silent movies' era.

Although this is not a discrepancy, comparing private writings and speeches with official records, helps in identifying unnamed compilers of official documentation. In the late 1960s, the government appointed a commission, chaired by Judge Van Wyk De Vries, to investigate university financing. The University of Natal, with campuses in both Durban and Pietermaritzburg, pleaded that it was a special case. Deneys, in his personal Curriculum Vitae, claimed to have played a large part in drafting the university's input to the commission. The documentation exists in the National Archives of South Africa, and the special pleading for the maintenance of separate libraries in Durban and

21. *Oral Interviews: In person; telephonic and email verifications*. Douglas Irvine, 15 January 2018, academic colleague and family friend [interview].

22. *Oral Interviews: In person; telephonic and email verifications*. Else Schreiner (wife), 01 September 2016, [interview]. Jennifer Schreiner (daughter) and Barbara Schreiner (daughter) 2016-2017 [interviews, corroborated Else Schreiner interview].

23. *South African National Defence Force Documentation Centre*. WW2 Service Record G.D.L. Schreiner (Force No. 330219V).

24. *Oral Interviews: In person; telephonic and email verifications*. Partick Stilwell, 03 October 2017, former student leader (confirmed by email) [interview].

25. *Private Papers*. Schreiner Letters, 02 May 1943, Deneys to 'Hardy' [File 1939-1943].

26. *Oral Interviews: In person; telephonic and email verifications*. Else Schreiner, 01 September 2016, wife [interview].

Pietermaritzburg (one of Deneys' particular interests) and duplicated scientific equipment for both campuses clearly indicate Deneys' input. However, the giveaway comes in the phraseology, the phrase 'obvious desiderata' of a 10.5 staff: student ratio echoes the tone of some of his public speeches.[27] This is stylistically similar to his first speech,[28] as Vice Principal, to new students in 1976 when he said:

> We have something in common. You are first year University students. I am a first year Vice-Principal. I am therefore almost as bewitched, bothered and bewildered as you are. (n.p.)

The research also revealed an example of how not to conduct an oral history interview. The Alan Paton Centre and Struggle Archives on the Pietermaritzburg campus of the University of Natal (now the University of KwaZulu-Natal) conducted a series of interviews with leading liberal figures and other struggle veterans. Deneys Schreiner was interviewed by Randolph Vigne, author of *Liberals against Apartheid* (1997). Regrettably, Vigne committed one of the cardinal errors that oral historians and interviewers should avoid at all costs: He talked too much, and Deneys was barely able to get a word in edgeways. There is very little research value in the interview, unless the researcher is specifically interested in the views of Randolph Vigne, rather than Deneys Schreiner (Dominy 2020:192–193).

Conclusion

For more than a century, the Schreiners tried to exert liberal influences within South African public, political and academic life. William Schreiner developed as a liberal, thanks to the influence of John Tengo Jabavu. In 1909, WP faced the dilemma of acting on humane liberal impulses and defending King Dinuzulu or using his stature as a statesman at the National Convention to attempt to secure a better and more liberal constitutional dispensation for the new Union. He chose the former course that may have been a decision of higher moral value, but it prevented him from giving a more concrete constitutional expression to his values.

Oliver Schreiner returned to South Africa after the First World War and began his fight for human rights at the Johannesburg Bar. His battlefield was legal, his weapons were juridical. His aim was to defend the residual elements of structural liberalism in the Union of South Africa Constitution. Ultimately, he failed, because of the constitutional weaknesses in the law that allowed the protections to be circumvented by a determined apartheid government.

William's grandson and Oliver's son, Deneys Schreiner, took the slight opportunity that opened in the late 1970s, to move from reaction to action. Here the limitations were set by the farcical circumstances of the apartheid system. KwaZulu could not legislate for Natal, and the report of his commission was rudely rejected by the central government. The successor to the Buthelezi Commission created the JEA that helped 'let slip the dogs of war' in KZN in the late 1980s and early 1990s. However, the work of the Buthelezi Commission remained relevant, and its documentation helped build the structures of our present constitutional order.

The research on William Schreiner was conducted through the study of published sources, with particular reliance on his biography written by Eric Walker (1969). This remains a useful work, both as a source and in the synthesis of opinions that it presents. The research on his son, Oliver Schreiner, was conducted through the study of both published and archival sources. The research on the grandson, Deneys Schreiner, was conducted through published, archival and oral sources. The evidence has been greatly enriched by the oral research component. While the biographical research would have been infinitely poorer without the letters of Oliver Schreiner, the life story of Deneys Schreiner would have been impossible to write without the oral testimony of numerous informants.

Constructing a cohesive and credible narrative required both textual and oral research with one evidence stream providing a check on the accuracy of the other. This is particularly important because the oral testimony almost universally painted a particular memory picture that of a good, kind and intelligent man. The written and published sources also largely bear this out. This aligns with Grele's (n.d.:1) opinion that oral history enables one to understand how the facts are understood.

We can conclude with the Minister of Higher Education, Science and Technology, Dr Blade Nzimande's assessment of Deneys Schreiner, in his foreword to *The Man Behind the Beard* (Dominy 2017):

> Deneys expanded what I characterise above as the Schreiners' tendency to rebel against the colonial and apartheid order, which became a greater struggle against the system. His was a strong and far-reaching disagreement with the colonial and apartheid regime, campaigning for desegregation within the framework of a liberal world view. Deneys grew his beard in opposition to segregation and in pushing the struggle for a common voters' roll. (pp. xi–xii)

In a sense, Blade Nzimande is echoing Portelli's (2006) view that oral history tells us less about events and more about their meaning (Portelli 2006:36). In the case of the Schreiners, and particularly in the case of Deneys, this is entirely true.

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27. *National Archives of South African*. Commissions of Enquiry, Dept Higher Education, Vol K 263/7, 1969: 'Kommissie van ondersoek na die universiteitswese'; Memorandum re Financial Matters, submitted by the University of Natal, March 1969.

28. *UKZN Archives (University of KwaZulu-Natal)*. SP25/5/1 – 17, Schreiner GDL: Newspaper Cuttings, Natal Witness 26 May [Administration Files: 1976-1987).

of Deneys Schreiner entitled *The Man Behind The Beard* (University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2020). Gratitude is expressed to all those who provided oral and other testimony to the author.

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Transcending invisible lanes through inclusion of athletics memories in archival systems in South Africa

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In countries like South Africa, sports have the power to transcend invisible lanes of politics and race and thus inspire citizens to come together. Sport, including athletics, has been demonstrated as an instrument of solidarity of fragmented cultures. However, while sport is of such significance, it is still minimally represented in public archival holdings in South Africa. Despite the mandate to transform the archival system, evidence suggests that much of the memories of sports heroes, especially that of athletes, have not been recorded. This qualitative study utilised oral history as a research method to explore the feasibility of building inclusive archives through the collection of sports memories. Athlete participants were identified through snowball sampling and data were collected using both oral testimony interviews from athletes with first-hand information and oral tradition augmented through document analysis. The results of the study indicated that there are stories and memories of many great South African distance runners that must be told and included in the archive repositories. Sadly, these stories have not been recorded in written words, as there is a tendency to perpetuate elitism by documenting mostly oral history of prominent members of society with political power. The study revealed that most of athletes' memories from their running careers include certificates, trophies, medals, Springbok jerseys, newspaper clippings and pictures in their possession. It is concluded that until these sports archives and objects are considered as an important and unique element of South African history, they will forever be lost.

Contribution: This study makes a contribution to the ongoing discourse of building inclusive archives in South Africa through the collection of athletics memories. The study is linked to the scope of the journal through propagating the inclusion of marginalised voices of athletics sports memories in mainstream archives.

Keywords: inclusive archives; road running; memory; non-public records; sports archives; athletics; sports stories.

Introduction

It is no secret that in most South African public archive repositories, archival holdings mainly reflect colonial and apartheid records, and therefore do not give the full picture of the rainbow nation as the country is known. Harris (2001) argues that while archivists should play a neutral role, they often relate their position to the policy requirements of the government of the day. As a result, the records collected reflect the activities of the government. Jimerson (2007:267) argues that the problem with the former colonised groups 'is not that their history under foreign control has been forgotten, but that it was never recorded, therefore not remembered officially'. This happens because in most instances archival holdings are built to be aligned with the views and biases to favour those who are in charge in a particular period. Therefore, because of their undocumented history most disadvantaged communities continue to be marginalised to the periphery of mainstream archives. Consequently, as long as archival holdings only reflect colonial history, the country is also colonised and controlled in a way. Derrida and Prenowitz (1995:4) state that 'there is no political power without control of the archives, if not of memory'. Ketelaar (1992:5) puts it differently by saying, the 'cruel paradox in many revolutions is that what is left after revolution resembles the past'. This is true to the South African situation, as an analysis by Archival Platform (2015) revealed a national archival system that still reflects the colonial era. After 28 years of democratisation, most archival holdings in South Africa still reflect the apartheid conditions of the 1980s and Bantustan subsidiaries' archival service (Harris 2014:90) with 'archives remaining to be the realm of the elites' (Archival Platform 2015:v).

Note: Special Collection: Social Memory Studies, sub-edited by Christina Landman (University of South Africa) and Sekgothe Mokgoatšana (University of Limpopo).

There has been a call to transform the situation so that the people can use archives and as Ketelaar (1992:4) reckons, archives can then 'become archives of the people for the people by the people'. Citizens will only use archives when they are considered relevant and are made accessible. In South Africa, this can be rectified as the archival legislation propagates for the collection of non-public records valuable to the country to fill the gaps that stem from the colonial era. For example, section 3(d) of the *National Archives and Records Service of South Africa (NARSSA) Act (Act No. 43 of 1996)* states that:

> NARSSA should collect non-public records with an enduring value of national significance which cannot be more appropriately preserved by another institution, with due regard to the need to document aspects of the nation's experiences that had been neglected by archives repositories in the past.

The *1996 Archives Act* has, as one of its objectives, the active documentation of the voices and the experiences of those either excluded from or marginalised during the colonial and apartheid-era (Archival Platform 2015). This can be done by documenting the experiences and the voices of previously marginalised groups to contribute towards inclusive archives. Inclusive archives are more focused on the archival collection of the marginalised to build archival holdings that include all people, whether poor or rich, black or white, kings or commoners (Wetli 2019). One way of building inclusive archives can be through the collection of athletics memories, as this area has not been fully explored in South Africa.

Although there are some private and public archives in South Africa which have already embarked on the collection of sports archives, Venter (2016) alludes that there is still a shortage of sports archives because of the non-structure of what is worth preserving. One example worth mentioning because of its focus on inclusivity is the Wits Historical Paper focused on Non-Racial Sports History Project in Transvaal from 1969 to 2005. The primary mandate of this project was to record the histories of non-racial sport from grassroots: clubs and their administrators and players, provincial and national histories, paying special attention to the role played by women. Established in 1992, the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee also initiated a sports archival collection housed in different locations and mostly focused on sports activist Dennis Brutus and his campaign of fighting racial segregation in sport in South Africa to his advocacy for the expulsion of South Africa in the Olympics. Furthermore, the University of Cape Town has a sports collection of university sports teams. Over the latter discourse in shortage of sports archives because of the non-structure of what is worth preserving it becomes apparent that preliminary sports collections available are more focused on the administrative part of sports and not the memorialisation of athletes. This is also the case with organisations such as Athletics South Africa and the South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee as it became clear during the conduct of this study; the officials there indicated that they do not keep records relating to a specific athlete, except when it relates to doping and qualifications for competitions like the Olympics.

Although athletes' histories are part of non-public records, except where some histories in the form of certificates or funding are from government, they are often excluded in mainstream archives. It should also be noted that non-public records are not featured in the appraisal policies and guidelines of the national archives or provincial archives. Mostly in the past, non-public records of prominent people were donated and accepted in the archives resulting in memories of mostly the elites being preserved (Ngoepe 2019). To compound the problem, guidelines for implementation on how to collect non-public records are absent, which makes it even difficult to determine if athletics memories meet the criteria of non-public records with enduring value or not.

It should be noted that this is only a small fraction as not all people are interested in the sport. However, the sport has been demonstrated as an instrument of solidarity of fragmented cultures. For example, the late president Nelson Mandela (1918–2013) utilised the Rugby World Cup of 1995 as one of the tools to reconcile and unite a divided nation, as also reflected in the movie *Invictus* where he was played by Morgan Freeman. This has also been the case with the 2010 Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup hosted by the South African Football Association (SAFA). As the hosting nation of the world soccer tournament, South Africans were united across racial lines. In South Africa, sport has humanised a great many people who had nothing to be excited about and perpetuated the anti-apartheid struggle (Alegi & Bolsmann 2010). This has also been the case with ultra-marathons in South Africa such as the Two Oceans Marathon[1] and the Comrades Marathon[2] where people from diverse backgrounds and racial lines gather to cheer the athletes on. Throughout the 20th century, sport became the concept that brought divided nations together and succeeded in the endeavours to bring solidarity in nations (Tassiopoulosa & Haydam 2008).

Therefore, it is the view of the researchers that sporting activities may be used successfully towards building inclusive archives as many people appeal to sports in different codes. This study explores the feasibility of building inclusive archives through the collection of athletics memories in South Africa. For the purpose of this study, the focus will only be on athletics. As Ngoepe (2020) would attest, road running is one of the most marginalised sporting activities in terms of sponsorships and memorialisation.

Problem statement

Despite the mandate to transform South African archives, evidence suggests that very little has been done in the national archival system. As with all social space, South Africa under

1.The Two Oceans Marathon is a 56 km/35-mile ultramarathon held annually in Cape Town, South Africa on the Saturday of the Easter weekend since 1970 (Cameron-Dow 2011).

2.The Comrades Marathon is an ultra-marathon of a distance ranging from 87 km to 90 km which is run annually in the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa between the cities of Durban and Pietermaritzburg. The direction of the race alternates each year between the 'up' run (87 km) starting from Durban and the 'down' run (90 km) starting from Pietermaritzburg (Cameron-Dow 2011).

apartheid, the terrain of social memory, was a site of struggle. This situation needs to change to attract new users to archives as archives should provide a context from which people can draw an enduring communal identity. Archival collections originating from marginalised groups should be pursued to secure and enrich the country's heritage by documenting the history and experiences of the under-documented (Rodrigues 2013). Sports archives are among the areas that could be used to add up to the transformation of archival holdings. Sport has always received considerable attention on social media and other public platforms, in general, uniting people and being the prestige of the nation. Despite this, there is still a shortage of sports archives in South Africa (Venter 2016). Hence, Ngoepe (2019, 2020) questions the whereabouts of records that resulted from sporting events hosted in South Africa, such as the FIFA 2010 World Cup, the 1995 Rugby World Cup and the All-Africa Games in 1999. Such records can be preserved and made available to the public. The existing sports records created daily by multiple organisations, including the South African Broadcasting Company, are normally out of public reach and contain only sports archives of broadcasted professional sports games, ignoring the sports records of the marginalised people, which in the case of this study, are black people.

Purpose and objectives of the study

The purpose of this study was to explore the feasibility of building an inclusive archive through the collection of athletics sports memories in South Africa. The specific objectives were to:

- Describe ways of gathering memories of previously excluded athletes to include them in the national archival system.
- Determine the location, custody and condition of athlete archives held by athletes.
- Make recommendations about ways to integrate historically excluded athletes' memories into the post-apartheid collection.

Literature review

Policy and legislative frameworks are important in the building of inclusive archival holdings. Since the inception of archives, legislative frameworks have always been in place to control the incoming valuable archives. However, some scholars lament that these legislative frameworks have not proven to be effective in capturing the essence of the whole community and instead focus only on a few elites. For example, Harris (1996) argues that in South Africa:

> [*T*]he apartheid regime was content with destroying all oppositional memory and used policies such as censorship, confiscation, banning, incarceration, assassination, and a range of other oppressive tools to achieve this. (p. 8)

In South Africa today, there are pieces of legislation that attempt to reverse apartheid policies by collecting what is called 'non-public records' because of the need to document aspects of the neglect of the province by archival repositories in the past. The collection of such records came about with the promulgation of the *NARSSA Act* and the provincial archival legislation that mandate the national and provincial archives services with the responsibility to collect non-public records (South African Government 1996). In terms of the *NARSSA Act* and provincial archival legislation, public archival institutions have a responsibility to collect non-public records with enduring value of national and provincial significance which cannot be more appropriately preserved by another institution. In section 3 of the NARSSA Act, it is captured as 'The objects and functions of the National Archives' (Archival Platform 2015). Explicit in this mandate is the acknowledgment that the inclusion of 'non-public records' is not mandatory. What is crucial, however, is the implementation of this provision in the legislation as it encourages the transformation of archival holdings by including the voices of the voiceless in the repositories. The inclusion of non-public records in the *1996 Archives Act* and the provincial archival legislation marks a clear departure from previous acts such as the *1922 Archival Act* which allowed chief archivists to acquire non-public records and documents deemed necessary, or the *1953 Act* which similarly made provision for the acquisition of material of historical value not forming part of the public archives. The present provision of inclusion of non-public records is aimed specifically at redressing and transformation. In this regard, issues of historical bias and exclusion are addressed.

While legislation makes provision for non-public records, athletics stories and memories are often neglected and forgotten. In his chronicle, *Runaway Comrades* De la Motte (2014) laments the forgotten South African leading black ultra-marathon runners in the era from 1974 to 1990. For example, De la Motte (2014) cites Hosea Tjale who left a breath-taking record of running achievements, but who has been forgotten and forsaken since he retired quietly on 31 May 1993. After he completed his 13th Comrades Marathon, he left quietly without an exit interview, farewell or announcement from the media, as if he was an ordinary runner. He has since retired to a rural area in the Limpopo province and his memories have been forgotten. Ngoepe (2020) identifies another sad story like the one of Vincent Rakabaela from Lesotho whose death went unnoticed. His unmarked grave was found in 2009 only to find out he had died in 2003. Vincent Rakabaela was the first black person to win the Two Oceans Marathon and the first black person to win a gold medal in the Comrades Marathon in 1976. These are just a few examples of forgotten sports heroes. There are others such as Titus Mamabolo, David Tsebe and Ramie Tsebe, to mention just a few, who are not included in archives. Even writers rarely document stories about runners. The athletics sports code can be the starting point to close the gap that has existed for a long time. This sports code appeals to many people in South Africa, amateurs and professionals alike.

Review of the literature also indicates that sports archives in developed countries such as Australia and the United Kingdom

have increased over the past few decades. While many sports archives have been destroyed or damaged by neglect, several private collectors have diligently built up fine collections that have become the core of public collections. Record-keeping in sports is in such a bad state to the extent that it is non-existent, especially among smaller clubs (Cashman 2001). Ngoepe (2020) observed similar patterns in South Africa where records of the FIFA 2010 World Cup, 1999 All Africa Games, and the 1995 Rugby World Cup, to mention just a few major events, are fragmented and not easily accessible by the ordinary person. These gaps and omissions in archives are a real problem for sports historians (Booth 2006). Sjoblom (2009) also observed similar patterns in New Zealand and affirms that there is often minimal recognition of the value of sports documents. As such, where sporting materials are deposited into an archive, there is no well-structured plan to determine what is worth preserving. Fagan (1992) laments that one problem with the collection of personal papers, especially concerning sport, is that it is often only the papers of the famous or successful that will be collected. Cacceta (2015) concurs that there is a big gap in the information of ordinary road-running champions. Indeed, most memories of ordinary road-running champions are found nowhere close to the mainstream archives. The only publication they fully feature in is when something scandalous happens, such as when Caster Semenya, a South African middle-distance runner and winner of two Olympic gold medals and three World Championships in the women's 800 m, was denied the opportunity to compete multiple times because of her being transgender; Oscar Pistorius, a Paralympian, who was arrested after killing his girlfriend, Reeva Steenkamp; or when Ludwick Mamabolo, a 2012 Comrades Marathon winner, was once accused of doping with methylhexanamine, which is found in products for nasal decongestion (Ngoepe 2020).

Research methodology

This qualitative study adopted an oral history research design to collect data on the inclusion of athletics memories in archival systems. Oral testimony and oral tradition were used as data collection tools. Snowball sampling was used to help locate historically marginalised athletics heroes. In this study, nine participants were interviewed as reflected in Table 1. Data saturation in this kind of study is unreachable as every participant has their own story to tell. However, in some instances, there were common threads from the responses. Non-saturation of information could arise from 'silences' (Kamp et al. 2018:77). One of the causes of silences is specific missing information in society as a result of information censorship or because it would be regarded as taboo to write about a particular phenomenon or historical omission and censorship (Kamp et al. 2018). Because of the outbreak of the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic, most of the participants preferred a telephonic interview, although some requested a face-to-face interview. Interviews were conducted using English as the medium of communication and in some instances Sepedi and isiZulu. As the aim of the study is aligned to preserving the memories of the unsung running heroes, there was no need to hide the identities of athletes, except for some participants who provided oral tradition for athletes that the researchers were unable to trace. While some were departed, others could not be traced. In all the interviews, permission was granted to record the conversations and the athletes' names to be publicised. The audio records of responses provided responses and opinions of the participants. All participants were informed of this and gave oral consent before the interview. The low-risk ethical clearance application was reviewed and approved by the Department of Information Science Research Ethics in line with the University of South Africa's Policy on Research Ethics and the Standard Operating Procedures on Research Risk Assessment, also approving participants' names to be publicised as the study gives recognition to the historical unsung athletes. Data collected were corroborated with information from old newspaper cuttings from the South African Media database. Furthermore, the researchers also visited the Comrades Marathon House in Pietermaritzburg. During the interviews, the researchers took pictures of medals, trophies and other memorabilia with the permission of the participants. Other pictures were provided by the participants themselves. As reflected in Table 1, the researchers obtained the names of the athlete participants and their gender, and it was established that there were more men than women. This shows that men have always been on a more advantageous side of running in South Africa than women; hence, the low number of women as compared to black men in athletics. Sikes and Bale (2014) also observed that sports organisations in South Africa treated women as add-ons, which resulted in most female sports heroes being marginalised.

Results and findings

Data were analysed as per the objectives of the study and the quotations were presented verbatim.

Memories of athletes excluded in archival holdings

This objective sought to describe memories of athletes excluded from archival holdings. For many decades before democratisation in 1994, the potential and talent of black athletes in the country have been largely neglected and manipulated for political reasons (Labuschagne 2016). Hence, Lane (1999) questions the whereabouts of young runners who used to dominate road running during those dark days in South Africa. Ghaddar and Caswell (2019) feel strongly

TABLE 1: Profile of participants.

Participant	Gender	Province	Age
Rosina Sedibane	Female	Gauteng	66
Margarete Sedibane	Female	Gauteng	68
Titus Mamabolo	Male	Limpopo	81
Linda Hlophe	Male	Gauteng	59
Enoch Skosana	Male	Gauteng	49
Johannes Kekana	Male	Limpopo	50
James Mokoka	Male	Gauteng	79
Joseph Leserwane	Male	Northern Cape	78

that nothing positive about what black athletes did was reported with any prominence.

Roots of athletes' running careers

This section sought to identify why athletes started running. The findings revealed that the reasons why participants started to run differ almost from one athlete to another. However, the common thread is that basic schools gave many novice runners a platform to start. Running was one of the sports codes that pupils had to do as part of the curriculum. Basic education included sports codes such as athletics in its curriculum from as early as 1948. For example, every Wednesday pupils in black schools practised various sports codes in preparation for competitions with other black schools because interracial competitions were prohibited by the apartheid laws (Lion-Cachet 1997). For example, Rosina Sedibane explained that:

> 'I started running during foundation phase, then called primary school. Even though I was not competing until high school. My running career was sported when I was a pupil at Hoffmeier High School in 1974 at Atteridgeville, Pretoria, where I grew up.'

For male athletes, it became apparent that soccer had always been parallel to their running. Although soccer was rife in rural areas, opportunities to become professional soccer players were very scarce or non-existent. Hence, in *The Memoirs of a Comrades Champion,* Ngoepe (2020) reckons that Ludwick Mamabolo aspired to be a professional soccer player but ended up being a professional elite ultra-marathon runner. Similarly, Titus Mamabolo explained that:

> 'I started running in standard 6 in Ga-Molepo, although I did not take it seriously as I was more into soccer. I then moved to Pretoria to look for a job and started taking the sport a little more seriously. My first official race was in 1963 at Mamelodi and I came in position two with one session of training. I remember joining the team one weekend for this one-mile race and was outran by Edward Setshedi. When I told him about my one-day preparation for the race, he told me that is not training. Everyone was so surprised at how well I performed. After that, I represented Northern Transvaal in Welkom and did quite well. I was just doing it for fun, but Edward said I should train harder; and the rest is history, as I was able to tour several countries before having an intermittence between 1975 to 1985. When I came back, I was also able to smash the masters' record in a standard marathon which is still standing today. As a master, I also came position 2 in City2City 50 km marathon.'

Although most athletes developed a love of running from basic education, some athletes started to run professionally after their arrival in Gauteng in search of work, usually at the mines or just doing odd jobs such as gardening. The following participants started to run after standard 10 because running proved to be worthwhile. For example, Johannes Kekana explained that:

> 'I started running shortly after finishing my standard 10 [*Grade 12*]. I went to Gauteng in search of work, as I could not afford tertiary fees. There I got a job but left it in 1997 to focus on running as a career. I had no formal tertiary education. As such, what I did was just odds jobs and during those times there was no work, and I had no money to go tertiary. Running was my only hope to be like other people.'

The same sentiment was also shared by Enoch Skosana, who explained:

> 'I started running from the age of 14 in 1988–89, but, professionally, I started running in 1991. I started with judo. But I left judo to run after finishing my high school because I needed something with value, and that was running.'

Merrett (2004) suggests that the mining companies provided tracks and coaching, and every major gold mine reportedly had an international standard track by the mid-1960s. Indeed, several runners who have won major international marathons were products of the mines. For example, to help his fellow athletes to qualify for international races, one participant had to join the mines for advanced training and equipment. In this regard, Joseph Leserwane explained that:

> 'I started running at the mines in 1964 with a sole purpose of helping my fellow black runners, Humphrey Kgosi and Benoni Malaka to qualify for 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games.'

For Rosina Sedibane, the love of running was solely to prove the running capabilities of black athletes, especially women, as against the oppressing apartheid laws and the whole world. In a similar vein, James Mokoka noted:

> 'The love for running emanates from schools of Mokomene in Botlokwa. From there, I went to teach at a primary school at Soweto called Taupedi where I formed a club called Soweto Hurtze. This club was made of various talented kids selected from interschool competitions who were running from 400 m above. That was because during apartheid, black women could only run 100 m and 200 m. Apparently, according to whites, black women had no capacity of running above that. I trained these primary young athletes to run 400 m races and above to prove that, actually black women have that capability. I then left teaching to become a Johannesburg sports organiser and a full-time coach. I even took a course in sports. During one of the running competitions I hosted, I invited these two white guys by the names of Paul Nesh and Pieter Rich to Orlando Stadium where black runners were competing, to inspire my runners. I wanted my runners to see top runners in Springbok colours as they were not allowed to even see whites competing. When Sunday newspaper came out, I was crucified, being questioned as to what authority do I have to make blacks and white to compete together. That was during South African dark days. That's how my love for running emanated.'

For other participants, running emanated as a solution to their health problems. For example, Margarete Sedibane stated:

> 'My love for running started in 1973 at primary school until high school, and I would come position 2 or 3. I had a bronchitis problem, which meant I had to see doctors every now and then.

> But after I began running I would feel better but eventually was healed. I also had to push my sister, Rosina, to be competitive by training with her.'

Running influence

This study revealed that multiple factors influenced the participants to start running, including family or friends who also performed well in running. Moreover, for some athletes, the influence was just by fate. This is also emphasised by Ngoepe (2020) in the biography of Ludwick Mamabolo that the athlete started jogging after an injury he incurred in a soccer match. One day while jogging, wearing soccer boots, he met a runner who invited him to a time trial.

For example, these participants, who are siblings (Rosina and Margarete Sedibane) concurred with the latter assertion by alluding that:

> 'All this influence emanated from our family. Running runs in our family. Our mother used to be the best in all indigenous games played during those times, running even faster than boys, my father would bring reminisces time to time of how my mother used to outrun boys. That really made me feel like I am on the right path.'

The same sentiment was also shared by Titus Mamabolo, who explained:

> 'The influence of running comes from my family which always excelled in all indigenous games. My uncles at traditional initiation school used to outrun everyone. Running runs through our blood.'

While these athletes were influenced by their friends, Linda Hlophe explained that:

> 'Instead of working at the mines after high school, I proceeded with my studies and met Mr Kelepe who was the fastest runner during those times. He is the one who influenced my running greatly. I also met famous runners like Shadrack Hoff. The community of Mamelodi also used to praise me as I train on the street, gave me huge support. I was always the talk of the community. Even taxi drivers would hoot when they pass me. Even after I got a job as correctional senior officer, I would run from work to home to work.'

But soon running became a career. These two participants started seeing value in running and then never stopped. For example, Enoch Skosana mentioned that:

> 'What influenced my running was my brother. My brother and I used to compete at home. Every time my brother would bring medals and prizes. Yet I brought only medals. I got influenced to run so that I also get a prize after winning. I realised as I grow up, medals won't help me much, I needed something with value and that was running.'

Similarly, Johannes Kekana shared the same sentiment:

> 'A friend of mine influenced me to run by showing me how much they are getting from running. This guy, John Tjale from Mokopane, is the one who always motivated me by helping me to join the Randmeester Athletic Club he was running for in Pretoria. I then took running as a career.'

For Joseph Leserwane and James Mokoka, the influence has always been political. For example, in his own words, Joseph Leserwane said:

> 'I saw *Daily Run Mail* newspaper where two running records from whites and blacks competing to be allowed to qualify for Tokyo Olympic Games. Humphrey Kgosi, also known as The Ghost and Benoni Malaka ran 1 min 45 sec. These two needed a support from lot of fellow blacks' runners because they were in a war. To help these guys, I joined a gold mine, a stone thrown away from Klerksdorp where I was training to qualify to help these guys.'

While James Mokoka explained that:

> 'The influence came from a need to ensure that black women athletes are as good as everyone.'

Athletes' running achievements

The study findings revealed that most runners never received anything from the races they took part in, except medals and trophies. In 1995, even in big races like the Comrades Marathon, black runners were offered zero awards, even after winning, but many rose to the top regardless of this (De la Motte 2014). Some participants have gone as far as international competitions, some were awarded Springbok colours, while some are record holders of multiple races and others have proven to the apartheid regime and the whole world their capability in running, regardless of their skin colour and gender.

For example, Rosina Sedibane explained that:

> 'Under the leadership of Coach James Mokoka, I managed to become the first black women to be awarded Springbok colours. That is only because I managed to be field record holder of 400 m in (47 sec), 800 m (2 min 7 sec), 1500 m (4 min 25 sec) and 3000 m (11 min 4 sec) under the strains of apartheid. And it could have been better with better facilities and coaching. Because of my unavoidable record of being the fastest black woman on the track, I got an invitation to compete at a white-only competition at the University of Port Elizabeth alongside Aneen de Jager. That was until the knee ailment I got in 1978 started troubling me and I had to retire from running. In 2002, they named the sports academy after me, the Rosina Sedibane Modiba Sports School of focused learning, situated in Laudium. I was also honoured with a book titled *A Dream Denied* by Lorato Trok. The book entails my running journey from the beginning until recently.'

In addition, Titus Mamabolo indicated that:

> 'I was the first South African to be invited to Brazil to represent South Africa during the apartheid era even when the country had no relationship with Brazil because of apartheid policies. But I went because South Africa's government influenced me to go there and participate with the hope that apartheid would end. To my surprise, I became the first South African to obtain position one in Brazil with my first attempt. I managed to be the first South African to be invited to London to receive an award for outrunning a white person during the apartheid era.

> I am the second black South African to receive Springbok colours blazer for athletics while not just anybody, including whites, would receive such an award. When you receive such a blazer, it meant you deserved it. I was in the third position in a City-to-City Marathon while in the age of 52. I also established athletic club known as MEMO athletics club in collaboration with Jorge Mehale based in Polokwane so that I can train kids and expose them to opportunities we never had when we started running.'

In response to the lack of monetary rewards for these athletes for running domestically, most of the top runners seized opportunities to compete overseas where monetary rewards were better (Lane 1999). The best example obtained through oral tradition is that of Albert Moholwa, who originally hailed from Moletji in Limpopo, but was a resident of Mamelodi. The researchers struggled to get hold of him but through oral tradition, it was discovered that Moholwa won several races, including the Windhoek marathon in 1988 where he was transported with a helicopter. As his winning prize he received six glasses which urban legend says broke on-board while commuting using a train to Mamelodi Township. For another race, his winning prize was a bag of oranges, which he shared with fellow commuters on the train. The bag was finished before the train reached Eerste Fabrieke Train Station in Mamelodi, which is about 25 km from Pretoria station. Among the races he won were the Pick n Pay and the Wally Hayward marathons. Moholwa disappeared from the athletics scene and his achievements, like those of other great athletes, have been forgotten. Most people do not know about him and his memories would soon be forgotten. Stories like this need to be recorded for future generations. For some athletes, running achievements included being able to give back to children, so that these children would be exposed to running opportunities they never had in the initial stages of their running careers.

For example, Enoch Skosana explained that:

> 'I saw Skosana Development Club as a way to give back to young kids. My club offers runners scholarships to run while studying because things have changed now as compared to then when sponsors would approach you after winning a big race. Now you have to apply. I also won a floating trophy. The floating trophy that I once won, now clubs compete for it every year during Skosana Marathon held annually.'

On the other hand, even when it was clearly explained that no mixed sport would be permitted at the club, provincial or national trial level and that the Springbok emblem as part of athletes' achievements was reserved for the white athletes (Merrett 2004), there are some black athletes who still received it. When asked what they have achieved, Joseph Leserwane explained that:

> 'Actually, athletics never benefited me as black elite runner. The reward I ever got from athletics was the money I got from athletics in 2016, valued R10 000 and a blazer that was delayed for about 10 years. They would book us expensive accommodation and food but without no prize after winning. I ran in Milan, Italy. I then qualified for Springbok colour jersey which was issued 10 years later in 1978. The delay was attributed to nothing else but my colour of skin. Mathews Batswadi qualified for his Springbok jersey 1977 after me, followed by Titus Mamabolo and Obert Serakwane. In 1972, I trained very hard to qualify for Mexico Olympic Games, which I did, but I was denied competing because of colour of my skin again. In 1973 around June, just after the Olympic games, there was a white guy, Danie Malan, running middle distance: 800 m, 1500 m and 3000 m. He begged me to help him to break 1000 m world record in Munich. We went to Swaziland and stayed there for two weeks training. The plan was to run every 200 m of 1000 m in 26 seconds to break the world record. I took it upon myself to become the pacemaker, running 26 seconds per each 200 m. So, he just sticks to my bat. After 600 m, I opened for him and he made it.
>
> Actually, just after my arrival at Jan Smuts International Airport, now called OR Tambo International Airport, from the same race where we broke the 1000 m world record, I met up with two white police officers who took my passport and said you are starting to be too white now, in Afrikaans. That was because I helped a white guy break the world 1000 m track record and that I used the spotlight to speak as I like. While I was still into running, I stopped. I did not see the need to run anymore. Apartheid killed my motivation. I will train hard to qualify for Olympics but when I qualify, they deny me to go. Nevertheless, my achievement includes becoming a coach, producing about four Springbok colour holders such as Obert Serakwane from North West, followed by Matthews Batswadi, Rosina Sedibane and Margarete Sedibane.'

Athletes' archival memory location, custody, volume and condition

This objective sought to determine the location, custody, and condition of archival memories of athletes. There is now a greater sense of the value of records and archives in sport, the growth of sports exhibitions, the rise of sports history and sports studies, the recognition of the value of knowledge transfer, and the fact that memorabilia have become big business. To better address this research objective, participants were asked to elaborate on where most of their memories are kept and what the condition was of the memories kept. In some instances, memories in the form of pictures, newspaper cuttings, trophies, medals and Springbok blazers were displayed.

Location of athletes' memories

As reflected in Figure 1, the dining room of the legendary Titus Mamabolo has been turned into a museum with the trophies and medals he won over the years. His collection ranges from old newspaper clippings about him and other athletes such as the 1960s New Transvaal light heavyweight champion, James Mathato, from Tembisa; newspaper clippings of countries he has competed in; radio interviews; questions and answers on separate papers; and pictures of historical legendary runners he competed against, including the legendary Lawrence Peu, Xolile Yawa, David

FIGURE 1: Photo captured by the researchers in the dining room of Titus Mamabolo.

Tsebe, William Mtolo, Alfred Sepirwa and Mathews Temane.

Cashman (1988) argues that sports history has suffered because there is a lack of sports memory materials available. In trying to assess the current situation, it has proven quite difficult to determine which institutions, if any, hold sports material. The study established that athletes have archival memories with them. For example, Rosina Sedibane said that:

> 'I have medals, trophies, certificates from high school, certificates of awards, trophies, and pictures here with me in my house. I also have a lot of newspaper clipping from newspapers that used to publish our results after every competition just to keep a record of those bombastic words used to regard my performance.'

The same sentiment was shared by Margarete Sedibane who explained that:

> 'Most of my memories are medals and trophies. As for certificates, I hardly keep those because they are old. Certificates which I have are from races I used to run in high school.'

The above statement is also supported by Bale (1998), who concurs that amid other locations where these athletes' memories are located, these records remain with the athletes themselves, except at local government, school archives, university archives, government records and holdings in film and sound archives.

As indicated on Linda Hlophe's display in Figure 2, some of the collections that these athletes possess are stored in their houses. Enoch Skosana and Johannes Kekana concurred that the medals, trophies, certificates and pictures are stored in their houses. It is worth noting that the researchers were unable to visit their homes as they did with other participants such as Titus Mamabolo.

In contrast, of all the memories that the elite athletes normally have, Joseph Leserwane had only a Springbok jacket at his home as reflected in Figure 3. Joseph indicated that most of the memories are stored in his head and can be passed through oral tradition as he was doing during the interviews. He indicated that:

Source: Photo shared by Linda Hlophe

FIGURE 2: Display of running memories at Linda Hlophe's living room.

> 'I know it will be hard to believe, but I hated memories such as medals, certificates and trophies. All I wanted was just to qualify to run. All I have here in my house is my delayed Springbok colours jersey. I have two now since the first one became so small and they gave me the second one.'

Conditions of memories

This question was meant to solicit information from athletes about the condition of the memories they kept. Most participants elaborated that most of these memories are just displayed in their living rooms. There are certificates on the walls, trophies and medals on the TV stands and photos just stored away safely. For example, Titus Mamabolo explained that:

> 'Most of my medals are in boxes, you can't even pick the box up. While some medals I decorate with them in the house, as you can see. I also have prestigious trophies that are displayed on my TV stand and here in the dining room.'

Similarly, Enoch Skosana explained that:

> 'Medals are displayed in my house; some are in the bags. Others I give to my runners after competing. With others, I am just decorating with them. But the floating trophy, clubs are competing for it every year.'

The statements of the aforesaid participants were silenced arising from specific missing information in society, which could be because it is taboo to write about a particular phenomenon or historical omission and censorship (Kamp

et al. 2018); the same by Rosina Sedibane who indicated that her memories are mostly displayed in her living room as reflected in Figure 4.

Participants emphasised that with their memories, their houses have turned into home museums. For example, this is emphasised by Johannes Kekana when explaining that:

> 'With memories I have, I just decorated with them in my house. As for trophies, my house is like a museum. There are trophies displayed on my sitting and dining room both in my houses here in Mpumalanga, Gauteng and Limpopo. There are so many medals are just full in a bag.'

Although some of these athletes turned their houses into museums, one participant said that he just donated some of his memories to his loved ones. Linda Hlophe explained further that:

Source: Photo shared by Joseph Leserwane

FIGURE 3: Joseph Leserwane showcasing his delayed Springbok jersey.

> 'Most of the medals and trophies are displayed in my house. Yet, some I normally donate to my family and people who mean much to me, to remember me with. Certificates which I received the time I was still at high school also are just stacked in a store room.'

Most of the runners from 1960 had so much to display in terms of running memories they have accumulated through their running careers. Joseph Leserwane sadly explained that the only memory he has is in his wardrobe, that is, his late arrival Springbok jersey. He indicated that he relied mostly on oral history and his mind to remember things as he says:

> 'No one can take away that from me. However, I can further share the memories if one wants to document a book about me.'

Integration of historically excluded athletes' memories into the archival holdings

This objective sought to recommend ways to integrate historically excluded athletes' memories into the archival holdings. There is now a greater sense of the value of records and legacy in general, the growth of sports exhibitions, the rise of sports history and sports studies, the recognition of the value of knowledge transfer and the fact that memorabilia have become big business. However, the value of sports records like in Australia has not been fully appreciated (Cashman 2000).

Despite these odds, many distance runners found ways to compete against the best in the world. However, their achievements were not recognised by any sport federation outside of the country. Furthermore, these distance runners were never given enough recognition in South Africa either. To redress the past, the researchers asked the participants what they would like to be remembered for. According to Cook (2000), by capturing memories in the archives, the archives will memorise and legitimise societies' identity and

Source: Photo shared by Rosina Sedibane

FIGURE 4: (a) Trophies and a (b) certificate displayed in Rosina Sedibane's living room.

thereby influence the future by shaping the past. While others fought apartheid laws through running, like De la Motte (2014) suggests, some athletes rose to the pinnacle regardless of many prohibiting apartheid factors. For example, this participant (Titus Mamabolo) concurred with the latter statement by stating that:

> 'I would like to be remembered as a man who competed with whites during South Africa's dark days and won against all odds. I would like to be remembered as the pathfinder. I would like to be remembered as a hero who represented the country even on international level when everyone was pulled back by apartheid policies. I would also like to be remembered as a man who used his fitness to fight oppression as compared to violence.'

James Mokoka suggested that his memory should be attached to opening doors for the marginalised, especially black women. He indicated that:

> 'I would like to be remembered as a man who proved to the world that black women are as good as everyone in athletics. Because there was a myth that black women athletes are not good as other people and I am glad I managed to do that through Rosina and Margarete Sedibane who are now great mothers. So that saying "black women cannot run because they will have muscular bodies or won't conceive" is no more because I proved them wrong. I also want to be remembered as a black coach who broke the barrier of successive whites' sports coaches in South Africa and I also believe God has kept me until this day so that I can tell stories of those who can't narrate for themselves.'

Similarly, Rosina Sedibane explained that:

> 'I would like to be remembered as the first black women who opened doors to other black women in running fraternity. A woman who, through the passion of running, broke the barriers of racial segregation and gender inequality in South Africa.'

In contrast, one participant felt that apartheid did more harm to him than good because the only memory he can recall about running is a blue Springbok blazer which he received late. In this regard, Joseph Leserwane explained that:

> 'I want to be remembered as the first black man to receive Springbok colours although I received the jersey 10 years after it was awarded.'

Three participants (Linda Hlophe, Enoch Skosana and Johannes Kekana) said it is through running that they found a career, and with that career, they wanted to be remembered as servants of the people that touched the lives of many people. They said that they would like to be remembered for what they did for children – how they promoted children and gave them opportunities they never had when they started running. They feel the recognition when parents give them compliments after they see their children's changed behaviour shortly after meeting these latter two athletes.

Donation of athletes' running memories

Archival collection policy makes provision for the acceptance of donations of archives in the repositories. This question sought to identify whether the participating athletes would donate some or all of their memories so that there could be an integration of historically excluded athletes' memories into the archival holdings and thus contribute towards the decolonisation of archives. All participants declared that they do not mind donating some or all of their memories, as it will be a valuable treasure that could be accessed by everyone. The participants indicated that they are willing to make these donations as long as government archives repositories would care for these memories well and make them accessible to the wider public. For example, when asked if it would be possible to donate some or all of her memories, Rosina Sedibane said:

> 'Yes, I do not mind donating some of my memories. But as for print ones, please do copies for me and take the originals. The original paper, as time goes by, loses life and the content becomes blurry.'

Similarly, Linda Hlophe explained that:

> 'Why not? I cannot say, yes, this is not for me. This is a footprint I would love to leave for my beloved South Africa to remember me by. To see that footprint and say, "Wow, we want to meet this person." So, I do not mind donating some of my memories for I am overwhelmed with these memories.'

Titus Mamabolo raised a concern that if original memories are donated to archives, what will he be left with? Rather, he said:

> 'Yes, I do not mind donating, but it would be better if you do copies of originals I have.
>
> That is so I can remain with originals for future references. Concerning the trophies and medals, perhaps a museum or archives can have a display for such. 'When I am no longer relevant, my descendants can inherit them back. That is, terms and conditions that I can put for such donation.'

Conclusion and recommendations

This study concludes that awards ceremony certificates, trophies, winning medals, Springbok jackets, newspaper clippings and pictures as memories of the running careers of these athletes are housed by themselves. Athletes' houses have been transformed into museums containing all their running memories displayed all over their living rooms. To that effect, should these athletes' memories remain unaccounted for, they will all also be lost or inaccessible like those literature speaks about, that it will be difficult to even locate them or know who or what institution possesses them. The study establishes that one of the ways to include historically excluded athletes' memories in the post-1994 collection could be by donating some, if not all, of their running memories by collecting these athletes' memories into archives repositories and museums. It is through these memories that athletes' footprints will be left behind. People from all over the world would see these memories later after the athletes have departed and find out what they were all about.

It was clear from the interviews that there is a need for the use of oral memories to build inclusive archive through the collection of athletics memories. Oral history has proven to be efficient in bringing life to the voices of the heroes that have been marginalised for so long as it deals with memories

transmitted over many generations. Hence, today's archivists work to increase instances of previously unrepresented and underrepresented people once silenced from the historical record to build inclusive archives through methods such as oral history.

It is clear from the study that at the individual, family or community level, records, library materials and artefacts are preserved together hence it is established that the athletes' memories included certificates, trophies, medals, Springbok jerseys, newspaper clippings and pictures. While it is acknowledged that athletes' memories as private or family archives can stand independently without playing subservience to the conventional archives, such memories in the form of records and objects are vulnerable to loss in the households of individuals as they are not properly preserved. The study suggests that to be aware and have a clear picture of the location and condition of athletes' memories, there must be an inventory that is central and contains addresses of the location of athletes' memories. Alternatively, athletes can be trained to better handle their running memories to ensure their safe preservation. In addition, sports federations can be capacitated to preserve memories of athletes through museums that double as archives as at the community and individual level memories are often preserved in archival, object and artefacts form. Until these sports archives and objects are considered as an important history of a unique element of South Africa, in which the people have run together in the same direction, it will forever be lost.

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Competing interests

The authors declare that they have no financial or personal relationships that may have inappropriately influenced them in writing this article.

Authors' contributions

Both authors contributed to the design and implementation of the research, the analysis of the results and the writing of the article.

Ethical considerations

The low-risk ethical clearance application was reviewed and approved by the Department of Information Science Research Ethics in line with the University of South Africa's Policy on Research Ethics and the standard operating procedures on research risk assesment, also approving participants' names and photos to be published as the study also gives recognition to the historical unsung athletes – 2020-DIS-0014.

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The Indian diaspora, cultural heritage and cultural transformation in the Colony of Natal (1895–1960) during the period of indenture

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The article chronicles diasporic cultural heritage in Natal during the period of indenture in an Indian community in colonial South Africa. Using the qualitative ethnographic research methodology the focus is on the period 1895–1960. This methodology was chosen as it is a qualitative method where observation and/or interaction has taken place in real-life environments. In this article, the Indian cultural heritage as experienced by Mrs Takurine Mahesh Singh who arrived in Port Natal in 1895 is chronicled through the reflective memories of her South African-born eldest grandson, Mr J.S. Singh (b.1930). Further to this, her life in South Africa is explored as she lived in different worlds through various political systems and this life experience extended to include a cultural transformation. During 1960, the 100th anniversary of the arrival of the indentured Indians to the Colony of Natal was commemorated. Hence, this study considers the period 1895–1960. Moving across continents, the indentured Indians arrived in the Colony to work on the sugar plantations. Cultural heritage may be viewed as a sense of one's subjective self-perception based on one's language, ancestry, values, rituals, traditions and religion. During the political era of colonisation and indenture, the Indian nationals became displaced. This displacement created an intrinsic emotional threat. This emotional threat compromised their cultural heritage and consequently led to other forms of cultural transformation. During the oral history interviews, it emerged that the Indian nationals and their descendants in South Africa did not experience abject deculturalisation as they were able to practise aspects of their cultural heritage without the complete loss of their identity. This is one of the findings of the article. The findings indicate that complete deculturalisation did not take place even though cultural transformations resulted in the Indian diaspora in Natal.

Contribution: With a unique focus on aspects of cultural heritage in the Indian diaspora, this article contributes to the knowledge of the social memory historiography with a spotlight on descendants of Indian indentured labourers in South Africa. The overarching contribution of this article focusses on the cultural transformation during the period under review.

Keywords: Colony of Natal; cultural heritage; cultural transformation; indenture; Indian diaspora; South African Indians.

Part One

Part One of this article includes the introduction, aim, reasons for the study, literary review, methodology, terminology, interpretation of results and structure of this study.

Introduction

This article is closely integrated with a previously published article (Archary & Landman 2021) as the respondent in the study is a 90-year-old grandfather who was 29 years of age when his grandmother passed on. At the time of the research he was of clear mind and able to reflect with ease and clarity on his lived experiences. This article is the second in a three-part research study. Aspects from the previous article may be replicated in this article, but in the main, the richness and value-add of this article is that it brings into focus the aspect of cultural transformation in the Indian diaspora.

Aim

This article considers the Indian diaspora and provides insight on cultural heritage in Colonial Natal between 1895 and 1960 as the narratives and reflective memories shared focus on life

Note: Special Collection: Social Memory Studies, sub-edited by Christina Landman (University of South Africa) and Sekgothe Mokgoatšana (University of Limpopo).

experiences that include being born in the Indian sub-continent, transported under indentured tenure to Africa and living under British colonialism. These divergent political systems across the world took place at the same time. This article records aspects of the life journey of Indian-born Mrs Singh. She was a single 23 year old and it is postulated that she travelled alone from India on indenture.

The aim of this article is to record – by focussing the narrative on Mrs Singh through reflective memories of her grandson. Mrs Singh's life experiences are shared to narrate the issues of cultural heritage during life under indenture in Natal. Aspects of cultural transformation that resulted in the Colony during the period under review are recounted.

Reasons for the study

Considering Mrs Singh's life-changing historical journey is relevant to a study of the Indian diaspora's cultural transformation, the Indian indentured community and social memory historiography as no written accredited sources were found in South Africa that report specifically on widowed Indian national matriarchs who were sole breadwinners in the Colony during the period under review. Reading internationally on indenture and the Indian diaspora, the researcher reached the same conclusion as there is clearly a lack in terms of reported female sole breadwinners who were widowed Indian national matriarchs (Levine 1977):

> No one who understands the historian's craft would plead seriously that all groups should receive equal time. We know more about some groups than others not only because of the predilection of historians or the nature of their sources but frequently because we should know more about some groups of individuals in terms of their importance and their effects upon others. The problem is that historians have tended to spend too much of their time in the company of the 'movers and shakers' and too little in the universe of the mass of mankind. (p. ix)

This statement clearly articulates the need to delve into writing about women, widowed Indian matriarchs, female indentured workers, cultural heritage and cultural transformations as 'all groups should receive equal time' (Levine 1977:ix). These sentiments raise the point of the inequality in recording the history of Indian women, indenture and cultural transformations that have occurred in the last 200 years. Hence, the researcher investigates *another* group, which is the indentured Indian matriarch who was a labourer in the Colony of Natal.

The researcher, an executive committee member of a registered non-profit organisation, the 1860 Indentured Labourers Foundation Verulam (ILFV) (1860 ILFV), holding the position of Research and Development, undertook this academic research as oral history, ethnographic research and social memory historiography are interesting avenues to research and record the past by communicating with contemporary organic intellectuals.

The 1860 ILFV, using a hard copy publication format, has previously recorded the stories and undocumented histories of the migrant Indian nationals (who were indentured people) who arrived in the Colony of Natal – consequently settled in the Republic of South Africa – and their descendants of this community.

For this article, key among the aspects under current research, investigation and review are the Indian diasporic cultural heritage and cultural transformation. The labourers came as Indian nationals, then experienced a shift in identity to become indentured workers, and their descendants now consider themselves South African citizens living in a democracy.

The singular case study of Mrs Singh introduces the aspects of cultural transformation, life and living in two continents during the co-existing political systems of indenture and colonisation and consequently leads the way for further research in this field of study.

Literary review

From 1834 to the end of World War 1, Britain transported about two million Indian indentured workers to 19 colonies (Jain 1989). The Indian diaspora, a result of the indentured sugar cane workers includes but is not limited to Fiji, Ceylon, Trinidad and Tobago, West Indies, Mauritius, South Africa, Guyana, Malaysia, Uganda and Kenya. According to a Calcutta newspaper, *The Statesman* (05 August 1980), 'Indians are ubiquitous'. Further to this, the newspaper article states that 'there were then only five countries in the world where Indians have not yet chosen to stay: Cape Verde Islands, Guinea Bissau, North Korea, Mauritania and Romania' (1980:n.d.) This was in 1980, more than 40 years ago.

Thirty years ago, according to an estimate, it is noted that (Clarke, Peach & Vertovec 1990):

> 8.6 million people of South Asian origin live outside the sub-continent, in the United Kingdom and Europe (1.48 million), Africa (1.39 million), Southeast Asia (958 000), North America (729 000), and the Pacific (954 000). (n.p.)

In 2020–2021, the Indian population in South Africa is approximately 2.5% of the total population. Hence, a need to historically understand the experiences of the indentured Indian nationals who arrived in this part of the world from 1860 until 1911. These are the experiences that can now be reported on unmediatedly by some of their South African descendants in terms of reflective memories.

Reviewing the book, *Chalo Jahaji: On a Journey through Indenture in Fiji* by (2012), Samaroo (2012), from the University of the West Indies, St Augustine Campus, Trinidad states that this book is a:

> [*M*]ilestone in subaltern studies, a biographical journey penned by a living relic of the indentured experience and a scholar whose thoroughly interdisciplinary approach is a good example for the anthropologist, the sociologist or the economist who wish

> to see the proper integration of their disciplines in a major historical work. (n.p.)

Further to this review, another reviewer, Shlomowitz (2012), based at Flinders University of South Australia adds that:

> Professor Lal has made a most distinguished contribution to scholarship on Indian indentured labour in Fiji. His research is characterized by the use of new methodological approaches to the study of history, and by a comprehensive consideration of both quantitative and literary sources. In beautifully written articles, he has arrived at fresh and novel findings. (n.p.)

Seecharan (2012), the third reviewer, working at the University of North London comments that:

> Professor Lal has produced a body of work which makes him the premier scholar of the Indian diaspora. His meticulous research, the depth of scholarship, the empathy, and the elegance have earned him great respect among Indian diaspora scholars. The themes covered in this book are relevant to other overseas Indian communities; and they are handled with such mastery that his reputation is secured. (n.p.)

Finally, the fourth reviewer Moore (2012), based at the University of Queensland opines that:

> Brij Lal's Chalo Jahaji is an intensely personal journey through his life and that of the 60,000 Indians who became girmitiyas in Fiji. The intricate history is measured, but Lal reveals himself and his family in a way historians seldom do. This proud grandson of a girmitiya is equally a proud son of Fiji. Chalo Jahaji is Pacific history at its best: rigorous and critical, informative and involved. (n.p.)

In light of the work done on the Fiji indentured Indian labourers, there is an intrinsic motivation by the researcher to conduct and report on research around the South African indentured Indian labourers, with a specific focus on female sole breadwinners. Thus, a subjective reason by the researcher to delve into 'living relics' such as the wise Mr Singh who at 90 years of age was clearly able to reflect on his time with his paternal grandmother when he himself was an adult at the time of her passing, indeed, an adult at 29, with more than two decades of clear reflective memories.

Furthermore, it may be stated that 'Contemporary works on indenture have moved beyond macro studies, focusing instead on the "voice" of labourers in narrating the experience of indenture' (Sankaran 2012:68). The indentured labourers' 'efforts to maintain a sense of self while simultaneously negotiating significant social and cultural transformations in the context of overseas emigration' (Sankaran 2012:65) has not been researched in great depth in South Africa even though of great significance is 'the experiences of these little represented, poorly understood yet vitally important participants in the early Indian diaspora' (Sankaran 2012:65). Documenting the early experiences of the indentured Indian nationals and their subsequent descendants is value adding to the South African historical narrative as the history of South Africa is being rewritten with the objective and intention to decolonise the educational curriculum. There is a need to include the indentured history in the school curriculum and higher education faculties as various political systems influenced and shaped not only South African but world history. Of importance is that (Modi 2010):

> [*M*]ore than two million Indians are settled across the African continent, with a significant concentration found mainly in South Africa, the three east African countries of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, and Mauritius. (n.p.)

Conducting this literature review created new and greater interest as the researcher was able to unearth intensely emotive findings such as (Younger 2010):

> As a result the stories I tell here are much like oral histories in that I try to let the local people tell the story as they want it told. Although we were dealing with people who were two or three generations removed from their ancestors who arrived there as indentured workers, they started most narratives by describing a grandmother or grandfather who had come on this or that ship settled on this or that plantation, and then had a miraculous experience that eventually had some role in the local history. (p. 16)

A search conducted on this book does not make any reference to cultural heritage and the consequent transformational culture. Hence, there is a need to research these aspects.

The available, suitable and relevant literature review for this research revealed that there is a severe lack of documentation and information on the topic under consideration. 'Academic research on the theme of cultural heritage and cultural transformational amongst indentured Indian national female breadwinners in South Africa' (Archary & Landman 2021). As there are:

> [*N*]o available academic works on this aspect available, this article – as South African Indians reflect on their heritage of 160 years in the country of their birth – is an attempt at starting to chronicle. (n.p.)

aspects of cultural heritage and cultural transformation by reflecting on Mrs Singh's experiences. 'Literature referred to is not discussed in depth as the oral history interview provided original information and the reflective memories were captured and presented unmediated without interpretation' (Archary & Landman 2021).

The intention is (Archary & Landman 2021):

> By merely pointing to the literature, the intention is to leave the reader with the vantage point of knowing where to commence reading in terms of their further personal research. Considering the literature examined and what gaps exist, it may be stated that case studies of widowed Indian national female breadwinners who lived in the Colony of Natal during indenture could not be found. (n.p.)

This article is the second in a three-part series (Archary & Landman 2021):

> [*H*]op[*ing*] to encourage research on the gaps that exist in terms of experiences that widowed indentured Indian nationals living

> during indenture endured with a focus on cultural heritage and cultural transformation. What has emerged from this qualitative ethnographic research is that many personal identities were necessary in order to survive the atrocities that were inflicted upon the indentured labourers. (n.p.)

Interestingly, for academics to note is that 'despite and through the various political systems, cultural transformation emerged and this allowed the Indian community in South Africa to remain behind' (Archary & Landman 2021). They chose, whether by force or voluntarily, not to 'return to India when their period of indenture terminated. Of note and importance is that deculturalisation did not take place as aspects of cultural heritage remained intact' (Archary & Landman 2021).

Methodology

This narrative juxtaposing the relationship between the British-African-Indian cultures and communities during colonisation and indenture was necessary to ensure that the lack of knowledge that exists on the cultural heritage and cultural transformation is addressed. For the intentions of this article (Archary & Landman 2021):

> [*A*] semi - structured questionnaire was utilised. The interview was not tape recorded. The respondent was satisfied with answering questions upon which the researcher then captured the answers by writing them down. (n.p.)

Mr Singh, is the president of the non-profit organisation, 1860 ILFV (Archary & Landman 2021):

> Over the decades he has written extensively on the experiences of Indian labourers in South Africa. He was not interviewed in his official capacity as president but in his personal capacity. (n.p.)

The researcher informed Mr Singh of the aims and objectives of this research article. He provided written consent to participate in this study. Mr Singh understood that the information received would be for research and academic purposes only. The main interview was 'conducted by means of a telephonic conversation, even though a large part of the information was written down after the respondent had answered questions' (Archary et al.). In terms of current research around theology, religion, culture, heritage and cultural transformation the qualitative ethnographic research methodology is applied as it is noted that this methodology is most appropriate for this study as the respondent is a nonagenarian. The task [of ethnographers] is to document the culture, the perspectives and practices, of the people in these settings.

The aim is to 'get inside' the way each 'group of people sees the world' (Reeves, Kuper & Hodges 2008). A nonagenarian is an individual who is over the age of ninety – thus having lived for over nine decades. The decision-making differentiator in favour of the ethnographic research approach was – at 90 years of age at the research stage – the respondent was clearly able and competent to share his memories of his paternal grandmother. Using qualitative data analysis, categories and patterns of meaning were identified under the thematic framework (Mestry & Singh 2007).

Explanation of terms

Culture

Culture is an extremely broad concept with countless possible definitions. A concise definition of culture may be understood as possibly all human conduct that is passed on from one generation to the next. Culture is not the prerogative of just one generation. It may be embodied in and shaped or adapted by later generations (Godwin & Gittel 2021).

Cultural heritage

Cultural heritage is an expression of the ways of living developed by a community and passed on from generation to generation, including customs, practices, places, objects, artistic expressions and values. Cultural heritage may also 'include tangible culture and intangible culture. Tangible culture includes items such as buildings, monuments, landscapes, books, works of art, and artifacts' (Ahmad 2006). Intangible culture includes items such as folklore, traditions, language and knowledge. Natural heritage includes culturally significant aspects such as landscapes and biodiversity.

Cultural transformation

Internationally, almost '1.2 million men, women and children emigrated from India under contracts of indenture, comprising a vast diasporic movement that transformed the cultural and demographic composition of receiving societies' (Waetjen & Vahed 2014). The Indian nationals 'were able to transplant, secure, and sustain their culture in the Caribbean amid westernization. The Caribbean experience, despite its authoritarian and repressive characteristics, transformed indentured Indians' (Roopnarine 2009). In the Colony of Natal, cultural transformation occurred as the indentured Indian labourers worked, interacted and lived among black Africans and were subjugated to an existence under British plantation owners and white rule.

Interpretation of results

The tradition of 'using qualitative methods to study human phenomena is grounded in the social sciences' (Streubert & Carpenter 1999). For this article, commentary is provided under sub-themes which include cultural practices, cultural heritage, economic cultural activities and cultural transformation. The discussion includes the paradigmatic exposure to the mixing of foreign cultures, British and African with one's heritage culture, Indian, and the influence thereof. In addition, it must be noted that exposure to the 'mixing of a foreign culture with the heritage culture' (Cheon & Hong 2020) may threaten cultural identity and thereby trigger deculturalisation (Archary et al.). From the interviews, it was gleaned that aspects of the Indian cultural identity remained

intact and deculturalisation did not occur. Deculturalisation is viewed as the 'stripping away of a people's culture and replacing it with a new culture' (Kekeghe 2020:n.p.). Deculturalisation is a process. It leads to the deletion of the cultural orientation of a people, such as the indentured Indians to uphold and practise a new one in the host country. However, in the Colony of Natal not all aspects of the Indian culture were stripped away. To deculturate is to cause the loss of cultural characteristics, leading to the projection of a new culture. This did not happen holistically in the Colony of Natal. Because culture replicates the identity of a people – language, belief, norms and values of a people – deculturalisation is therefore a grave thing to occur to any human society (Kekeghe 2020:4). Mrs Singh was able to maintain aspects of her Indian identity, culture and value systems. Cultural heritage and cultural transformation conclude the interpretation of results.

Structure

This research article is presented in four parts. Part One conceptualises the article by including the aims, reasons for this study, literature reviews, methodology, terminology, interpretation of results and structure of this study. Part Two, indicted as, arriving in the Colony of Natal, provides the *herstory* of Mrs T.M. Singh. Part Three which is entitled, Life experiences of Indian born indentured labourer Mrs T.M. Singh, includes commentary which is provided under sub-themes and includes the reflective memories as shared by the respondent. Part Four includes the conclusion with a focus on the challenges and theoretical postulations of the study.

Part Two

Arriving in the Colony of Natal – herstory of Mrs T.M. Singh

Circumstances surrounding Mrs T.M. Singh's arrival in the Colony of Natal were provided verbally by Mr Singh. During the interviews and general discussions, he shared this information with the author. Mrs Singh came to the Colony of Natal armed with her Indian heritage and culture. As she settled into life in the Colony, she understood and acknowledged the need to change aspects of her cultural heritage as the living and working conditions in the African continent were vastly different from the Indian sub-continent, the land of her birth. As an Indian national, now on African soil, she had to make various adjustments and adapt to, and adopt in doing things differently. In India, what seemed easy and simple, now seemed challenging to her. It was, however, a culture of survival that allowed her to cope. This contributed to her descendants now living as truly proud South African citizens; however, there is a cultural link with their Indian ancestry as their heritage provides a 'vaulting table' for personal growth and survival (Archary & Landman 2021:4). Certain aspects of dress, food, music, dance, religious understanding, child rearing, rituals, traditions, festivals, prayer, values and more are maintained by considering and applying aspects of the Indian heritage culture to life in Africa (Archary & Landman 2021:4). After her term of indenture was over, Mrs Singh did not return to India, but remained with her children in the Colony of Natal and worked among the locals and lived under British rule while concurrently surviving under indenture conditions (Archary & Landman 2021:4).

Despite the Indian descendant now being in South Africa for over 160 years, during the changing stages of life – birth, puberty, marriage and death – heritage culture comes into play, providing guidance on what should be performed. Mrs Singh's story acknowledges that deculturalisation has not taken place despite colonisation, indenture, apartheid and democracy. Her heritage culture survived because of noninvasive deculturalisation. Organic intellectual Mr J.S. Singh was interviewed for this article as the primary respondent. Not much else is known about her parents, siblings or other family members.

Part Three

Life experiences of Indian-born indentured labourer Mrs T.M. Singh

Reflecting on his childhood, youth, adulthood and interactions with his paternal grandmother, Mr Singh was able to describe Mrs Singh's life experiences and these reflective memories address the issues of cultural heritage and cultural transformation during her life under African skies during indenture. The interviews with Mr Singh provided a unique opportunity to create themes that address the issues of culture, heritage and transformation.

Cultural practices

While married and into her widowhood, Mrs Singh not only practised in her new country what she practised in India; but she took on more; she did more than she would ever have done in India. As she moved through the various phases of her life in the Colony, she did what she knew and believed to be right. She encouraged her children and then grandchildren to engage in cultural practices. On a daily basis she lit her lamp, prayed barefoot and ensured that her children were with her during this daily activity. They duly followed what she did. This enactment on their part, this repeated daily action and this entire traditional way of prayer continued until well into the adult life of her children. These religious activities were then continued by her married children even when they became parents. These simple daily practices are still enacted by her grandchildren, her great grandchildren and her great-great grandchildren today. These basic daily cultural practices have not been lost through the generations. Besides the daily practices, there are weekly practices, such as washing and decorating of the brass lamp, which she engaged in. These are still practised today by her descendants. And finally, there are calendrical activities which change on an annual basis in terms of actual dates. These activities are conducted on a more or less certain months of the year on a yearly basis. The following are some of the annual based observances: *Shiva Rathri, Hanuman Jayanthi, Krishna Janmashtami, Ganesha Chaturthi, Lakshmi Pooja, Nava Rathri,*

Diwali and many more depending on the deity being worshipped. Most, if not all, of these observances are still occurring among the Singh family descendants, some who incidentally are living around the globe.

Of significance to note is that all of these observances and practices were brought from India by Mrs Singh and even though they are still enacted to present day, there has been an inherent cultural transformation. For example, in India, prayer is offered at any time of day, whereas in the Colony of Natal, there are set patterned times in that the labourers could only pray before they leave for the farm in the morning and upon their return in the early evening. Getting used to this structured way of prayer timings is part of the transformation and acceptance in thought that new cultural habits need to be formed that are acceptable to different living conditions. Thus, this is an example of the cultural transformation that took place over the decades.

Engaging in cultural practices is still a part of Mr Singh's life as he lights the lamp on a daily basis, performs certain calendrical practices and engages the assistance of womenfolk from the family or temple to assist wherever and whenever possible.

Cultural heritage

The first aspect of Indian cultural heritage is presented here as Mrs Singh was a well-known Ramayan reciter in the local community. The Ramayan is a religious Indian text. Reciting from the Ramayan is an oral-literate traditional habit and formed part of the cultural heritage activity among indentured Indians in Natal. According to Mr Singh 'The prayer room housed the Ramayan. Takurine was a great exponent of the Hindu religion-particularly the reciting of the Holy *Ramayan*' (Interview, 07 Feb 2018). Recitation of the Ramayan is an art and is viewed as a cultural activity. According to Mr Singh, 'My father and his sister listened to their mother when she prayed, sang or recited from the *Ramayan*' (Interview, 03 November 2020). Listening to their mother would have empowered them as young children and thus they followed and observed their cultural heritage. These recitations and activities were conducted within the confines of their Hindu home. As a single parent, Mrs Singh kept alive the cultural heritage in her home by reciting from the religious text and ensured that her two young school-going children listened and participated in these culture-based activities. Despite having to work on farming activities, keeping home and ensuring a safe environment for her children and herself, Mrs Singh probably realised that ensconcing her children in these cultural practices would provide a sense of emotional well-being.

Economic cultural activities

Besides reading and reciting the Ramayan in the home, Mrs Singh engaged in cultural activities outside of her house in the local community. The principle of economic value for cultural work is presented in this article as in India the priests and community workers who engaged in cultural work, eked a meagre living from whatever was given (as a form of monetary payment) to them in the form of 'dharshan'. For the purposes of this article, it is impossible to evaluate cultural activities exclusively based on the traditional methods of economics (Diniz & Machado 2011). However, looking at the concept of value from two viewpoints, which is the economic and the cultural value, provides a suitable framework for assessing the economic aspects of culture. Agreed, in South Africa, in the earlier decades (prior to the 1990s), there was traditional value in cultural activities but with time, more so during post-apartheid days, there developed a more structured economic value to cultural activities in South Africa. Initially, the Indian nationals 'performing cultural work were not paid a set rate fee for tasks performed' (Interview, 15 January 2021). Individuals like Mrs Singh, 'who performed cultural work, were given whatever the receiver could afford' (Interview, 15 January 2021). There was 'no structure to the economic or financial value of cultural work performed' (Interview, 15 January 2021). This was one of the aspects of cultural heritage that was maintained as the same situation took place in India. There was no set fee or rate charged for cultural activities in India and the Colony. However, with time, there has been a cultural transformation with regard to this aspect as the South African Hindu Maha Sabha, a Hindu regulatory body in South Africa has during the recent decades provided some sort of benchmark for what priests and cultural workers' rates should be. However, this cultural transformation did not take place during the life and times of Mrs Singh. But, it has taken place over time.

Furthermore, what can be noted as an aspect of cultural transformation was that women in the Colony of Natal were allowed to engage in a male-dominated world where oral culture was performed in the main by men. According to the respondent:

> 'My grandmother was highly respected as a religious leader and counsellor despite being a woman in a traditionally male-dominated society. She was very endearing and comforting by nature. During her period of religious guidance and presiding over Hindu rituals, there were several Hindu male priests in the community who were exclusive choices by custom and tradition to be engaged by families for religious/cultural functions and were paid Dakshina (voluntary fee).' (Interview, 07 February 2018)

Thus, it is safe to postulate that cultural transformation did take place as women in the Colony enjoyed a greater degree of freedom out of the local home in the Colony where culture was involved.

Added to the cultural transformational mix is the concept of traditional, non-financial value which saw a development or transformation on how value was hence construed. Value – a key concept in both economics and culture – forms a sort of bridge between them. Among the Indian nationals, monetary value was never discussed formally whenever cultural endeavours were carried out even though it created an impact in the Colony of Natal. Mrs Singh was involved in most of these endeavours, and Mr Singh indicated that:

> 'There was no significance attached to the financial value of cultural endeavours. Cultural endeavours included but were not limited to being in attendance during the birthing process, caring for the new mother, naming of babies, hair removal, naval care etc.; providing direction and advice during the wedding; ensuring that all rituals related to death-and-post-death were carried out.' (Interview, 15 January 2021)

Simultaneously, value was attached to colonial norms that were in place. 'Men, women and children worked the soil' (Interview, 15 January 2021). According to Mr Singh,

> 'There was restricted and limited rest or recreation time. Post work activities included cooking, cleaning, tending to personal affairs such as prayer, ritual and traditional activities. In earlier decades people devoted most of their time to the task of making a living.' (Interview, 15 January 2021)

Much of what is now considered to be art was formerly a part of daily life and worship and a part of the basic cultural norm of the community. In the displaced Indian community, Hindu women generally did not engage in cultural activities such as painting and art but over time they engaged in music, dance, knitting and traditional activities that revolved around prayer and rituals around the home.

According to Mr Singh 'My grandmother not only engaged in (these) cultural practices at home but in the local area as well' (Interview, 07 February 2018). However, others in the community were not inspired by the role of Mrs Singh during this period and meekly accepted prevailing norms and values of the time. The respondent shared further, 'Women married young, took care of the home and raised children. Takurine nurtured everyone before herself. Many preferred men to carry out tasks relating to cultural and religious practices' (Interview, 07 February 2018).

The diary of the late Pundit S.M. Maharaj of Verulam (Maharaj 1950) as shared by Mr Singh reveals:

> 'Takurine was a very religious person, and the Shree Gopal Lal Temple was her second home, organizing recitals, discourses on the *Ramayan* at the Temple. She often single-handed provided meals for the devotees of the Temple during Religious functions. Takurine was able to cross the threshold of home into the broader world of the prevailing society.' (Interview, 07 February 2018)

In doing this – crossing the threshold of home – it must be noted that this is an explicit example of the cultural transformation that evolved over time in the Colony and then continued into the Union of South Africa, which is the political time frame under which Mrs Singh lived.

Cultural transformation

When the Indians emigrated to Natal, that entire migratory episode in world history was based on financial decision making. In respect of the calibre of Mrs Singh and many other mothers like her, the respondent shares:

> 'Shortly upon arriving in the new continent they discovered that many a financial decision had to be made and these women assisted their husbands with those decisions, something that the women in India did not do as the patriarchy system was so deeply entrenched. Men and mainly fathers or elder brothers / sons made all financial decisions in India. Later generation Indian women ran their own households in South Africa and were not only allowed to study, engage in industrial work or earn money but have been jointly responsible for financial affairs at their homes.' (Interview, 15 January 2021)

Mrs T.M. Singh was enabled to manage the Singh household finances as she was widowed and to ensure the survival of her family, she would have had to repeatedly consider costs in making financial decisions. According to the respondent 'My grandmother was contracted to supply milk to the local jail' (Interview, 07 February 2018). This is but one example of a decision-making endeavour of financial value. While first generation migrants typically retain the values of their society of origin, later generations shift about 50% of the way from their parents' values towards non-migrant values (Mesoudi 2018). Having to forcibly handle financial capital bears witness to the embedded cultural transformation that took place.

Part Four

Conclusion

This article aspired to chronicle Indian diasporic cultural heritage and cultural transformation spanning just under two centuries marked by different historical periods in the lives of an Indian community in South Africa (Archary & Landman 2021):

> It spans from modern day enslavement through an indenture system, life under the Union of South Africa through to South Africa's break from the British Commonwealth of Nations up to the period under apartheid. (n.p.)

Challenges

Firstly, the period under review is 'too wide to cover in a short qualitative ethnographic research article such as this on' (Archary et al.); therefore, a series of three articles have been offered. Secondly, 'Mrs Singh passed away in the Colony of Natal, in 1959, two continents apart, separated by oceans and discerning time differences' (Archary et al.); thus, there is a great reliance on the reflective memories of Mr Singh. The challenge is to document as much as possible while nonagenarians are alive as they give a voice to another political timeframe especially when 'sugar cane plantations flourished across the world, and in the British owned Colony of Natal low-cost labour was needed'. (Archary & Landman 2021)

Further and necessary research on (Archary & Landman 2021):

> [*A*]ccounts of South African and world history, even though they are not discussed here because of the scope of this article, will yield a clearer historiography. The abbreviated literature review

> information provides a platform which indicates that the Indian community in South Africa have Indian roots spanning just under two centuries. (n.p.)

Theoretical postulations

The aim of this article is to chronicle – by highlighting the narrative on Mrs Singh through reflective memories – aspects of Indian cultural heritage in colonial South Africa during the period of indenture. Some of Mrs Singh's life experiences are highlighted to relay the issues of cultural heritage during life under indenture in Natal by commenting on aspects of cultural transformation that resulted in the Colony during the period under review. This aspect of the article affirms that cultural heritage is the main theme of this article as the Indian cultural heritage has been maintained over the generations; however, with time, rooted cultural transformation has taken place. The cultural transformation took place during Mrs Singh's life and after her death. The cultural transformation of the Indian nationals who lived under colonial rule did develop, even though the Indian nationals continued to practise their oral traditions and religious habits. It may be postulated that cultural transformation in the Indian community in South Africa occurred as this community had to find an emotive yet practical way to survive across the oceans in the Indian diaspora.

In conclusion, this is a brief statement as to how the Indian labourers were brought to the Port of Natal (Archary & Landman 2021):

> The matriarch outlived the official period of indenture which terminated in 1911. Widowed by 1908, she had to take care of her two children who were born in the Colony and she personally lived as a sole breadwinner in Natal. (n.p.)

The Singh descendants, even though they are South Africans, now live in a democracy but others have moved to other parts of the world. In South Africa, Jaisingh Surujbullee Singh (Archary & Landman 2021):

> [*A*] retired school principal represents the Singh family. He is the voice of this ethnographic research article on cultural heritage and transformation culture as he witnessed the various life experiences of his paternal grandmother. Still lucid, of good health and of clear thought at age 90, he was able to share many reflective memories of her, knowing and having her company until the age of 29. (n.p.)

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This paper builds on previous research conducted on indenture, Mrs T.M.S. and the respondent Mr J.S.S. This paper is Part Two of a three-part research study.

Competing interests

The author declares that they have no financial or personal relationships that may have inappropriately influenced them in writing this article.

Author's contributions

K.K.A. is the sole author of this article.

Ethical considerations

Mr Singh, the respondent, was informed of the aims and objectives of this research article, and gave written consent to participate in this study. He also understood that the information received would be for research and academic purposes only. The main interview was conducted by means of a telephonic conversation, even though a major percentage of the information was written down after the respondent had answered questions.

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Data availability

Data sharing is not applicable to this article, as no new data were created or analysed in this study.

Disclaimer

The views and opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of any affiliated agency of the author.

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Oral History Association of South Africa

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2006: Third OHASA Conference (Kwa-Zulu-Natal Province):

"Culture, Memory and Trauma".

2007: Fourth OHASA Conference (Limpopo Province):
"Truth, Legitimacy and Representation: Oral History and Alternative Voices".

2008: Fifth OHASA Conference (Eastern Cape Province):
"Hidden Voices, Untold Stories and Veiled Memories".

2009: Sixth OHASA Conference (Western Cape Province):
"The Politics of Collecting and Curating Voices".

2010: Seventh OHASA Conference (Mpumalanga Province):
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2011: Eighth OHASA Conference (North West Province):
"Past Distortions, Present Realities: (Re)construction(s) and (Re) configuration(s) of Oral History".

2012: Ninth OHASA Conference (Free State Province):
"Oral History, Communities and the Liberation Struggle: Reflective Memories in Post-Apartheid South Africa".

2013: Tenth OHASA Conference (Northern Cape Province):
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2015: Twelfth OHASA Conference (KwaZulu-Natal Province):
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2016: Thirteenth OHASA Conference (Limpopo Province):
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2017: Fourteenth OHASA Conference (Eastern Cape Province):
"OR Tambo in Memoriam: Reminiscing on a Centenary of Struggle, True Leadership and Leadership values of a Liberation Stalwart."

2018: Fifteenth OHASA Conference (Western Cape Province):
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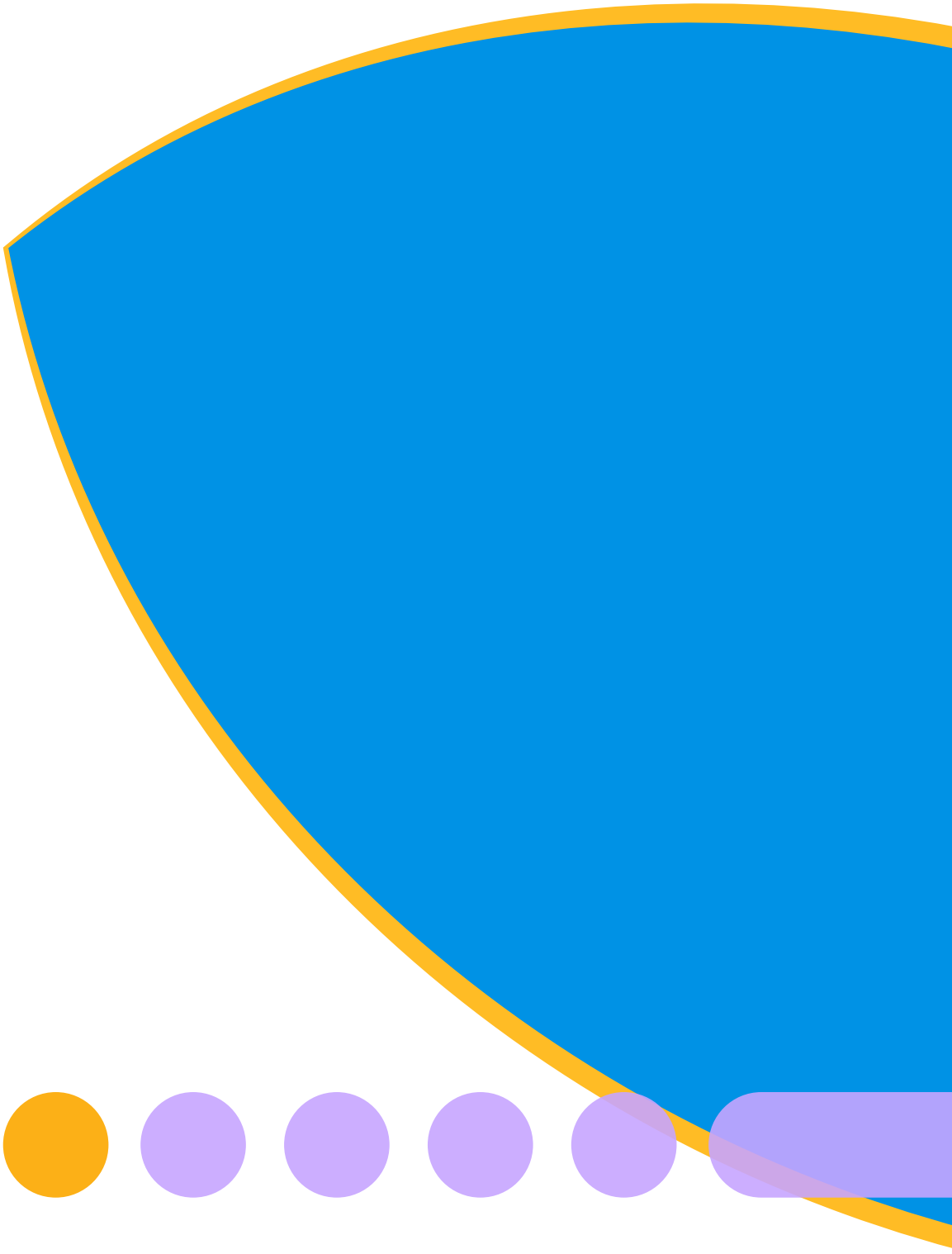

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