

**ACCOUNT – GIVING IN THE
NARRATIVE OF FARMING IN ISIXHOSA**

BY

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine message production and image restoration in the narratives of isiXhosa-speaking farming communities. According to Gergen (1994), narrative forms – such as the stability narrative, progressive narrative and regressive narrative – are linguistic tools that have important social functions to fulfil. Gergen (1994) further indicates that self-narratives are social processes in which individuals are realised on the personal perspective or experience. The self-narratives used and analysed in this study portray the contemporary, truth-based elements of a well-formed narrative. Narrative accounts are also embedded within social action; they render events socially visible and typically establish expectations for future events because the events of daily life are immersed in narrative.

The study starts by laying the foundation for the reasons why human beings tell stories and why stories are so important in people's daily lives, since most people begin their encounters with stories at childhood. Possibly because of this intimate and long-standing acquaintance with stories from childhood, stories also serve as critical means by which human beings make themselves intelligible within the social world. This study further examines the motivations and conditions for account-giving in isiXhosa. Accounts are similar to narratives and can be retained at the level of private reflections for others to read, to be educated and to learn from and to refer to from time to time.

Gergen (1994) considers self-narratives as forms of social accounting or public discourse. In this sense, narratives are conversational resources, their construction open to continuous alteration as interaction progresses. The study elaborates on this phenomenon, especially in the narrative accounts of the various isiXhosa stories that were collected and analysed. What emerges from the analyses is that the individual characters whose stories are told are portrayed as moving through their experience, dealing with some conflict or problem in their lives and, at the same time, searching for a resolution.

It also emerges from the collection of these various isiXhosa narratives that they sharpen our understanding of the major stressful situations in each person's mind and how the individual reasons about the difficulties encountered in life. The narratives prove, in this regard, to be a cultural resource that serves social purposes, such as self-identification, self-justification, self-

criticism and social solidification. In this sense then, for an account to be true, it has to be goal-orientated and relate to people's day-to-day lives.

The study finds that the social-interactive aspects of account-giving involve severe reproach forms, including personal attacks and derogatory aspects, which elicit defensive reactions resulting in negative interpersonal and emotional consequences.

ISISHWANKATHELO

Iinjongo zalo msebenzi kukufumanisa indlela yokuphimisela umyalezo kunye nobume bokubuyisa isidima sokubaliswa kwamabali angezolimo kubahlali abantetho isisiXhosa. Ngokuka Gergen (1994) amabali ayinxalenye yentetho akwanendima enkulu ayidlalayo efana, nembaliso ezinzileyo, imbaliso enenkqubela kunye nembaliso enokuzisola kwaye asisixhobo senzukulwazi yeelwimi anendima ebalulekileyo ayidlalayo. U-Gergen (1994) uthi ukubalisa ibali yinto equbekayo apho umntu nomntu athi achaze ngokwamehlelayo okanye ngembali yakhe. Amabali athe aqokelelwa kwaye ahlalutywa kulo msebenzi angumfuziselo wobume obunenyano kwaye abaliswe ngocoselelo. Amabali ayinto eqhubekayo kwaye anakho nokuveza okuthile okuza kuthi kwenzekwe, ngokuba iziganeko ezenzekayo ziziganeko ezivela kumabali aye abaliswe.

Lo msebenzi uqala ngokuthi wakhe isiseko, ngokuthi uchaze unobangela wokuba abantu bathande ukubalisa amabali, kwaye kutheni amabali ebalulekile ebomini nanjengoko isininzi sethu siqala ukuba nolwazi ngamabali ebuntwaneni. Ngenxa yale mbali, amabali athi asincede ngokuthi sazi ngokusingqongileyo. Lo msebenzi uveza ukubaluleka kokuphimiselwa kokubaliswa kwembali ngokolwimi lwesiXhosa. Imbali iyelene nokubalisa amabali kwaye inokuba luncedo ngokuthi afundwe, abenemfundiso, sifunde kwaye sibe nakho ukuwaxulumanisa neziganeke zemihla ngemihla.

U-Gergen (1994) ukubona ukubalisa ibali njengohlobo lokuzingca. Ngokwale meko, amabali yinto esiyiphila rhoqo, kwaye esiyenza imihla nemihla njengokuba sincokola nabantu. Oku, kuthi kucaciswe ngokubanzi kulo msebenzi ngakumbi kumabali awohlukahlukeneyo esiXhosa athe aqokelelwa aza ahlalutywa. Okuvezwe luhlalutyo ziingxaki apho abalinganiswa bezibona bekuzo, apho umlinganiswa ngamnye evezwa esengxakini, kwaye kukwavezwa nendlela umlinganiswa azinyula ngayo kuloo ngxaki.

Kuphawuleka ngokwala mabali esiXhosa aqokelelweyo ukuba, alola iingqondo zethu ngemiba ethi ichaphazele umlinganiswa ngamnye engqondweni yakhe, nokuba umlinganiswa ngamnye uyithatha njani imeko azibona ekuyo. La mabali achaza ngakumbi ukuba afana nezithethe ezithi zidlale le ndima: ukuziqonda, ukuzazi, ukuzibona iziphoso kunye nokubona

iziphoso zabanye. Ngokwale meko, ukuze amabali abe nobunyani kufuneka abe neenjongo aziphuhlisayo kwaye sibe nakho ukuwanxulumanisa nokwenzekayo kwimihla ngemihla.

Kulo msebenzi, iincoko ngokwemo yokubalisa ziye zaphandwa apho kuye kwafunyaniswa ukuba maxa wambi kuye kubekho ukruthakruthwano kunye nezigxeko ezithi zikhokhele ekubeni abantu bangaboni ngasonye okanye ubudlelwane bungabi buhle encokweni.

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OPSOMMING

Die doel van hierdie studie is om boodskapproduksie en beeldherstel in die narratiewe van isiXhosa-sprekende plaasgemeenskappe te ondersoek. Volgens Gergen (1994) is narratiewe vorme – soos die stabiliteitsnarratiewe, progressiewe narratiewe en regressiewe narratiewe – linguistiese hulpmiddels wat belangrike sosiale funksies het om te vervul. Gergen (1994) dui ook aan dat self-narratiewe sosiale prosesse is waar individue op die persoonlike dimensie of ervaring verwesentlik word. Die self-narratiewe wat in hierdie studie gebruik en ontleed is, beeld die kontemporêre waarheid-gebaseerde elemente van 'n goedgevormde narratief uit. Narratiewe verslagdoenings is ook in sosiale aksie geanker; hulle maak gebeure sosiaal sigbaar en vestig tipies verwagtinge vir toekomstige gebeure, want daaglikse gebeure is in storievertelling gedompel.

Die studie begin deur te verduidelik hoekom mense stories vertel en hoekom stories so belangrik is in ons daaglikse lewe, omdat die meeste van ons reeds in ons kinderdae met stories kennis maak. Moontlik as gevolg van hierdie lang en intieme kennis is stories ook 'n belangrike metode wat ons gebruik om ons in die sosiale wêreld verstaanbaar te maak. Verder ondersoek hierdie studie die motivering en voorwaardes van verslagdoening in isiXhosa. Verslagdoening is soortgelyk aan narratiewe en dit kan op die vlak van persoonlike oordenkings gebruik word vir ander om van tyd tot tyd te lees, onderrig te word, daaruit te leer en daarna te verwys.

Gergen (1994) beskou self-narratiewe as vorme van sosiale verslagdoening of openbare diskoers. In hierdie opsig is narratiewe gesprekshulpmiddels, konstruksies wat oop is vir voortdurende verandering namate interaksie vorder. Die studie brei uit op hierdie fenomeen, veral in narratiewe verslae van die verskeie isiXhosa-stories wat versamel en ontleed is. Dit is duidelik uit hierdie ontledings dat die individuele karakters wie se stories vertel word, uitgebeeld word asof hulle deur hul ondervindings beweeg terwyl hulle een of ander konflik of probleem in hul lewe hanteer en terselfdertyd 'n oplossing soek.

Dit is ook duidelik uit hierdie versameling isiXhosa-narratiewe dat hulle ons begrip verskerp van die belangrikste spannings in elke individu se gedagtes en hoe elke individu oor die lewe en die probleme wat hy of sy teëkom, redeneer. In hierdie opsig bewys die narratiewe hulself

as 'n kulturele bron wat sosiale doele dien soos self-identifikasie, self-regverdiging, self-kritiek en sosiale verdigting. Vir 'n verslagdoening om dus in hierdie sin waar te wees, moet dit doel-georiënteerd wees en moet ons dit met ons daaglikse lewe in verband kan bring.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to investigate how people account for their actions in farming environment. This chapter will conduct research on theories of image restoration, message production and elaborate on views concerning account-giving, account-making and analysis of account. The narratives examined concern issues on how the farmers have encountered problems like lack of knowledge about farming, insufficient support from government, lack of equipment, facilities like markets and introduction of cooperative system. These problems have affected the progress in their work, as most of them their farms have lost production and because of this lack of facilities it is hard for some farmers to sell their produce as the market is far from them. The system which the government is introducing has an impact to other farmers as it is not working.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Fullan (1993:2) alludes to the fact that people's lives are surrounded by problems and, as such, problems are our friends. Problems are not there to destroy us but as stepping stones to sharpen our minds and also our ways of doing things. One of the problems encountered presently is the deteriorating standards of farming. Although there are many causes for this, it is undeniable that corruption and the lack of cooperation between government and the relevant stake holders has a role to play in this regard among the isiXhosa speakers. This is not an exaggeration given that in the past centuries, diverse communities were regulated, if not dominated, by farming and Xhosa people were no exception.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The reasons for conducting this study are as follows:

- to describe the narratives relating to the farming problems encountered by Xhosa people;

- to establish the main causes as they emerge from narratives, of the gradual disappearance of farming among the isiXhosa speaking communities;
- to explore the narratives on how deep the problems of farming are among the isiXhosa speakers;
- to establish the preference of the present generation regarding farming issues.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study is significant as it sheds light on the farming problems among the isiXhosa people and more important both the isiXhosa and other speech communities will understand narratives and how they contribute to:

- Realize that farming occurs in all communities;
- Also see the value of farming to them as a society;
- Assist to maintain farming since it is one of their sources of survival.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

This study will make use of a qualitative approach because this type of approach focuses on the phenomena that occur in natural settings. Through this type of methodology, the researcher will be able to describe, explore, examine and discover new or little unknown phenomena related to farming.

1.6 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUE

1.6.1 Secondary research method

Through this approach, the researcher will collect data from research articles, journals, books from the library and information from the internet. The researcher values these resources as they contain readily available information on farming.

1.6.2 Primary research method

Through this approach, the researcher will collect first-hand information through interviews and observations. Five isiXhosa speaking farmers in the Eastern Cape were interviewed for this study. Among this five, four of the farmers were male and one female. The information was collected through the used of a tape recorder and unstructured questions were posed, for example:

- When did you start farming
- Before farming, what were you doing?
- What are the advantages and disadvantages of farming?
- Explain what would you do if you were given another chance?
- Is farming still an important career for the young generation?

1.7 SCOPE AND DELIMITATION

The study will concentrate on the farming experience by isiXhosa speaking community as expressed in their narratives.

1.8 LITERATURE REVIEW

Wilson, S.R., Sabee, C.M. (2003), Wilson and Sabee begin the foundation of this work by explaining message production. Wiemann and Bradac cited by Wilson and Sabee (2003) identify two schools of thought in defining competence. Scholars from the “structuralist” school emphasize that communicators normally are competence in the sense that they succeed in making their intention understood, in seeming communicatively usual, in eliciting communicatively relevant responses from others and in distinguishing random movement from purposeful action. Wilson and Sabee (2003) argue that many contemporary theories assume that speakers produce message to accomplish goals and thus develop and enact plans for pursuing goals. Interaction goals are states of affairs speakers desire to attain or maintain through talk.

Wilson, R. (1990), communication scholars often attribute variations in communicative performance to differences in interaction goals. There has been little systematic research on

the processes through which interaction goals are formed. This omission is particularly important for accounts of message production, since many theorists view message production as beginning with formation of interaction goals. According to Wilson (1990) an account of goal formation should address two central questions: What are the cognitive structures and processes through which people form interaction goal? Which features of situations constrain or magnify individual differences in goals? To explain how people retrieve relevant knowledge about goals, the cognitive rule model assumes that an activation process operates on the associative network. Activation can be direct or indirect.

Berger, C.R. (1997), plans and planning processes have been implicated in the production of intentional action by researchers from a number of disciplines. Brand cited by Berger (1997) argues that plans and scripts act to guide goal-directed human action, he also averred that these knowledge structures are not themselves sufficient to explain intentional conduct. He invokes the concept of desire as an additional antecedent to intentional action, and argues that desire and intention can be conceptually distinct. Desire is the state that produces the necessity for action, but it is not sufficient for the production of intentional conduct. Knowledge structures like plans and scripts are necessary for guiding action, once it is necessitated by desire.

Benoit, W.L. (1995), posit two key assumptions that provide the foundation for the theory of image restoration strategies are. Firstly, communication is best conceptualized as a goal-directed activity, secondly maintaining a positive reputation is one of the central goals of communication. Benoit argues that all human beings are constantly faced with situations that prompt them into explaining or justifying their behaviour and to offer excuses or apologies for certain behaviours that are regarded as offensive or provocative to others. The communicative activity of excuse-making and image restoration pervades social life and also serves as an important function in every human being's life, that of restoring our precious reputation. The need for discourse designed to restore our reputation arises because, as human beings we inevitably engage in behaviour that makes us vulnerable to attack.

Harvey, J.H., Weber, A. L., and Orbuch, T. L. (1990), argue that human life is history which is passed on from one generation to the other through communication, in a form of story-telling. These personal stories are the one that are called accounts and these accounts are what constitute this study. These accounts are so significant in that people use them to look

for understanding of the major issues in their lives. The study of accounts is then seen as the significant element of offspring of work on attributional processes in psychology.

Scott, M.B., and Lyman, S. (1968), state that an account is a “linguistic device employed whenever an action is subjected to valuable inquiry”. They also provide two types of accounts of undesirable behaviour, which are: justification and excuses and they believe that the motivation for such accounts is protection of self-esteem or social status. Excuses are statements used to relieve the actor of responsibility and they are conceived as occurring in the modal forms of appeal to accidents, defeasibility, biological drives and scapegoating.

Gergen, K.J. (1994), states that self-narratives are forms of social accounting or public discourse in which narratives are perceived as conversational resources and constructions open to continuous alteration as interaction continues. Self-narratives is a linguistic implement embedded within conventional sequences of action and employed in relationships in such a way as to sustain, enhance or impede various actions. They are cultural resources that serve such social purposes as self-identification, self-justification, self-criticism and social-solidification. Narrative skills are acquired through interacting with others, not through being acted upon.

1.9 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

This thesis is divided into six chapters which are organized as follows:

Chapter 1: This chapter deals with the main purpose of this study, the research problem, objectives of the study, significance, data collection techniques, scope and delimitation and the method of the study. It also deals with little bit of literature review as well as the organization of the study.

Chapter 2: This chapter deals with the theoretical part of the study. The relevant concepts are explained. The message production theory by Wilson and Sabee (2003), is reviewed, including the cognitive rule model as a theory of message production. The work of Wilson (1990) is explained where he explain the cognitive rule model of goal formation. Also the work of Berger (1997) is explained in this chapter where he discusses the difference between plans and planning.

Chapter 3: This chapter covers image restoration: failure events by Benoit (1995). He states that, human beings engage in recurrent patterns of communicative behaviour designed to reduce, redress or avoid damage to their reputation from perceived wrong-doing. As human beings, we are repeatedly faced with situations that impel us to explain or justify our behaviour, to offer excuses or apologies for those aspects of our behaviour that offend and provoke reproach from those around us.

Chapter 4: This chapter deals with theoretical work of narrative account by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001), and Hinchman and Hinchman (1997), in which they introduce narrative accounts as the word that comes from the Indo-European root “gna,” meaning both “to tell” and “to know.” The work of Gergen (1994) also covers the portion of this chapter where he says, ‘stories serve as critical ways of portraying self as intelligible within social worlds because stories are part of all humans’ everyday living-be it in social gatherings, movies, media (for example, drama, Muvhango and Generation, etc) or book.

Chapter 5: This chapter deals with the primary purpose of this study which is account analysis. All five stories which were gathered and subscribed are analysed, according to the factors, of endpoint: theme or goal of the story, selection of events in the account: plot structure, ordering of events (sequence and duration), stability of identity, causal linkage, the narrative form, self-narrative (narrative is true) practice of self-narration: process (variety of narrative forms, micro narrative and nesting of the narrative), pragmatics of self-narrative, interknitting of identities and emotions.

Chapter 6 is the conclusion of the study. In this chapter a summary is presented of the general arguments presented in the course of this study, according to the factors of aim, theme of the narrative, ordering of events (sequence, duration, stability of identity and causal linkage), the narrative form, self-narrative (narrative is true), practices of self-narration: process (variety of narrative form, micro narrative and nesting of the narrative) pragmatic of the self-narrative, interknitting of identities (moral evaluation) and emotions. In this chapter the summary is presented of how these stories link according to the factors which are presented above.

CHAPTER 2

MESSAGE PRODUCTION

2.1 A COGNITIVE RULES MODEL: PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES: THEORIES OF MESSAGE PRODUCTION

1. Discussion has focused on how individuals attend to, interpret and evaluate both their own and others' communicative behavior. In the last two decades, communication scholars have moved from focusing only on "input" processes toward describing mental processes that give rise to communicative behavior. Communicative competence can be envisioned within two families of "message production" theories: (a) those falling within a goal-plan-action framework and (b) those emphasizing multiple hierarchical levels of procedural knowledge (Wilson and Sabee 2003:18).

Goals-Plans-action Theories: Many contemporary theories assume that speakers produce messages to accomplish goals and thus develop and enact plans for pursuing goals.

Interaction goals are states of affairs speakers desire to attain or maintain through talk (Dillard cited by Wilson *et al* 2003:19). Speakers often attempt to pursue and coordinate multiple goals during conversation and their goals often change quickly during the course of conversation (Dillard *et al* cited by Wilson *et al* 2003:19). Communicative competence is evident in the number and types of goals that speakers spontaneously form and pursue (Clark and Delia cited by Wilson *et al* 2003:19); Tracy cited by Wislon *et al* 2003:19). We may gain insights about communicative competence by exploring how individuals form interaction goals.

The cognitive rule model provides one account of the mental processes underlying goal formation. Briefly, the Cognitive rule model assumes that people possess cognitive rules or associations in long-term memory, between representations of interaction goals and numerous situational features. For example, a parent might associate the goal of "giving advice" with features such as "my child is contemplating a problematic action," "my child has not considered alternative actions sufficiently," and I care deeply about my child's well being. The cognitive rule model assumes that a spreading activation process operates in parallel on

associative network, such that cognitive rules can be compared with ongoing perceptions of situations without substantial demand on processing capacity and situations can activate rules for forming multiple goals simultaneously. However, a cognitive rule must reach a certain activation threshold before it is triggered and forms a goal. According to Wilson and Sabee (2003:19) the probability of a rule being triggered is a function of three criteria: fit, recency and strength. Individuals are more likely to form a goal when they perceive that many rather than only a few conditions represented in the rule are present in the current situation (the fit criterion). Yet many situations are ambiguous or open to multiple interpretations and hence partially match and activate a large number of cognitive rules. Within ambiguous situations, cognitive rules are more likely to be triggered if rules have been activated recently (the recency criterion) or frequently in the past (the strength criterion).

Several insights about goals and competence are interpretable within the cognitive rule model. For example, speakers may be judged incompetence for pursuing goals that others evaluate as “inappropriate” by some standard. Intercultural interactions may prompt such occurrences. Persons entering a new culture may give advice when native speakers view it as inappropriate or fail to give advice when doing so is obligatory (Fitch and Kim cited by Wilson *et al* 2003:19). From the cognitive rule perspective, acculturation necessitates associating goals with new sets of situated features. Within a single culture, speakers may be judged incompetent for pursuing goals that others view as inappropriate (Wilson *et al* 2003:19).

According to the cognitive rules model, the question is posed of why would a speaker form and pursue goals that others judge to be inappropriate. One possibility is that the speaker possesses an especially strong rule that is easily triggered. Aside from pursuing inappropriate goals, speakers may be seen communicatively incompetent for failing to pursue goals that others view as desirable or obligatory. Actions such as asking for assistance, giving advice, attempting to change another’s political views or offering criticism create potential threats to both speaker’s and the hearer’s face. To appear oblivious to such threats is to risk appearing communicatively incompetent.

Why would speakers fail to form and pursue goals that others, given the situation view as desirable or obligatory? Speakers may (a) lack perspective-taking skill needed to recognize psychological implications of their actions, (b) associate goals such as providing face support with an insufficient number of situational conditions, (c) possess rules for forming supportive

goals that, because they reside at a low level of activation, are triggered only by an almost complete match with perceived situational conditions, or (d) fail to mentally link rules for different goals so that the triggering of one rule (e.g. for the goal of giving advice) does not automatically spread activation to the rule for a second goal.

Finally, speakers may be judged communicatively incompetent for failing to alter their interaction goals across situations, for example Wilson cited by Wilson *et al* (2003:21) found that persons high in interpersonal construct differentiation when attempting to convince a target person to fulfill an obligation, varied their supportive interpersonal goals depending on why the target had failed to fulfill an obligation as well as on how close they were to the target. Less differentiated persons did not vary their supportive goals in response to manipulations of attribution or intimacy. Adaptability and Flexibility often are described as critical components of communicative competence. The cognitive rule model suggests several explanations for failing to adapt interaction goals, including that speakers may (a) associate interaction goals with only a small number of situational conditions, (b) fail to develop subcategories of a goal that apply to different situations, or (c) overemphasize base rate data and underemphasize individual information, especially under conditions that promote heuristic process (Wilson cited by Wilson *et al* 2003:21).

Although the cognitive rule model offers insights about communicative competence, it clearly is not a sufficient explanation. Speakers differ not only with their goals, but also in their procedural knowledge (plans) for coordinating multiple goals as well as skill at enacting plans (Berger, (1997); O’Keefe cited by Wilson *et al* 2003:21). Plans are a knowledge structure representing actions necessary for overcoming obstacles and accomplish goals (Berger, 1997). Plans are mental representation of actions, whereas strategies are overt behaviors exhibited by individuals (Greene cited by Wilson 2003:21). A teacher’s plan for talking to a student dissatisfied with a grade on a paper might include actions such as “set up an appointment during office hours, explain any written feedback that is unclear, and discuss how the student can perform better on the next assignment.

Plans for accomplishing social goals vary in complexity and specificity. Complex plans include a large number of action units than simple plans. For example talking to a student dissatisfied with a grade included three distinct actions and thus is more complex than the plan that “explain how the grade was assigned.” Complex plans also include contingencies,

thus a plan includes “if the student appears upset, reinforce that I know a lot of hard work went into the paper” is more complex than a plan with no contingencies. Specific plans are fleshed out in detail, whereas abstract plans provide only vague guidelines for action. An example of a vague plan for dealing with dissatisfied student is “talk about the grade.”

Plan complexity and specificity should facilitate communicative competence in many situations. Persons with complex plans have multiple alternatives should their initial efforts fail; those with specific plans already have considered how to implement abstract acts during conversation itself. Communicative competence is evident not simply in the complexity of a person’s plan, but perhaps most important in planning processes themselves.

Planning is the set of psychological and communication processes involved in generating, selecting, implementing, monitoring, adapting and coordinating plans. Planning occurs in advance of many interactions, but a good deal also occurs “online” as a conversation unfolds (Waldron cited by Wilson *et al* (2003:22); Waldron *et al* cited by Wilson and Sabe 2003:22). Competent communicators are adept at monitoring and adjusting their plans online during conversation. Cegal and Waldron cited by Wilson *et al* (2003:22) propose that incompetent communicators, because of low-esteem experience many conversations as stressful events, which leads to an “inward orientation that probably accounts in part for their ineffectiveness at accomplishing task goal.

Wilson *et al* (2003) state that, aside from stress, problems with executive control also may hinder a person’s ability to monitor plans during conversation. Executive control processes are a set of higher order mental activities, including decisions about (a) selection (e.g which knowledge to access from memory given the current situation), (b) regulation (e.g whether current conditions warrant a change in processing). Individuals differ in the efficiency of their executive control processes, with inefficiency being reflected in performance errors, slips of the tongue and lapses. Drawing on this idea, Jordan cited by Wilson *et al* (2003:22) showed that people’s cognitive efficiency is positively associated with the ease with which they can develop a preinteraction plan for persuading others and hence with their own confidence that the plan will succeed. Plan confidence in turn predicts whether individuals actually carry out their plans. Communication competence is evident in people’s ability to deploy, monitor and adjust efficiently during interaction.

Although scholars frequently describe communication as goal oriented, they offer limited details about how people form interaction goals in situation. This paper presents a “Cognitive Rules” model which specifies assumptions about the structures and processes underlying goal formation. According to the model, people represent their knowledge about goals within an associative network model of memory, which contains cognitive rules linking situational features and desired outcomes. People’s likelihood of forming a goal depends on the accessibility of relevant cognitive rules as well as the fit between perceived situational features and rules.

Communication scholars often attribute variations in communicative performance to differences in interaction goals (Clark and Delia cited by Wilson *et al* (2003). There has been little systematic research on the processes through which interaction goals are formed. The omission is particularly important for accounts of message production, since many theorists view message production as beginning with the formation of interaction goals (Canary *et al* cited by Wilson *et al* 2003).

An account of goal formation should address two central questions: What are the cognitive structures and processes through which people form interaction goals? Which features of situations constrain or magnify individual differences in goals? To address these issues this chapter: (a) outlines a “Cognitive Rules” model of goal formation and (b) evaluates predictions about how situational conditions will interact with a priming manipulation and construct differentiation to influence goals.

2.2 A COGNITIVE RULES MODEL OF GOAL FORMATION

2.2.1 Conditions interaction goals

People possess knowledge about a wide range of instrumental and interpersonal goals and about numerous situational features relevant to each goal (Canary *et al* cited by Wilson (1990:81)); Clark and Delia cited by Wilson (1990:81). The Cognitive Rules model assumes that the goal-relevant knowledge is stored within a hierarchical associative network of long-term memory. The network is composed of nodes which represent individual concepts such as people, traits, roles, relational qualities, settings and desired outcomes (Anderson cited by Wilson (1990:81); Collins and Loftus cited by Wilson (1990:81). Patterns of association

between nodes which represent specific outcomes (goals) and nodes which represent situational features are created through socialization and problem-solving experience.

To explain how people retrieve relevant knowledge about goals, the Cognitive Rule model assumes that an activation process operates on the associative network. Activation can be direct or indirect. A cognitive rule is activated directly by a match between perceived features of the current situation and the situational conditions represented in the rule. A cognitive rule is activated indirectly, when activation spreads from one node to the other nodes that are associatively linked (Anderson cited by Wilson (1990:82); Collins and Loftus cited by Wilson (1990:82)). The activation process is assumed to occur in parallel, so situations can simultaneously activate rules for forming multiple goals.

Not every rule which receives activation results in goal formation. The cognitive rule model assumes that rules have an activation “threshold”: *a goal is not formed unless a certain level of activation is reached* and once that level is reached, the rule is “triggered” and forms a goal. There are three important criteria which affect the probability that a rule will be triggered: fit, strength and recency (Anderson cited by Wilson (1990:82); Greene cited by Wilson (1990:82)).

2.2.2 Determinants of Rule Selection in Obligation Situations

In its very nature, a system of rules is organised in relation to specific situational conditions. Hence any investigation of goal formation must begin by identifying a specific kind of interpersonal situation and specific goals which are relevant to it. The present study focuses on obligation situations: situations in which someone has failed to do something he or she is obligated to do, such as a person who fails to repay a loan at the agreed upon time. O’Keefe, cited by Wilson (1990:82); O’Keefe and McCornack, cited by Wilson (1990:82) describes an obligation situation as “complex” because multiple goals are relevant to them. Prior work suggests that at least five different types of interaction goals might be pursued within such situations: (1) *Compliance goals*, the desire to persuade the message target to fulfill the obligation (Canary *et al* cited by Wilson (1990:82)); (2) *supporting goals*, the desire to protect, repair or enhance the parties’ relationship or the target’s identity (Brown and Levinson; Goffman cited by Wilson (1990:82)); (3) *attacking goals*, the desire to threaten or damage the parties’ relationship or the target’s identity (Craig *et al* cited by Wilson (1990:82)); (4) *image*

goals, the desire to create or sustain a desired self presentation (Goffman cited by Wilson (1990:82); and (5) *account-seeking goals*, the desire to learn why the target has failed to fulfill the obligation (Scott and Lyman, 1968). Certain features of obligation situation should influence whether people form these goals.

2.2.3 Attribution, Power and the fit Criterion

The probability of a rule being triggered depends in part on the match between perceived situational features and situational conditions represented in rules. But situations are highly typical of the conditions represented in a rule, whereas others are much less typical. Aside from degree of fit, situations also vary in ambiguity.

Ambiguous situations are open to multiple interpretations and hence partially match and activate a large number of rules than clear situations. An important assumption of the cognitive rule model is that, when both degree and clarity of fit are high, situational features are sufficient to trigger rules. When fit is moderate and ambiguity is high, strength and recency are more important determinants of goal formation (Srull and Wyer cited by Wilson (1990:82-83)). In situations involving obligations, people assess their perceptions of at least two features for fit: the cause of the target's failure to comply (attributional ambiguity) and the distribution of legitimate power in the situation.

2.2.3.1 Attributional ambiguity and fit:

Prior research on the effects of attributions on interpersonal behavior suggests that judgments of locus of cause and intent function as important situational conditions within rules for forming supporting and attacking goals. Weiner cited by Wilson (1990:83) reviews evidence that emotional reactions to a variety of interpersonal situations, including obligation situations are mediated by attributions of locus, responsibility and intent. Similarly, attributions of intent have been shown to mediate aggressive and attacking responses toward others (Dodge; Epstein and Taylor cited by Wilson (1990:83)). Attributions of locus and intent also influence how message sources exert interpersonal influence, including whether supervisors use punitive regulative strategies when regulating and employee's poor performance and whether individuals employ distributive or integrative conflict tactics (Finchman and Bradbury; Sillars cited by Wilson (1990:83)).

Whether a target's failure to fulfill an obligation is due to internal dispositions and intentions or to external forces, may be ambiguous within some obligation situations. According to Kelly cited by Wilson (1990:83), people rely on three dimensions in attributing causes to a target's behavior: consistency, consensus and distinctiveness. Information about consistency, consensus and distinctiveness can point to one or many causes for why a target fails to meet an obligation.

Prior research suggests that the causes for a target's failure to fulfill an obligation are situational features associated with supporting and attacking goals. By varying the degree of attributional ambiguity, the degree and clarity of fit between situation features and cognitive rules can be manipulated. Specifically, variability in the frequencies of supporting and attacking goals should be greatest under conditions of attributional ambiguity, for example

- (a) Variability in reported frequencies of supporting and attacking goals are greater under conditions of attributional ambiguity and less when the target's failure to fulfill an obligation can be attributed clearly to either internal or external causes.

2.2.3.2 Legitimate power and fit.

Aside from attributional ambiguity, legitimate power may be a second feature influencing the fit of rules to obligation situations. Institutional differences in authority are associated with greater rights to make requests and greater obligation by targets to comply (French and Raven; Searle cited by Wilson (1990:84)). This suggests that when message sources have high legitimate power relative to their target the obligations of the target to comply will be clearer. When the obligation to comply is clear, there should be less need for politeness, hence rules for supporting and image goal should be less likely to be activated (Brown and Levinson cited by Wilson (1990)). If the obligation is clear and a target still fails to comply, sources also may perceive that their authority is threatened and hence form attacking goals (Leichty and Applegate; Coyle, Seibert and Applegate cited by Wilson (1990:84)). When the obligation to comply is more ambiguous, rules for attacking goals should be less likely to be activated (Wilson, 1990:84). This leads to the following hypothesis:

- (b) Individuals report more attacking and fewer supporting and image goals when they seek compliance with obligations from a position of high rather than equal legitimate power.

2.2.4 Construct Differentiation and the Strength Criterion

A second determinant of a rule's likelihood of being triggered, according to Wilson (1990:84) is the strength of the associations between its situational conditions and goal, as well as between the rule and other rules in the network. Strength is directly related to the frequency of prior activation of the rule, as strength increases rules become "chronically accessible" (Higgins *et al*; Markus cited by Wilson (1990:84)). Research on message production suggests that interpersonal construct differentiation is one determinant of the strength of certain cognitive rules, especially those involving supporting goals. Subsequent research suggests that construct differentiation may facilitate forming multiple goals within only certain situations. For example, Wilson (1988) found a moderate positive relationship between construct differentiation and frequencies of supporting goals reported by individuals seeking compliance with an obligation. The relationship appears to be contingent on the specific character of the compliance-gaining task.

The cognitive rule model suggests that construct differentiation leads to chronically accessible rules for forming supporting goals, which in turn increases the likelihood of forming supporting goals in some situations. Specifically, in situations where the fit between rules and situation features is high and clear, rule strength should play little role in goal formation, since high degree of fit will trigger rules for either highly and less differentiated message sources. But in situations where the degree of fit is moderate and ambiguous, such as those characterized by attributional ambiguity or equal legitimate power, rule strength should play an important role in elevating past the threshold level and therefore triggering rules for supporting goals.

2.2.5 Priming and the Recency Criterion

One assumption of the cognitive rule model is that once a node or rule has been activated, it takes sometime for the activation to dissipate. As a consequence on rule that has been activated by a recent prior event will temporarily retain a degree of residual activation. For

example, Srull and Wyer cited by Wilson (1990:85) asked participants to interpret a behavioral description and indicate whether the described behaviors were aggressive or assertive. Participants performed a sentence completion task, the trait “hostile” was primed for participants in the treatment condition, while no trait was primed consistently in the control condition. As predicted, primed participants were more likely than control participants to interpret the subsequent behavioral description as reflecting aggressiveness rather than assertiveness. These priming effects were larger when the described behaviors had been judged in a pretest as ambiguous rather than as clearly hostile or nonhostile behaviors.

Similar investigations have demonstrated that priming effects influence impressions and attributions (Bargh and Petromonaco; Rholes and Pryor cited by Wilson (1990:85)) as well as behaviors such as aggressiveness and friendliness (Carver, *et al* cited by Wilson (1990:85)).

The effects of priming are transitory, since the activated cognitive structure recedes back to its resting level as the activation induced by priming dissipates (Higgins *et al*; Smith and Branscombe cited by Wilson (1990)). This reasoning suggests that priming the situation conditions represented in cognitive rules should increase the likelihood that the same rules will be triggered in a subsequent obligation situation. For example, given evidence that people associate “relational intimacy” with supporting goals (Baxter; Clark; Leichy and Applegate cited by Wilson (1990:85)), the probability of forming supporting goals should be higher if message sources complete a task priming the domain of “relationships” just before they respond to a compliance-gaining situation. These priming effects should be transitory, so inserting an “interference” task should reduce or eliminate priming effects. In addition, priming effects should be observed primarily under conditions of moderate and ambiguous fit between rules and situations, since high degree of fit should be sufficient in themselves to trigger rules.

Aside from these hypotheses, two research questions are addressed. One question concerns the joint effects of rule strength and recency or construct differentiation and priming on goals. It is possible that priming effects will be most pronounced for persons with low construct differentiation, since those with high differentiation already possess chronically accessible rules for supporting goals. If chronically accessible rules do not always surpass the triggering threshold in situations involving moderate fit, then priming may increase the odds that highly

as well as less differentiated person will form supporting goals (Bargh *et al* cited by Wilson (1990:86)).

A second question addresses the interrelations among types of goals. Many of the situational conditions associated with attacking and supporting goals are interrelated, such as attributions of the target's behavior to internal versus external causes. It is conceivable that the circumstances which activate rules for one goal type inhibit other goals from being formed. On the other hand, it is possible that the rules for different interaction goals are modular structures sharing few associative links and therefore do not act either to activate or inhibit each other (Greene and Geddes; Trezbinski cited by Wilson (1990)).

2.3 CRITERIA DETERMINING SELECTION OF COGNITIVE RULE

The experimental findings support two of the model's assumptions about goal formation. The first assumption is that people's likelihood of forming interaction goals depends in part, on the accessibility of cognitive rules. A priming manipulation was employed to activate network nodes representing relational intimacy, since intimacy has been believed to be one of the situational features associated with supporting goals. Within attributionally-ambiguous situations, priming exerted a significant interactive effect with construct differentiation on supporting goals. As predicted, the transitory effects of priming were mitigated by exposure to an interference task. Thus, people were more likely to form supporting goals if a situation feature associated with those goals recently had been activated, making the relevant cognitive rules accessible.

A second assumption which received support is that the recency and strength criteria are more important determinants of goal formation when key situational features associated with goals are ambiguous. As predicted, priming and construct differentiation affected supporting goal in attributionally ambiguous, but not in attributionally clear situations. This interaction has been observed across multiple situations, designed a priori to instantiate attributional conditions. Based on these assumptions, it appears that situations differences can affect interaction goals by exerting (a) main effects when they match situational features represented in cognitive rules or (b) interactive effects when they ambiguate the degree of fit between rule conditions and perceptions of the situation. It merits that the cognitive rule model offers more precise predictions than does prior work about when construct differentiation will be associated with

multiple goals. O' Keefe; Delia; O'Keefe and Shepherd cited by Wilson (1990:97), have presumed that differentiation enhances people's propensity for forming multiple goals in all "complex" communication situations. Contrary to O' Keefe's predictions, differentiation affected goals only in situations where the causes for the target's failure to fulfill an obligation and the target's intent were ambiguous.

2.4 MODULARITY OF THE COGNITIVE RULE NETWORK

In general, the results are consistent with the view that cognitive rules for different interaction goals are represented as modular structures which do not inhibit one another. Across situations, correlations between frequencies of the five goal categories, including supporting and attacking goals, were small. Although these findings confirm predictions from the Cognitive rule model, other unexpected findings suggest that the model's assumptions and applications must be elaborated.

2.4.1 Legitimate Power and Fit

With the exception of the (unpredicted) effects of legitimate power on compliance goals, there were no significant effects involving this manipulation. The hypotheses were based on the reasoning that manipulating the level of the message source's legitimate power would ambiguate situational features associated with supporting and attacking goals, such as the target's obligation to comply. One possible explanation why the hypotheses were not confirmed is that the power manipulation did not have the intended effect; perhaps the clarity of the source's legitimate power rather than the level of power should have been varied. Future research should carefully distinguish the level versus the clarity of situational features relevant to goals.

A second possible explanation is that legitimate power is associated more with instrumental than interpersonal goals, (Baxter cited by Wilson, 1990). The second explanation raises a more general point: attempts to model goal formation should begin with analyses of which interaction goals and contextual features are relevant to specific types of interpersonal situation (O'Keefe cited by Wilson (1990)). In this chapter, neither power nor attributions were associated with frequencies of image goals, probably because message sources in

general did not feel concerned about their own self presentation when they sought the compliance of a target who failed to fulfill an obligation.

2.4.2 Construct Differentiation and Rule Strength

Wilson (1990) states that, aside from legitimate power, the finding that attributional ambiguity and priming failed to exert any effects on supporting goals for less differentiated people was unexpected. This finding seems inconsistent with the position that construct differentiation can be equated with rule strength. Such a position assumes that all message sources have the same kind of rules, but that some people have rules which simply are more accessible. However, less differentiated people failed to report more supporting goals even when the fit between rules and situational features should have been high and clear that is, in situations where most pretest participants attributed the target's noncompliance only to extenuating circumstances.

Assuming that less differentiated message sources must have some kind of rules for forming supporting goals, this finding suggests that they may possess different rules than those employed by highly differentiated sources. For example, highly differentiated sources may have rules which associate supporting goals with attributional relevant issues (the target's intent, extenuating circumstances) whereas less differentiated sources may not. In general, highly differentiated persons may associate goals with a wide range of situational features, whereas less differentiated persons may possess cognitive rules linking goals to fewer or more global situational features.

2.5 A THEORY OF PLANNING

Why approach the explanation of goal-directed conduct from the perspective of planning theory? The answer to this question is quite straightforward. Humans are uniquely endowed with the ability to engage in conscious forethought; they may choose to use or not to use this capability in a given set of circumstances. In many instances, there are distinct advantages to employing this ability as one performs a particular goal directed action sequence. When developing future plans, one may be able to anticipate the potential responses of one's interaction partner and thus rehearse counter or responses that could facilitate goal

achievement. Moreover, when one is in the heat of interaction, situational demands may make it difficult to carry out detailed conscious planning (Berger 1997:24).

Although engaging in such forethought is an *intrapersonal* phenomenon, according to Berger (1997:24) there is a distinct *interpersonal* aspect to individual planning processes. Specifically, having plans makes interpersonal coordination possible (Bratman cited by Berger (1997:24)). Thus, if someone knows that, his wife intends to go to a class this evening and needs the car to do so, he can use alternative means of transportation if they are required. When people have stable plans that are mutually understood, the amount of uncertainty in their relationship is reduced. The absence of plans or the development of unstable plans, gives rise to increased uncertainty and decreased levels of interpersonal coordination.

Given this rationale explanation, the remainder of this chapter is devoted to an explication of a theory of planning. Consideration is given to the differences between the concepts of *plan* and *planning* (Berger 1997:24).

2.5.1 Plans and Planning

Because the concepts of plans and planning are frequently confused, definitions of each term are advanced to clarify the differences between them.

What are plans? The following definitions of the plan construct are among several that have been posited by a variety of theorists:

A Plan is made up of general information about how actors achieve goals. A Plan explains how a given state or event was prerequisite for, or derivative from, another state or event.... Plans describe the set of choices that a person has when he sets out to accomplish a goal.... A Plan is a series of projected actions to realize a goal (Schank and Abelson, 1997; 70-71).

A plan is any hierarchical process in the organism that can control the order in which a sequence of operations is to be performed Moreover, we also use the term Plan to designate a rough sketch of some course of action, just as major topic headings in an

outline, as well as the detailed specification of every detailed operation. Miller, Galanter and Pribram (1960:16-17).

Plans so understood, are intentions written large. They share the properties of intentions recently noted: they resist reconsideration, and in that sense have inertia; they are conduct controllers, not merely potential conduct influencers; and they provide crucial inputs for further practical reasoning and planning...our plans are typically partial...our plans typically have hierarchical structure (Bratman cited by Berger (1997:25)).

A Plan specifies the actions that are necessary for the attainment of a goal or several goals. Plans vary in their levels of abstraction. Highly abstract plans can spawn more detailed ones. Plans can contain alternative paths for goal attainment from which the social actor can choose (Berger 1988: 96).

These definitions converge on the notion that plans are hierarchical cognitive representations of goals-directed action sequences. Plans are not the action sequences themselves, but are mental representations of action sequences. All of these definitions according to Berger (1997:25) emphasize the idea that plans may contain alternative action sequences for attaining goals and that actors may be faced with making choices among alternatives. For example, a highly abstract action unit in a persuasion plan might be “offer a reward”, whereas a more concrete way to represent this broad action class might be something like “money offer” or “offer a ride in a nice car.

What is planning? Planning is viewed as a process that produces a plan as its end product, as the following definitions suggest:

Planning refers to formulating and intended course of action aimed at achieving some goal.... (Hayes-Roth and Hayes-Roth cited by Berger (1997:26)).

Planning concerns the process by which people select a course of action deciding what they want, formulating and revising plans, dealing with problems and adversity, making choices and eventually performing some action. (Wilensky cited by Berger (1997:26)).

Planning includes assessing a situation, deciding what goals to pursue, creating plans to secure these goals and executing plans. (Wilensky cited by Berger (1997:26)).

The determination of the goal and objectives of an enterprise and the selection, through a systematic consideration of alternatives of the policies, programs and procedures for achieving them. An activity devoted to clearly identifying, defining and determining courses of action before their initiation necessary to achieve predetermined goals and objectives.

Planning is a multistaged process that produces a plan to be implemented in action. Situational assessment and goal selection are included as steps in the planning process. Planning does not deal with the problem of goal selection; rather, it is assumed that the social actor has already decided what goal or goals will be pursued in the interaction. The present theory does acknowledge the fact that goals can and do arise during social interaction; it makes no attempt to explain these processes.

2.5.2 The Genesis of Plans

Given a social goal or goals to be attained, the claim is that the social actor has at least two potential sources from which to derive a plan: (a) a long term memory, and (b) current information inputs. When social actor is confronted with achieving a goal, these two sources of plan knowledge are not utilized equally; therefore it is postulated that:

Proposition 1: When persons derive plans to reach goals, their first priority is to access long term memory to determine whether an already formulated or canned plan is available for use. Berger (1997:26)

Canned plans are ones that either have been enacted numerous times or mentally rehearsed in the past. The above proposition 1 rests on the widely accepted postulates that individuals: (a) have a general tendency to expend as little effort as possible in processing information (Fiske and Taylor cited by Berger (1997:26-27)) and (b) have significant cognitive processing limitations that interfere with their heeding and processing large amounts of relevant data when making decisions and judgments (Hogarth; Kahneman *et al*; Kunda and Nisbett; Nisbett

and Ross cited by Berger (1997:27)). It is less taxing to retrieve plans from long term memory than it is to formulate them consciously either before the interaction commences or online as the interaction takes place. When the fit is not good, the planner is forced to search memory and current experience to formulate a plan. The process is both energy and time consuming and is most probably reserved for goals that have a relatively high priority for the actor. Given the assumption that no two experience are identical, then the notion of canned plan is somewhat misleading because plans that have been used in the past cannot be expected to match the current situation perfectly.

2.5.3 Plan Formulation

Top-Down and Bottom-up Planning. When canned plans are not available, individuals can create plans to attain their goals. It is a critical process because canned plans themselves had to be formulated by employing these resource consuming processes at an earlier point in time. There are two extreme views of the plan generation process. *The top-down* view argues that plans are first formulated at relatively high levels of abstraction. Action details are then filled in at progressively lower levels of abstraction until concrete courses of action are generated. At the other extreme, the *bottom-up* approach posits that people process action as it unfolds and from these data derive more abstract plans. This inductive approach to planning has been called bottom-up or opportunistic planning. Hayes and Roth; Hayes and Roth cited by Berger (1997:27-28) contended that although planning sometimes may occur in top-down fashion, more often planning opportunistic, although not completely data-driven.

In contrast to the two extreme positions is one advocated by Bratman cited by Berger (1997:28). He argues that it is more rational for humans to formulate plans only partially because future events that might alter plans cannot be predicted completely. Thus, as the planning horizon increases, it becomes progressively less functional to develop detailed action plans because of the increased likelihood of occurrence of unanticipated plan thwarting events. Because hierarchically organised plans allow for the development of a number of more specific alternative behavioral instantiations of abstract actions through time, “partial, hierarchically structured plans for the future provide our compromise solution.” (Bratman cited by Berger (1997:28)).

Contingent Planning. Although Bratman's compromise solution is plausible, there are certain possibilities he ignored that call into question the generality of his position. For example, as part of their detailed plans, individuals may not only lay out a specific course of action, they may also anticipate events that might interfere with the successful completion of their plan, and thus explicitly plan for these contingencies. In response to this possibility, one might defend the partial plan thesis by arguing that people cannot possibly anticipate all contingencies that might arise in the future; therefore, it is more functional to develop partial plans (Bratman cited by Berger (1997:28)).

Individuals can develop detailed plans that include subplans to be deployed if high probability, plan-thwarting events occur. Of course, one important contingent response that is always available to planners is to abandon pursuit of their goal or goals in the event of goal blockage; as the number of contingencies included in a plan increases, the plan, by default becomes more complex. Under some circumstances, detailed contingent planning may be a preferable alternative to filling in partially formulated plans as those plans are carried out.

Desire and Plan Complexity. It is important to clarify two different meanings of plan complexity. One meaning refers to the level of detail at which planning occurs. Plans may consist of a few abstract steps or they may contain detailed behavioral descriptions of the concrete actions to be taken to realize the plan. In planning to achieve social goals, planners can and sometimes do go to the extreme of generating and rehearsing the precise words that will be uttered during an interaction. Such an extreme level of planning obviously would produce a very complex plan.

A second meaning of complexity concerns the number of contingencies that plans include. As the number of contingencies included in a plan increases, the plan becomes more complex by default. In the following theoretical proposition the construct of complexity embodies both senses of the term, Berger (1997):

Proposition 2: As the desire to reach a social goal increases, the complexity with which plans are formulated also tends to increase. Berger (1997)

The use of the term *desire* in Proposition 2 deserves further comment. Some theorists have argued that desiring to bring about a state of affairs, that is, desiring to reach a goal is a

species on intention (Sellars cited by Berger, (1997)). By contrast, others contend that desiring can be separated from intention. In advancing this claim, Brand cited by Berger (1997) argues: “A desire can be satisfied by luck or through the efforts of other persons, as well as through one’s own efforts. But an intention is fulfilled only if the agent contributes in some essential way to the end-state.”

Brand cites several differences between *desiring* and *intending* that support the two are *independent*; for example, desire can vary with respect to strength but intending cannot and the strength of desire can change over time, whereas the strength of intending cannot. This distinction between desiring and intending is most important in the present context, because one definition of plans advanced earlier asserted that plans can be thought of as “intentions writ large” (Bratman cited by Berger (1997)). If desire were a species of intention, then desire would be part and parcel of plans themselves, a view that not only conflicts with the present framework, but one that also would call into question the conceptual independence of the desire and plan constructs.

Knowledge and Plan Complexity: Another important determinant of complexity of plans is the level of knowledge the planner has about the planning domain under knowledge and plan complexity. For instance, individuals pursuing the goal of changing an opinion, who also have large number of facts and arguments to the issue, are more likely to be able to develop complex persuasion plans with respect to that issue. It might be possible for people to lack knowledge about the specific issue being argued but to have a considerable fund of general knowledge about changing others’ opinions. It is thus possible to distinguish between general knowledge that might be used to alter opinions on any issue and knowledge that is specific to the focal issue of a particular persuasion episode.

Consider the social goal of acquiring personal information from another individual. Berger and Kellermann; Kellermann and Berger cited by Berger (1997:30) found that people employed the following three principal means for inducing others to divulge information about themselves: (a) interrogation, (b) disclosing information about the self to encourage reciprocal disclosure by the other, and (c) relaxing the target person to promote self-disclosure. These are abstract categories of strategies that would be similar to such action categories as create arguments or counterargue in the persuasion example. These three information acquisition strategies do not by themselves indicate what questions should be

asked, what specific behaviors should be enacted to relax the target. The examples serve to illustrate the general notion that the distinction between general strategic knowledge within a domain and knowledge that is more specific to the local goals being pursued may indeed generalize across social goals.

The distinction between strategic domain knowledge simply reflects the hierarchical nature of plans. In addition to these two types of knowledge is general planning knowledge. Individuals vary with respect to their ability to engage in planning activities in general and some individuals are generally more planful than others (Kreitler and Kreitler cited by Berger (1997:30)). General planning knowledge exerts considerable influence over the ability to develop plans in particular domains. At one extreme, individuals may not be aware of the necessity for planning to reach goals, or somewhat less extreme, people may set goals that they cannot possibly reach, thus rendering their plans useless. At the other extreme, individuals may be acutely aware of the variables that might influence the development of an action plan.

In the interests of both efficiency and the avoidance of disappointment, for example, one would expect general planning knowledge to sensitize planners to the necessity of assessing the potential achievability of goals before expending the effort to plan for their attainment. General planning knowledge should alert planners to be careful to avoid goal and plan conflicts in their own lives, as well as with those with whom they interact. Such general planning knowledge might include the proposition that when planning to reach a social goal on any kind, one should take into account the possible responses by others to one's planned actions and plan accordingly.

Meta-Goals and Plan Complexity. Meta-goals of efficiency and social appropriateness are crucial in shaping plans for the attainment of social goals. Wilensky's approach to planning carries with it the assumption that planning is guided in such a way that the most efficient plan is developed. Whether this is always the case for human planners is an open question, it may be that instead of being **optimizers**, human planners are more likely to be **satisfiers** (Simon cited by Berger (1997:32)). That is, individuals might be prone to develop a plan that they believe will work and that is efficient enough, but one that may not be optimally efficient. Within the context of planning for social goals, it is difficult to assess the notions of efficiency or optimality, at least on a priori grounds. When planning for such tasks as running

errands or planning the order in which various housekeeping chores might be done in a classroom, the concepts of efficiency and optimality are considerably more easily conceptualized and operationalized.

In spite of these problems, it is reasonable to assume that because of cognitive processing limitations and the press of time in everyday social life, there are some pressures toward developing efficient plans to achieve social goals. People frequently consider the social appropriateness of their actions as they pursue social goals; although actions may not necessarily be optimally appropriate. Nonetheless, as pressures toward efficiency and social appropriateness increase, one would expect the complexity with which one plans to be affected systematically. Pressures toward efficiency should direct planners toward more parsimonious plans. Increased emphasis on social appropriateness should restrict the range of alternative actions that the planner might include in the plans.

The idea that the range of actions that might be taken to achieve a goal depends on the degree to which the social actor is sensitive to social appropriateness concerns is reflected in the work done on machiavellianism. Christie and Geis cited by Berger (1997) argued that high Machiavellians are better manipulators than their low Machiavellian counterparts in part because they have neither strong commitments to conventional morality nor high levels of ideological commitment. These two attributes enable high Machiavellians to be more flexible and to adapt their actions to the particular circumstances in which they find themselves. Their low levels of commitment to conventional morality enable them to consider engaging in unethical actions; thus increasing the breadth of their action repertoires. In support of this relationship, Guterman cited by Berger (1997:33) found that high Machiavellians reported lower levels of need for approval than did low Machiavellians. Not being concerned about approval from others allows high Machiavellians to consider a wider range of actions to achieve their goals.

It should be acknowledged that the meta-goals of efficiency and social appropriateness may either reinforce each other or be in tension with each other. For example, the most efficient way to acquire personal information from another is to ask personal questions (Berger and Kellermann; Kellermann and Berger cited by Berger(1997:33)), excessive questioning can become intrusive and change an informal social interaction into an interrogation. Doing all one can to relax another person in order to encourage them to talk about themselves is

considerably less intrusive, but may not be particularly efficient; especially if one wishes to obtain specific items of information from the target person. Relaxed targets may reveal considerable information about themselves, they may not reveal the desired information. The more intrusive strategy of question-asking increases the likelihood that the desired information will be revealed, but using this strategy may lower social appropriateness. When one's social goal is to ingratiate one's self to another, the most efficient way to accomplish this goal also may be the most socially appropriate. Inducing a target individual to like one by smiling and being friendly is likely to give rise to elevated social appropriateness judgments.

It is difficult to make any general statement concerning the relationship between the metagoals of efficiency and social appropriateness. They can either complement each other or be in tension with each other in either case, each goal appears to exert a similar effect on the complexity with which plans are developed.

2.6 FROM PLANS TO SOCIAL ACTIONS: THE HIERACHY PRINCIPLE

Thwarted Goals and Iterative Planning. People may enter interactions with well-thought-out plans for achieving goals only to find that, for a variety of reasons the path to their goal or goals is blocked. Although blocked progress toward goals is a potential source of frustration to planners, it is also true that more is learned about individuals' planning capabilities when their path to goal is blocked. Immediate success in reaching goals obviates the necessity of assessing alternative plans that individuals may or may not possess, it is when goal failure occurs that people are forced to devise alternative plans which in turn may require learning (Schank cited by Berger (1997:34)). Thwarted progress toward goals affords the opportunity to study individuals' planning capabilities.

In social interaction contexts, there are two principal sources of goal blockage. First, events that are *external* to the interaction may interfere with goal attainment. For example, people who are discussing a third party may be prevented from pursuing the discussion further when the third party appears. A second source of blockage is *internal* to the interaction opinions or interactants may rebel ingratiation (second) attempts. Both external and internal sources of thwarting may be anticipated by the planner and accounted for in the development of contingency plans.

The Hierarchy Principle. Given the hierarchical organization of plans, an important question concerns what happens to action choices when plans are thwarted. For instance, assume that an individual attempts to persuade another to change an opinion by using a particular argument. Suppose that the other resists the opinion change attempt. Finally, assume that the persuader's plan has alternative actions for achieving the goal and that these actions are represented at different levels of abstraction in the hierarchy. This scenario contains several possibilities for the thwarted planner. Firstly, the planner may continue to repeat the same argument increasing vocal intensity or varying some other aspect of paralinguistics at the same time (Ringle and Bruce cited by Berger (1997:34)). Such paralinguistic alterations would constitute very low-level changes in the plan hierarchy. Secondly, the planner might invoke another specific argument, thus altering the plan at a somewhat more abstract level of the hierarchy. Finally, the planner could modify even more abstract plan elements and the order in which these plan units are enacted. For example, rather than taking the offensive by deploying arguments, the planner might challenge the target to advance arguments for their position, thus raising the possibility that the planner could refute these arguments.

The difficulty with accomplishing alterations to plans that involve highly abstract plan units is that changes in these units imply plan alterations that cascade down the hierarchy and require that less abstract plan units also be altered. Alterations to the sequencing of abstract plan units imply similar processing demands. These plan alteration strategies fly in the face of the two postulates namely: (a) individuals have limited information-processing resources with which to make alterations to plans (Hogarth; Kahneman *et al*; Kunda and Nisbett; Nisbett and Ross cited by Berger (1997:35)) and (b) people won't expend these limited resources (Fisk and Taylor cited by Berger (1997:35)). Consequently, the influence of these postulates suggests the following proposition:

Proposition 6: When people experienced thwarting internal to the interaction, their first response is likely to involve low-level plan hierarchy alterations. Continued thwarting will tend to produce more abstract alterations to plan hierarchies.

This proposition suggests that when goal blocks occur, social interactants will repeat the previous action sequence with minor, low-level variations. Given memory limitation, individuals cannot literally replicate what they have said and done previously even after very short time intervals between repetitions. Individuals who have elevated goal desire levels

should be willing to expend more time and effort to alter plans at more abstract levels when their plans are thwarted (Berger (1997:35)):

Corollary 1: Elevated levels of goals desire will propel planners to make more abstract alterations to plan hierarchies when their plans to reach social goals fail.

In addition, given repeated goal failure, higher levels of goal desire should induce planners to make higher level changes earlier in the goal failure-plan alteration sequence. Stated formally (Berger (1997:35)):

Corollary 2: Planners with high levels of goal desire, who experience repeated thwarting of goal-directed actions, will manifest higher level alterations to their plans earlier in the goal failure-plan alteration sequence than will planners with lower levels of goal desire who experience repeated goal failure.

CHAPTER 3

IMAGE RESTORATION: FAILURE EVENTS

3.1 A THEORY OF IMAGE RESTORATION

3.1.1 Aim of this chapter

This chapter reviews the development of a theory of image restoration discourse. Firstly, the key assumptions that undergird this theory are described. Then, an intergrated typology of image restoration strategies is developed. Finally, the relationship of this theory to other approaches to understanding image restoration discourse is explored.

3.1.2 Assumptions of this Theory

Two key assumptions provide the foundation for this theory of image restoration strategies. Firstly, communication is best conceptualized as goal-directed activity. Secondly, maintaining a positive reputation is one of the central goals of communication. Each of these assumptions will be discussed separately in this section (Benoit 1995:63).

3.1.3 Communication is a Goal-Directed Activity

According to Benoit (1995), one of the earliest and clearest indications of this assumption can be found in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. In the fourth century B.C. Aristotle distinguish three genres of oratory based on the goal of the speaker.

Rhetoric has three distinct ends in view, one for each of its three kinds. The political orator aims at establishing the expediency of the harmfulness of a proposed course of action...Parties in the law-case aim at establishing the justice or injustice of some action.... Those who praise or attack a man aim at proving him worthy of honour or the reverse (1954, 135b21-28).

Each of the three genres Aristotle describes is directly tied to the speaker's goal: *political rhetoric* concerns proving whether a policy should be adopted; *judicial rhetoric* decides

questions of justice or injustice and *epideictic rhetoric* argues that a person is worthy of praise or blame. In this description, the goal is the key defining feature that constitutes the genre (Benoit 1995:64).

Kenneth Burke (1968), whose theory of rhetoric as symbolic action has been extremely influential in recent years, declares that an act “can be called an act in the full sense of the term only if it involves a purpose” (1968:446). Burke does not consider specific conscious purpose to be the central defining characteristics of rhetoric. Even as he attempts to extend the preview of rhetoric, he seems to exclude “aimless utterances”. There is an intermediate area of expression that is not wholly deliberate, yet not wholly unconscious. It lies midway between aimless utterance and speech directly purposive”.

Fisher cited by Benoit (1995:64) is another theorist who recognizes the importance of goals or purpose in discourse, when he asserts that there are four central “motives or kinds of rhetorical situations”. He identifies these as *affirmation*, which creates an image; *reaffirmation*, which revitalizes one; *purification*, which reforms an image and *subversion*, which attacks an image. Thus Fisher construes rhetoric as a goal directed activity and interestingly defines its purpose in relationship to images.

Most rhetorical theorists have considered rhetoric to be the art of persuasion, a declaration typically carrying with it the assumption that rhetorical discourse is purposeful. Thus much of the literature of rhetorical theory in general, assumes that rhetoric is a goal directed, purposeful or intentional activity.

The assumption that communication is goal directed can also be found in the literature of communication theory (e.g, Halliday, 1973). Clark and Clark, for example, declare that “speaking is fundamentally and instrumental act” (1997:223). Several scholars have asserted that all messages have content and relational dimensions (see, e.g, Reusch and Bateson, (1951); Watzlawik, Beavin and Jackson; (1967)). Closely related to this claim is the idea that communication can be motivated by a limited set of intents, purposes or goals. One fairly popular typology of communication purposes is advanced by (Clark and Delia cited by Benoit (1995:65)), who indicate that there are three...:

Issues or objectives explicitly or implicitly present for overt or tacit negotiation in every communicative transaction: (1) Overtly instrumental objectives, in which a response is required from one's listener(s) related to a specific obstacle or problem defining the task of the communicative situation, (2) interpersonal objectives, involving the establishment or maintenance of a relationship with the other(s) and, (3) identity objectives, in which there is management of the communicative situation to the end of presenting a desired self image for the speaker and maintaining a particular sense of self for the others.

The key point is that the view of communication as goal-directed, while perhaps not universal, pervades writing in our field, transcending particular contexts of interpersonal communication or rhetorical theory. Craig cited by Benoit (1995) declares that "a practical discipline of communication in which the concept of goal would not be central is difficult to imagine and the pragmatic language of goal, decision and consequence is in fact the common coin of the discipline of speech communication that has emerged. Hence, it is appropriate to construe communication and rhetoric to be goal driven activities.

Any assumption as broad as this one is likely to require qualifications and this one is no exception (Benoit 1995:65). Firstly, communicators may well have multiple goals that are not completely compatible. In such circumstances, behavior that functions further one goal may well mean that other goals remain partially or completely unmet. It is even possible that utterances intended to further one goal may harm attainment of another. People try to achieve the goals that seem most important to them at the time they act or to achieve the best mix of the goals that appears possible. Secondly, at times a person's goals, motives or purposes are vague, ill formed or unclear. Nevertheless, to the extent a person's goals are clear, he or she will try to behave in ways that help to accomplish them. Furthermore, even when a communicator has a clear conception of a particular goal, that does not necessarily mean that he or she is aware of or is willing or able to use the most effective means for achieving that goal. To the extent a particular goal is salient to a communicator, he or she will pursue that goal by enacting the behavior that the communicator believes is likely to achieve that goal and has tolerable costs.

Thirdly, Benoit (1995:66) says that "he does not claim that people devote the same amount of attention to each and every communicative encounter, micromanaging all utterances and all

characteristics of an utterance, constantly identifying goals and unceasingly planning behavior to accomplish them". Some behavior is automatic rather than controlled (Kellermann; Schneider and Shiffrin; Hamble cited by Benoit (1995:66)). In situations that are particularly important to us, we do plan aspects of our utterances carefully. In other situations, we devote as much cognitive effort to producing goal directed discourse as seems reasonable and necessary to us.

Finally, when an individual's goals are relatively clear, it may be difficult for others (e.g. critics) to identify a communicator's goal(s). According to Benoit (1995:66), multiple goals including "hidden agendas" complicate matters for critics. If a person's goals are unclear to that person, it should be difficult for a critic to identify them. Another problem in identifying communicator's goals arises because people sometimes attempt to deceive or mislead others about their goals. Furthermore, certain artifacts e.g. television shows, films, artwork may not have readily identifiable persuasive goals, purposes or intents for the critic to discover. Despite these reservations, communication generally is best understood as an intentional activity. Communicators attempt to devise utterances that they believe will best achieve the goals that are most salient to them when they communicate (Benoit 1995:66).

Benoit further states that when people have goals or desires that they believe communication can help to accomplish, they present the messages that they think will be instrumental in obtaining their goals. If there is more than one means of accomplishing a goal, they will choose the utterance that they believe maximizes the likelihood of success or the utterance that they believe has the fewest costs or the utterance that they believe also facilitates another goal. If people believe more than one utterance is required to accomplish their goal, they will offer several messages. They believe the utterance is one they are capable of performing, that is likely to help accomplish their goals and that does not have unreasonable costs.

Thus, communication is best conceptualized as an instrumental activity. Communicative acts are intended to attain goals important to the communicators who perform them. These utterances are ones which the communicators believe will help accomplish with reasonable cost, goals that are salient to the actor at the time they are made.

3.2 MAINTAINING A FAVORABLE REPUTATION IS A KEY GOAL OF COMMUNICATION

Benoit argues that the second key assumption of this theory of image restoration is that, maintaining a favorable impression is an important goal in interaction. The need for discourse designed to restore our reputation arises because as human beings, we inevitably engage in behavior that makes us vulnerable to attack. Conflict over goals or ends often creates dissension. These four elements, limited resources, external events, human error and conflicting goals combine to insure that actual or perceived wrong doing is a recurring feature of human behavior (Benoit 1995:67).

What are the consequences of such inevitable untoward behavior? Semin and Manstead cited by Benoit (1995:68) report that when “breaches of conduct” occur, “actors assume that they have projected a negative image of themselves, even if the breach is an unintentional one”. Furthermore, they indicate that “the threat of potential negative imputations to the self in the shape of anticipated negative dispositional inferences that an observer may make, increases with the degree of blame and responsibility that can be inferred from the act” (Manstead and Semin; Semin cited by Benoit (1995:68)). Thus, human beings worry that others will think less of them when apparent misdeeds occur, and this threat to their image is thought to increase as their responsibility increases.

Exacerbating the tendency to feel guilty ourselves, others are often quick to criticize us when this kind of misbehavior occurs. They may complain about what we said or did, about things we did not say or do even about the manner in which we did or said something. McLaughlin *et al* cited by Benoit (1995:68) identified four types of reproaches or utterances that provoke accounts or apologies: expressing surprise or disgust, suggesting that the person being reproached is morally or intellectually inferior, requesting an account and rebuking another person. It is clear that a variety of possible reproaches or complaints can assail reputation or face.

Thus, our vulnerability to criticism leads to (internal) guilt and (external) threats to our face, both of which motivate a reaction from the actor. What happens when we believe that negatively perceived events threaten our reputation? Goffman (1967:27) explains that “When

a face has been threatened, face work must be done”. Clark and Delia cited by Benoit (1995:69) identify the identity objective as a key goal in communication and Fisher cited by Benoit (1995:69) suggests that one of the basic motives of rhetoric is purification of an image.

Why is face or image so important that persuasive attack motivate defensive responses? Firstly, face or reputation is a crucial commodity because it contributes to a healthy self-image. Snyder *et al* (1983:29) explain that, “Achieving and maintaining a positive self-image have been postulated as important motivational variables throughout the history of psychology. This is true because problematic events threats to face have a variety of undesirable consequences, as Schlenker (1980:131) explains:

The more severe a predicament is, the greater the negative repercussions for an actor. The actor should experience greater internal distress such as anxious and guilt, receive greater negative sanctions from audiences and produce greater damage to his or her identity-thereby adversely affecting relationships with the audience.

Thus, the literature concerning communication and interaction assumes that a person’s face, image, reputation or perceived character is extremely important.

A second reason why image or reputation is important concerns its role in the influence process. For example, in the Antidosis, Isocrates cited by Benoit (1995:69) makes it clear that he considers the speaker’s *ethos* or prior reputation to be important to the effectiveness of discourse:

The man who wishes to persuade people will not be negligent as the matter of character; no, on the contrary, he will apply himself above all to establish a most honourable name among his fellow-citizens; for who does not know that words carry a greater conviction when spoken by men of good repute than when spoken by men who live under a cloud and that the argument which is made by a man’s life is of more weight than that which is furnished by words?

Isocrates cited by Benoit (1995:70) goes so far as to argue that a rhetor’s prior reputation is a more important factor in persuasion than arguments and evidence:

probabilities and proofs and all forms of persuasion support only the points in a case to which they are severally applied, whereas an honourable reputation not only lends greater persuasiveness to the words of the man who possesses it, but adds greater luster to his deeds, and is, therefore more zealously to be sought after by men of intelligence than anything else in the world.

Thus, the assumption that ethos, credibility or reputation is important pervades the rhetorical literature. Aristotle (1954), for example writes that “We believe good men more fully and more readily than others. Thus, for classical rhetoricians Isocrates and Aristotle, ethos is extremely important in persuasion. Attitude change theory and research also support the importance of credibility in facilitating persuasiveness (Andersen and Clevenger; Benoit; Littlejohn cited by Benoit (1995:70)). One important goal of discourse is to establish and maintain a positive image or reputation.

Because one’s face, image or reputation is so important, Brown and Levinson (1978:66) observe that “people can be expected to defend their faces if threatened”. Empirical evidence confirms the claim that perceived embarrassment is positively correlated with amount of facework (Modigliani cited by Benoit (1995:70)). When our reputation is threatened, we feel compelled to offer explanations, defenses, justifications, rationalizations, apologies or excuses for our behavior. Because blame and criticism or complaints occur throughout human society and because face is important for virtually everyone, this phenomenon, a felt need to cleanse one’s reputation through discourse, occurs in all our lives, public and private.

3.3 IMAGE RESTORATION DISCOURSE

The theory of image restoration assumes that communication is, in general a goal-directed activity. It focuses on one particular goal in discourse: restoring or protecting one’s reputation, this is not the only goal or necessarily the most important goal for a specific actor in a given situation. It is one of the central goals in communication (Benoit 1995:71).

Because our face image or reputation is so important to us, when we believe it is threatened, we are motivated to take action to alleviate this concern. According to Benoit (1995:71) the way in which these image restoration strategies function to repair one’s damage reputation can be understood through an analysis of the nature of attacks, reproaches or complaints.

Fundamentally, an attack on one's image, face or reputation is comprised of two components: (1) an act occurred which is undesirable, (2) You are responsible for that action. Only if both of these conditions are believed to be true by the relevant audience is the actor's reputation at risk and only if the actor perceives that the salient audience believes these two conditions are true is the actor likely to employ image restoration discourse (Benoit 1995:71-72). These conditions will be explained separately.

Firstly, for one's reputation to be threatened, a reprehensible act must have been committed. If nothing bad happened or if the actor believes that what happened is not considered to be offensive by the salience audience, and then the actor's face is not threatened. Before actors will be concerned about negative effects on their reputation, they must believe that a salient audience disapproves of the action (it is the actor's perceptions of the audience's beliefs not their actual beliefs that prompts defensive discourse) Benoit (1995:72). "Action" must be construed broadly to include words as well as deeds and to include failure to perform expected actions as well as performance of dispreferred actions, (in other words acts of omission and commission). It seems reasonable to assume that the more serious the offence the more vile the action, the more people harmed by it, the longer or more wide-spread the negative effects, the greater the damage to the actor's reputation.

Secondly, damage to one's face requires that the actor be held responsible for the occurrence of that reprehensible act by the relevant audience. No matter what happened or how terrible it was, it is not reasonable to form an unfavorable impression of a person who is not thought to be responsible for the act. The key point is not whether the actor caused the damage, but whether the relevant audience believes the actor to be the source of the reprehensible act. If a person is thought to be responsible for an act perceived as undesirable, that person's reputation is likely to suffer (Benoit 1995:72). Perceptions are important as with offensiveness of the action. Before people are prompted to restore their image, they must believe the audience holds them responsible (for an act they think the audience believes is offensive) Benoit (1995:72).

Just as the undesirable of the act exists on a continuum, responsibility is often not a simple true or false proposition. If several persons jointly committed the act, we might not necessarily hold them all fully responsible, but may apportion the blame among them. Some (e.g. leaders, instigators ones who played a particularly important role in commission of the

act) might be held to be more responsible for the reprehensible act than others. We tend to hold people more accountable for the effects they intended and to hold them less blameworthy for unintended or unexpected effects. It seems reasonable to assume that a person's reputation will suffer in proportion to the extent to which they are personally or individually held responsible for the undesirable act (including the extent to which they are believed to have intended the act and its consequences) Benoit (1995:72-73).

Benoit (1995) argues that viewing the image restoration event in terms of how attacks function explains how image restoration strategies work. Some of the defenses attempt to deny that an undesirable act occurred or that the accused was the one who performed it. If no reprehensible act actually occurred, the accused's reputation should not be damaged. If the accused did not commit it (either denying that the accused did the deed or *shifting the blame* for the deed to another), again the accused's face should not be damaged by that action. It is possible that because dynamics of attitude formation and change the accused's image may not, even after an effective denial be restored fully to its level before the attack. A successful denial should substantially restore the image.

Another defensive possibility is to attempt to evade or reduce responsibility for the undesirable act. In such cases, one may not be able to completely deny responsibility but may attempt to reduce perceived responsibility for the act. One may claim to have been **provoked** and thus not solely responsible. A person may offer a defense of **defeasibility** that the action was due to lack of information or ability and hence not entirely one's own fault. A third possibility is to declare that the action occurred **accidentally**. Or one may claim that the act was performed with **good intentions**. Each of these strategies seeks to reduce the accused's perceived responsibility for the reprehensible act and hence mitigate the damage to reputation from that act. Successful use of strategies to evade responsibility should improve the image of the accused, but may not restore it completely.

It is also possible to reduce the perceived offensiveness of the act through several strategies. **Bolstering** attempts to improve the accused's reputation in hopes of offsetting or making up for the damage to the image from undesirable act. **Minimization** reduces the magnitude of the negative feelings attributed to the act, in hopes of lessening the ill feelings directed to the accused. **Differentiation** and **transcendence** in their different ways, attempt to reduce the negative affect associated with the act. **Attacking the accuser**, if the accuser is the injured

party may reduce the audience's sympathy to the injured party, thus lessening the perceptions of the severity of the harmful act. (Incidentally, this strategy may reduce the impact of the attack by reducing the credibility of the attacker). **Compensation** is a strategy designed to reduce the perceived severity of the injury. These strategies all function to reduce the offensiveness of the event. Because the threat to the accused's image should be a function of the offensiveness of the act, successful use of these strategies should help to restore reputation Benoit (1995:73-74).

The remaining image restoration strategies may be explicable more through cultural norms than through an analysis of the nature of the attack. Most people realize that human beings make mistakes. If a person commits an offense, the offender may come to regret it. The audience may well forgive a person who manages to assure them that, whatever that actor might have done in the past, he or she will take corrective action. This may take the form of remedying the problem or promising not to repeat this error. Finally, an actor who engages in *mortification* (an apparently sincere apology, expression of regret, and request for forgiveness) may salvage a damaged reputation. These actions can restore at least partially, the actor's image.

The working of many of the image restoration strategies can be explained through an analysis of the essential nature of reproaches or attacks. An act must portray an act in an unfavorable light and attribute responsibility for that act to the accused. Defensive may attempt to rehabilitate an image by denying or reducing responsibility for that act or by construing the act less negatively (or offsetting its offensiveness). Other defensive strategies (i.e. mortification) may have more cultural basis.

3.4 TYPOLOGY OF IMAGE RESTORATION STRATEGIES

This desire to offer a typology that is more complete than those found in the rhetorical literature while avoiding the extreme detail found in some descriptions of accounts leads to the list of strategies in this typology of image restoration. Image restoration strategies are organized into five broad categories, three of which have variants or subcategories: denial, evading responsibility, reducing offensiveness, corrective action and mortification. Many scholars have dealt with these strategies and I will mention many of them as they are cited by Benoit (1995:74-75).

3.4.1 Denial

Any person who is forced to defend himself or herself against the suspicions or attacks of others has several options. The speaker may deny performing the wrongful act as Ware and Linkugel cited by Benoit (1995:75) suggest. Goffman cited by Benoit (1995:75) observes that the accused may deny the act occurred or that the accused committed it. Schonbach cited by Benoit (1995:75) suggests that one may claim the failure event did not occur. Schlenker (1980) lists innocence as an option. Tedeschi and Reiss cited by Benoit (1995:75) discuss denial of agency, and Semin and Manstead cited by Benoit (1995:75) mention mistakes identity as a defensive option. Whether the accused denies that the offensive act actually occurred or denies that he or she performed it, either option if accepted, should absolve the actor of culpability. One strategy for dealing with attacks then, is simply to deny the undesirable action. It is possible to reinforce one's denial. Denial may be supplemented with explanations of apparently damaging facts or lack of supporting evidence.

A popular defense strategy in criminal trials is the *alibi*. This is basically a witness who testifies that the accused was elsewhere at the time of the crime and hence cannot have committed the crime. The effect of an alibi is to provide evidence that if accepted denies that the defendant committed the crime.

When a person uses denial, others may wonder "Well if you did not do it, who did it?" Burke cited by Benoit (1995:75) discusses victimage or shifting the blame, and Schonbach cited by Benoit (1995:75) suggests that a form of refusal is applying guilt to another person. This strategy can be considered a variant of denial, because the accused cannot have committed the repugnant act if someone else actually did it. This strategy may well be more effective than simple denial, for two reasons. Firstly, it provides a target for any ill will the audience may feel and this ill feeling may be shifted away from the accused. Secondly, it answers the question that may make the audience hesitate to accept a simple denial: "Who did it?"

3.4.2 Evading Responsibility

Those who are unable to deny performing the act in question may be able to evade or reduce their apparent responsibility for it. Four variants of this strategy can be identified. Scott and Lyman's version cited by Benoit (1995) of scapegoating renamed provocation, suggested that

the actor may claim that the act in question was performed in response to another wrongful act, which understandably provoked the offensive act in question. If the other person agrees that the actor was justifiably provoked, the provocateur may be held responsible instead of the actor. Schonbach; Semin and Manstead cited by Benoit (1995:76) also discussed provocation as an account.

A second strategy for evading responsibility is defeasibility (Scott and Lyman cite by Benoit (1995:76)), pleading lack of information about or control over important factors in the situation. Schonbach; Tedeschi and Reiss; Semin and Manstead cited by Benoit (1995:76) identify a number of variants of defeasibility. Rather than denying that the act occurred, the actor attempts to suggest that lack of information, volition or ability means that he or she should not be held fully responsible for the act. This strategy if effective should reduce the perceived responsibility of the accused for the failure event.

Thirdly, the actor may make an excuse based on accidents (Scott and Lyman; Tedeschi and Reiss; or Semin and Manstead cited by Benoit (1995:76)). We tend to hold others responsible only for factors they can reasonable be expected to control. For example, when people are late to a meeting, we may not hold them completely responsible if unforeseeable traffic congestion caused their tardiness. Again rather than deny that the offensive act occurred, the accused attempts to provide information that may reduce his or her apparent responsibility for the offensive act.

A fourth possibility is for the actor to suggest that performance of the action in question may be justified on the basis of motives or intentions (discussed by Ware and Linkugel, (1973) as a part of denial). Here the wrongful act is not denied, yet the audience is asked not to hold the actor fully responsible because it was done with good, rather than evil intentions. People who do badly while trying to do well are usually not blamed as much as those who intend to do badly.

3.4.3 Reducing Offensiveness

A person accused of misbehavior may attempt to reduce the degree of ill feeling experienced by the audience. This approach to image repair has six variants: bolstering, minimization,

differentiation, transcendence, attacking one's accuser and compensation. Each one will be briefly explained.

Bolstering (Ware and Linkugel, (1973)) may be used to mitigate the negative effects of the act on the actor by strengthening the audience's positive affect for the rhetor. Those accused of wrong-doing might relate positive attributes they possess or positive actions they have performed in the past. While the amount of guilt or negative affect from the accusation remains the same, increasing positive feeling toward the actor may help offset the negative feelings toward the act, yielding a relative improvement in the actor's reputation. This strategy might be more effective if the positive traits or actions appear relevant to the accusations or suspicions.

Secondly, it is possible for the accused to attempt to minimize the amount of negative affect associated with the offensive act. If the rhetor can convince the audience that the negative act is not as bad as it might appear, the amount of ill feeling associated with that act is reduced. To the extent this strategy is successful; the person's reputation is restored. Sykes and Matza; Scott and Lyman; Schonbach; Schlenker; Tedeschi and Reiss; and Semin and Manstead cited by Benoit (1995:77) all discuss denial or minimization of injury or victim as accounting strategies.

A third possible strategy for *minimizing* the offensiveness of an action is to engage in *differentiation* (Ware and Linkugel cited by Benoit (1995:77)). Here the rhetor attempts to distinguish the act performed from other similar but less offensive, this may have the effect of lessening the audience's negative feelings toward the act and the actor.

The actor can employ *transcendence* (Ware and Linkugel cited by Benoit (1995:77)). This strategy for image restoration functions by placing the act in a different context. Ware and Linkugel (1973) specifically discuss placing the action in a broader context, but it can be useful to simply suggest a different frame of reference.

At times those accused of wrong doing *attack their accusers* as suggested by Rosenfield cited by Benoit (1995:78). If the credibility of the source of accusations can be reduced, the damage to one's image from those accusations may be diminished. If the accuser is also the victim of the offensive act, the apologist may create the impression that the victim deserved what befell

him or her; attacking the accuser may tend to lessen the perceived unpleasantness of the action in question (Semin and Manstead cited by Benoit, (1995:78)), again improving the rhetor's reputation. It is also possible that attacking one's accuser may divert the audience's attention away from the original accusation, reducing damage to the rhetor's image.

Compensation is a final potential strategy for reducing the offensiveness of an action (Schonbach cited by Benoit (1995:78)). Here the person offers to remunerate the victim to help offset the negative feeling arising from the wrongful act. This redress may take the form of valued goods or services as well as monetary reimbursement. In effect, compensation functions as a bribe. If the accuser accepts the proffered inducement and if it has sufficient value, the negative effect from the undesirable act may be outweighed restoring reputation.

None of these six strategies of decreasing offensiveness denies that the actor committed the objectionable act or attempts to diminish the actor's responsibility for that act. All attempt to reduce the unfavorable feelings toward the actor by increasing the audience's esteem for the actor or by decreasing their negative feelings about the act.

3.4.4 Corrective Action

In this strategy for image restoration, the accused vows to correct the problem. This may take two forms: restoring the situation to the state of affairs before the objectionable action or promising to "mend one's ways" and make changes to prevent the recurrence of the undesirable act. If the problem is one that could recur, the actor's position may be enhanced by provision of assurances that changes will prevent it from happening again. Goffman cited by Benoit (1995:79) mentions this possibility as a component of an apology. One can take corrective action without admitting guilty. The difference between this strategy and compensation is that corrective action addresses the actual source of injury (offering to rectify past damage or prevent its recurrence), while compensation consists of a gift designed to counterbalance rather than to correct the injury.

CHAPTER 4

NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS

4.1 NARRATIVE ACCOUNT

4.1.1 Introduction

In December 1995 scholars from psychology, philosophy, social sciences, literary theory, classics, psychiatry, communication and film theory gathered to explore from the vantage points of their discipline and their individual work, the importance of narrative as an expressive embodiment of our experience, as a mode of communication and as a form for understanding the world and ultimately ourselves (Brockmeier and Carbaugh, 2001).

According to Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) a central issue around which almost all presentations and discussions revolved was the question how we construct what we call our lives and how we create ourselves in the process. The various approaches to these questions and to possible answers outlined at the conference focus on the process of autobiographical identity construction. What all of them highlight is that, the construction of *self* and *life* worlds draw on a particular genre of language usage: *narration*.

Not many questions in Western literature and thought have a longer, deeper and livelier intellectual history than how we give meaning to our lives and how we construct ourselves as personal and cultural beings. But this question is newly alive today, for modern scholars in various disciplines have brought new challenging perspectives to our understanding of human identity construction. These are the perspectives of narrative study (Brockmeier and Carbaugh, 2001).

4.1.2 Worlds in narrative

The notions of identity and narrative stand for two large areas of intellectual problems that have been studied in a variety of disciplines and from diverse theoretical point of view. There have been few and rather accidental connections between the areas of inquiry concerned with either identity or narrative, for example psychology, literature and literary theory, while the psychological investigation of human nature has claimed a particular competence for subject

matters like memory, mind and the self, countless texts of literature and literary criticism have been exploring the linguistic nature of the same aspects of human existence. Both approaches have almost entirely ignored each other, that is no wonder as literary critic Albright cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) remarks, because they only seem to be concerned with the same subject. Their intellectual interests as well as their concepts of human nature are fundamentally different. “Literature”, Albright cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) writes, “is a wilderness, psychology is a garden”. Albright claims that literature is fascinated by undomesticated nature with all its irregularities and deformations, while psychology is obsessed with gardening instruments and methodological cleanliness. Scholars believe that traditional psychological issues of memory and identity may be enriched when they are integrated with matters of language, discourse and narration.

In developing the line of argument, this chapter draws on various ongoing developments. Each has been opening up the scope of narrative study, deepening our understanding of the very notion of narrative. In a number of disciplines and fields of inquiry, a new awareness of narrative construction has grown. There is an increasing awareness about two aspects of the narrative fabric of human knowledge and communication. More and more scholars have become aware of meandering, discursive web of narrative in which all our knowledge is entangled; on the other hand, the same is true for the way we gain or construct knowledge. In terms of a historical epistemology of the human sciences, the narrative and discursive turn stands for a number of attempts to explore new constructionist perspectives that have come into sight as a complement to the positivist paradigm.

According to Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) in what follows, scholars want to sketch some phenomenological aspects of the inquiries that currently take place in the world of narrative studies. But we better speak of these as “worlds of narrative”, considering many different communities and cultures of narrative study (Brockmeier and Carbaugh, 2001). Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) begin with a worldview of narrative that can draw on a long intellectual history: the world of literary narrative and narratology. There is an unparalleled scholarship with which the narrative fabric of literary production and reception is being examined in hundreds of languages and literatures. As these fields of inquiry have steadily expanded, their margins have become fuzzy, such study has developed the idea that literary texts presume “textual realities” in a sense that goes far beyond the traditional philologist notion of text as simply the written word. New theoretical approaches have freed themselves not only from this

orthodox conception of literary texts, but also of literacy. Dealing with phenomena of the mind, communication, visual and performing arts, public spaces, material artifacts and other forms of culture, these approaches have redefined traditional concepts of narrative as well as developed different methodological instruments. Consider the following three examples.

The first and most significant example of a different vision of narrative is the development of narratology and contemporary narrative theory itself. The traditional project of narratology has undergone radical changes that sometimes make it difficult to remember its beginnings. Narratology emerged in the 1960s and 1970s as a particular structuralist way of studying written narrative texts, primarily of fictional literature. Since then, narratology has moved towards an interdisciplinary semiotic and cultural theory of narrative texts and contexts. Narrative texts are all sign systems that organize meanings along narrative lines. This includes visual, auditive and three dimensional sign systems both static and dynamic, such as physical activities like dance and sport events, artifacts of remembrance like memorials and museum displays, social rituals like funerals and public ceremonies and other cultural phenomena like fashion and landscape design. The narratology of such texts, as Bal cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) pointed out, is the theory of oral and written genres of language, images, spectacles, events and cultural artifacts that “tell a story”.

This is an important development of a discipline that came into existence under the name of *narratologie* as a French structuralism and as grandchild of Russian and Czech formalism. From the point of view of today’s semiotic, cultural and “natural” conceptions of narrative, as represented by authors like Bal (1997), Fludernik (1996), Lachmann (1997), Newton (1995), Toolan (1988, 1996), traditional narratology had important contributions to make, but also carried the limitations of classical structuralism. Particularly limiting these authors find were its adamant positivistic claims, reductionistic formalist explanations, reliance on generative causal mechanisms and an inaccessible idiosyncratic vocabulary, its jargon of technical “scientificity”.

In order to understand the alleged limitations of structuralism, it is helpful to remember what the structuralist enterprise of narratology. It can be described by four characteristics. Firstly, it conceived of narrative as a sort of *Saussureian language*, a system of invariant forms and rules ignoring it as *parole*, as language which is effectively used in concrete cultural contexts. As the structuralist narratologist put it: “If structuralism generally concentrates on the *langue*

or code underlying a given system or practice rather than concentrating on parole or instantiation of that system of practice, narratology specifically focuses on narrative langue rather than narrative parole” (Prince cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001)). Second characteristic, traditional narratology sought to formulate what it assumed to lie beyond the “surface structure” of stories: a Chomskyian “deep structure” of narrative whose studies were to reveal universal systems of codes. The classical narratological project can be viewed as a modern or modernist version of the older attempt to discover a “universal grammar” (Herman cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001)). Thirdly, structuralist narratology took linguistics as its explanatory role model, limiting it to sentence-level syntax, rather than focusing upon systems-of-use-in-contexts. And fourthly, it aimed to apply universally the analytical model of “duality of patterning”, a model based upon dualistic thought that brought contrastive analyses to structures internal to language.

An increasing part of today’s narrative theory in extending its scope and cultural interest, has distanced itself from the “grand narratives of structuralism” and its focal concerns upon invariant rules, deep structures, sentences and dualism. Bal’s intellectual development can be traced in the three very different versions of her book on narratology (1977; 1985; 1997), which reflect the transformation of the field. In her (1997) book, she points out that she has come to see narratology no longer as an end in itself, but as an instrument, a “heuristic tool”, that can be and must be used in conjunction with other concerns and theories. Narrative analysis turns into an activity of “cultural analysis”, into a form of interpretation of culture. In Bal’s studies cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001), invariant structures of sentences and linguistic forms give way to variable structures of narrative texts in their cultural contexts.

4.2 THE NOTION OF NARRATIVE IN THE HUMAN SCIENCES

There are two developments that have shifted traditional notions of narrative. Both can be traced to understandings of fictional and nonfictional narratives that have taken form in diverse post-structuralist approaches, ranging from literary and cultural narratology to sociolinguistics, conversation and discourse pragmatics. There have been extensive applications of the concept of narrative that have widened the scope and consequently the very nature of the study of narrative. At the same time, there has been a growing interest across the human sciences in treating narratives as the means through which social and cultural life comes into being, an interests that includes the narrative and rhetorical fabric that

underlies most of our knowledge including scientific thought (Brockmeier and Carbaugh, (2001)).

From early on in human development, narrative practices provide fundamental devices that give form and meaning to our experience (Bamberg cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001)). As Bruner cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) argues, whenever it comes to matters of identity and inextricably interwoven with it, autobiographical memory, story-telling is needed. The stories we tell ourselves about others organize our senses of who we are, who others are and how we are to be related. How we learn to tell such stories to understand and assess them and to use particular ones in order to achieve particular goals is, for Bruner cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001), what the “culture of education” is all about.

This view is distinct from and aims to complement the traditional individualistic focus and the mentalistic epistemology of psychology. How a life and in the process, a self is constructed is a question to be examined in the light of the narrative forms and discursive formats that are provided by culture and used by individuals in certain social events. Viewed in this way, narrative is a central hinge between culture and mind.

The “cultural way” of looking at things is not limited to psychology. Already at an early point of the narrative turn, the philosopher MacIntyre cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) set out to show that narration is the basic and essential genre for the characterization of human action. A psychologist tells one story of human nature, an anthropologist another, and both stories are not only bound to the inherent “narrativity” of their particular subject matter, but each also to a culturally established set of rhetoric and literary devices. Geertz cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) point out that, “these are not least devices of positioning and self fashioning. Similarly, ethnographer Bruner cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) remarked that there is a momentous dialectic between story and experience and this might be true in a twofold sense. He argues that the production of ethnography is continually oriented toward what he calls the dominant narrative structure. “We go to the reservation with a story already in mind and that story is foregrounded in the final professional product, the published article, and chapter or monography. Bruner cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) concludes that at the beginning and the end the production of ethnography is somehow being framed by a dominant story. The canonical story becomes the matrix of experience according to which the collection and interpretation of narratives “in the field” is being laid out. What

we face here in the end, is a double dialectic between story and experience. It seems that the only way to tackle this as it were inescapable hermeneutic constellation is to dedicate great attention explicitly to the “framing” that stories bring with them and to the “local” narrative constraints that are at work in a cultural world and explore their relationships to the possibilities of experience.

There are a number of scholars in various social sciences who have especially reflected upon narrative frames at work, seeing narrative both as an organizing concept or a “root metaphor” and as a methodological orientation from which to study life. For example, in rhetoric and communication studies, Fisher cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) suggested that all symbolic action can be understood as part and parcel of stories, in that such action is grounded in particular histories and cultures with narrative formulations creating a rhetorical reserve of those very histories and cultures. As a result, narrative is erected upon a universal value logic of presumable “good reasons” that itself presumes particular beliefs and actions as a condition for its production, a view that is quite similar to Bruner’s (1996) idea of narrative as the very fabric of “folk psychology”. All of this, as Fisher cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) argues, is and ought to be assessable through a basic human capacity, the ability of people to utilize a rhetorical logic of narration. All symbolic interaction, including its countless genres of discourse, therefore could and should be read into a larger narrative, constructed by the analyst in order to provide an account of the particular values and logics that are present in the symbolic active, the analyst can formulate narratives as a way of revealing how values and rationalities are pressed into rhetorical service. This is done in Fisher’s (1989) case by constructing “logic of good reasons”, in Bruner’s (1996) by positing a folk psychology of “narrative prototypes”.

These perspectives on narrative have also found expression in a particular approach to the study of discourse including narrative discourse, which has become known as “discursive psychology”. Discursive psychology, as developed by Harre and Gillet; Edwards cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) and others, combines sociopsychological and linguistic insights with a philosophical line of argument that finds its origin in the later work of Wittgenstein and the philosophy of “ordinary language”. Bruner cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) operates similarly, even closer along the intellectual lines of psychology. Opening a new door for psychological investigations, he seeks to provide access to a space where traditional issues such as the mind, memory, cognitive and linguistic development

become resituated within a larger cultural and discursive matrix. “Narrative psychology” merges into a new interpretive cultural psychology, a project also advocated by Cole and Shweder cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001). Classical psychology concerns are moved from internal workings of the mind into the discursive arena. Jerome Bruner, Edward Bruner, Cole, Edwards, Geertz, Harre, Gillet, Shweder and others stand for various approaches that are sensitive to local cultural dynamics, each proposing narrative as a paradigm that promises to explore these dynamics and their sociohistorical groundings.

In conversation and discourse analysis the story of narrative is told with a different, more sociological accent. The focus shifts even more to narrative in the context of its telling, to the fact that stories are collective or collaborative productions that not only take place under particular social conditions, but are social actions. Examining how stories activate a personal and social dialectic, Johnstone cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) found that in the narrative process various senses of personal identities and social relationships are constructed simultaneously. Johnstone’s analyses of **Stories, Community and Places** highlight the intimate link between narrative and environment, each providing tellers with a variety of themes that express a sense of who they are through the idea of where they are. Stories, Johnstone cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) emphasized are told as identities are constructed-in particular places. It is stories that connect the identity of people with the identity of places and spaces; in fact it is here where the very sense of a local identity emerges and takes shape.

Similar notions of narrative have been developed in anthropology and folklore, drawing attention to the situated accomplishment of stories and storytelling treating them as cultural performance. Bauman’s book **Story, Performance, and Event** (1986) is a fine example of just this understanding of narrative. Bauman cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) demonstrates how the investigation of narrative is a study of social and cultural life. His aims, like Johnstone is to offer insights into both the symbolic fabric of local lives and the general role stories play in creating and fashioning societies.

One position in the contrary camp is held by Carr cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) who agrees on the fundamental time ordering function of narrative, but contends that narratives is only an analytical form that has to be imposed upon our experience. Carr cited by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) claims that in as far as all human reality including

experience and memory, is inherently temporal, it is also inherently narrative. We do not have experience if not in a form of sequences that are structured teleological from a beginning to an end, quite like historical and fictional narrative. We do not have access to reality, including the reality of our lives, if that reality is not intrinsically narrative (Brockmeier and Carbaugh 2001).

4.3 TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF NARRATIVE

The word “narrative” comes from the Indo-European root “gna”, meaning both “to tell” and “to know”. In traditional cultures, whose social bonds were created and sustained by customs narratives could define “what (had) the right to be said and done.” And in the more scientific cultures of high modernity, certain “metanarratives,” especially the stories of popular emancipation and the speculative unification of all knowledge, continued to furnish legitimacy in social cohesion by now even these stories have lost credibility. What we often perceive as a loss of meaning amounts then, to the eclipse of narrative knowledge as such and its replacement by other forms of cognition, especially technical ones. Correspondingly, it was long the case in many fields of study that “to choose not to tell a story was to be more modern.” (Hinchman and Hinchman (1997:xiii)).

Indeed, the overwhelming impression one gets from surveying the “narrative turn” in the human sciences today is that, more than ever before, they have assimilated the idiom of literary criticism in which narrative has always played a very big part. The more radical elements even want to claim that *everything* is a story, including even mathematics and scientific theories. If such claims are to be believed, narrative knowledge, far from fading out, bids fair to monopolize *all* other forms of cognition by converting them to forms of storytelling. Narratives appear to reaffirm the plurality of stories that different cultures and subcultures may tell about themselves. According to Hinchman and Hinchman (1997:xiv) storytelling becomes for its supporters an act of resistance against a dominant “Cartesian” paradigm of rationality.

According to Hinchman and Hinchman (1997:xv) they argue that, “to evaluate the arguments developed by the theorists need out preliminary definition of narrative as well as to specify what narrative is not.”

One such feature of narratives or stories as we may also call them identifies stories as forms of discourse that place events in a sequential order with a clear beginning, middle and end. In other words, a narrative is not just a list nor is it even a series of case studies or vignettes. Though one might encounter a demurrer or two, the sequence must “add up” to something; the units so ordered must have an intrinsic, meaningful connection to one another. By this criterion annals and chronicles would not count as full-fledged narrative, because they only tell “what happened” across a stretch of time without showing the continuities among the events depicted. The stronger versions of narratives can actually explain and not merely describe although the type of explanation they offer would differ from the deductive models standards in natural science Hinchman and Hinchman (1997:xv).

Narrativists recognize that stories do not simply mirror reality; storytelling inevitably involves selectivity, rearranging of elements, redescription and simplification. Proponents have struggled to find terms adequate to express the way narratives convey what is true about the world. Some equate them with “paradigms;” another prefers to call them “capsule views of reality;” a third, “interpretive devices;” a fourth, “world views.” The common thread is the notion that narrative somehow mediates between self and world, either evoking or simply creating order and meaning Hinchman and Hinchman (1997:xvi).

Enriching the range of theoretical discourse with the particular hope of expanding the potential for human practices is one of the central challenges for constructionist scholarship. One of the most inviting theoretical departures because of its affinity with constructionist metatheory arises from relational theory, the attempt to account for human action in terms of relational process. It attempts to move beyond the single individual to acknowledge the reality of relationship. Here, “Gergen want to propose a relational view of self-conception, one that view self-conception not as an individual’s personal and private cognitive structure but as *discourse* about the self-the performance of language available in the public sphere”. “Gergen replace the traditional concern with conceptual categories (self-concepts, schemas, self-esteem), with the self as a narration rendered intelligible within ongoing relationships” (Gergen 1994).

This then, is a story about stories and most particular, stories of the self. Most of us begin our encounters with stories in childhood. Through fairy tales, folktales and family stories we receive our first organized accounts of human action. Stories continue to absorb us as we read

novels, biography and history; they occupy us at the movies, at the theater and before the television set. And possibly because of this intimate and longstanding acquaintanceship, stories also serve as a critical means by which we make ourselves intelligible within the social world. We tell extended stories about our relations with family members, our years at school, our first love affair, the development of our thinking on a given subject and so on.

4.4 ASSUMPTIONS FOR A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONIST SCIENCE

How is this emergent understanding to be characterized? If we elaborate on key assumptions derived from social critique, what are the components of a social constructionist view of knowledge and what are its promises for scientific practice? While not all those who carry out work in a constructionist idiom would agree on premises, there are advantages to a momentary solidification of perspective. In these moments we glimpse the possibility for collective affinity, locate repositories of collaboration and contention and foreground the *topoi* for further deliberation. Consider the following suppositions as central to a social constructionist account of knowledge (Gergen 1994:48-49):

The terms by which we account for the world and ourselves are not dictated by the stipulated objects of such accounts. There is nothing about what is the case that demands any particular form of sound, marking or movement of the kind used by persons in acts of presentation or communication. This orienting assumption grows in part from the incapacity of scholars to make good either on a correspondence theory of language or logic of induction by which general propositions can be derived from observation. This theory of language or logic of induction owes a special debt to Saussure's (1983) elucidation of the arbitrary relationship between signifier and signified. It benefits directly from the various forms of semiotic analysis and textual critique demonstrating how accounts of worlds and persons depend for their intelligibility and impact on the confluence of literary tropes by which they are constituted. It is also informed by analysis focused on social conditions and processes in science that privilege certain interpretations of fact over other, in its most radical form it proposes that there are no *principled* constraints over our characterization of states of affairs (Gergen 1994:49).

The terms and forms by which we achieve understanding of the world and ourselves are social artifacts, products of historically and culturally situated interchanges among people.

For constructionist, descriptions and explanations is neither driven by the world as it is, nor are they the inexorable outcome of genetic or structural propensities within the individual. Rather, they are the result of human coordination of action. Words take on their meaning only within the context of ongoing relationships. They are, in Shotter's (1984) terms, the result not of individual action and reaction but of joint-action. Or in Bakhtin's (1981) sense, words are inherently "inter-individual." This means that to achieve intelligibility is to participate in a reiterative pattern of relationship, or if sufficiently extended a tradition. It is only by virtue of sustaining some form of past relationship that we can make sense at all, intelligible accounts of the world and the self are everywhere and at all times constrained.

The degree to which a given account of world or self is sustained across time is not dependent on the objective validity of the account but on the vicissitudes of social process. The account of the world and the self may be sustained without respect to perturbations in the world they are designed to describe or explain. Similarly, the accounts of the world may be abandoned without regard to what we take to be the perduring features of the world. In effect, the languages of description and explanation may change without reference to what we term phenomena and the latter are free to change without necessary consequences for theoretical accounts.

Language derives its significance in human affairs from the way in which it functions within patterns of relationship. In their critique of the correspondence view of language, we find that propositions do not derive their sense from their determinant relationship to a world of referents. At the same time, the semanticist view can be reconstituted within a social frame. Following the treatment of reference as a social ritual with referential practices as socio-historically situated, the semantic possibilities for word meaning are brought into being. It must be underscored that semantics thus becomes a derivative of social pragmatics. It is the form of relationship that enables semantics to function.

When put in these terms, social constructionism is a congenial companion to Wittgenstein's (1953) conception of meaning as a derivative social use. For Wittgenstein words acquire their meaning within what he metaphorically terms "language games," that is, through the ways they are used in patterns of ongoing exchange.

The view of meaning as derived from micro social exchanges embedded within broad patterns of cultural life lends to social constructionism strong critical and pragmatic dimensions. That is, it draws attention to the way in which languages, including scientific theories are used with the culture.

To appraise existing forms of discourse is to evaluate patterns of cultural life; such evaluations give voice to other cultural enclaves. Within a given community of intelligibility, where words and actions are related in reliable ways, it is possible to appraise what we call the “empirical validity” of an assertion.

4.5 SELF-NARRATION

4.5.1 The Aim of the entire Chapter

This remaining chapter will explore the nature of stories, both as they are told and as they are lived in social life. I shall begin with examination of story form or more formally, the structure of narrative accounts. I shall then consider the manner in which narratives of the self are constructed within social life and the uses to which they are put. As this account unfolds it will become increasingly clear that narratives of the self are not fundamentally possessions of the individuals but possessions of relationships; products of social interchange (Gergen; 1994:186).

4.5.2 Structure of narrative accounts

If narratives are demanded neither by cognition nor the world as it is, then what account can be given of their properties of forms? From the constructionist standpoint, the properties of well-formed narratives are culturally and historically situated. They are byproducts of people’s attempts to relate through discourse.

What are the requirements for telling and intelligible story? The question is particularly significant, since an elucidation of these conventions for structuring stories sensitizes us to the limits of self-identity. Theorists frequently make claims for a foundational or fundamental set of rules characteristics of the well-formed narrative. This analysis sees narrative constructions

as historically and culturally contingent. The following criteria in particular appear to be central in constructing a narrative intelligible to significant segments of contemporary culture.

4.5.2.1 Selection of events in the account: Once an endpoint has been established it more or less dictates the kinds of events that can figure in the account, thus greatly reducing the myriad candidates for “event hood.” An intelligible story is one in which events serve to make the goal more or less probable, accessible, important or vivid.

4.5.2.2 Endpoint: An acceptable story must first establish a goal, an event to be explained, and a state to be reached or avoided an outcome of significance or more informally, a “point.” To relate that one walked north for two blocks, east for three and then turned left on Pine Street would constitute an impoverished story, but if this description were a prelude to finding an affordable apartment, it would approximate an acceptable story. The selected endpoint is typically saturated with value: it is understood to be desirable or undesirable. The endpoint may, for example be the protagonist’s well-being {“how narrowly he or she escaped death”}.

4.5.2.3 Ordering of events: Once a goal has been established and relevant events selected, the events are usually placed in an ordered arrangement. The most widely used contemporary convention is perhaps that of a linear, temporal sequence. Certain events for example, are said to occur at the beginning of the football match, and these precede the events that are said to take place toward the middle and at the end.

4.5.2.4 Stability of identity: The well-formed narrative is typically one in which the characters (or objects) in the story possess a continuous or coherent identity across time. Once defined by the storyteller, the individual (or object) will tend to retain its identity or function within the story.

4.5.2.5 Causal linkages: By contemporary standards the ideal narrative is one that provides an explanation for the outcome. An explanation is typically achieved by selecting events that are by common standards causally linked. Each event should be a product of that which has preceded it (“Because the rain came we fled indoors”; As a result of his operation he could not meet the class”).

4.5.2.6 Demarcation signs: Most properly formed stories employ signals to indicate the beginning and the end. Young cited by Gergen (1994:192) proposed, the narrative is “framed” by various rule-governed devices that indicate when one is entering the “tale world,” or the world of the story.

4.6 NARRATIVE FORMS

4.6.1 Stability narrative: Links events so that the individual’s trajectory remains essentially unchanged in relation to a goal or outcome. Stability narrative could be developed at any level along the evaluative continuum. At the upper end an individual might conclude for example, “I am still attractive as I used to be,” or at the lower end, “I continue to be haunted by feelings of failure.”

4.6.2 Progressive narrative: Links together events so that the movement along the evaluative dimension over time is incremental. The progressive narrative is the Panglossian account of life-ever better in every way. It could be represented by the statement, “I am really learning to overcome my shyness and be more open and friendly with people.”

4.6.3 Regressive narrative: The movement is decremental. In contrast to progressive narrative, depicts a continued downward slide: “I can not seem to control the events in my life anymore.”

These three narrative forms, stability, progressive and regressive exhaust the fundamental options for the direction of movement in evaluate space. They may be considered rudimentary bases for other more complex variants.

4.6.4 Tragic narrative: Would tell the story of the rapid downfall of one who had achieved high position: a progressive narrative is followed by a rapid regressive narrative.

4.6.5 Comedy-romance narrative: In comedy-romance, a regressive narrative is followed by a progressive narrative. Life events become increasingly problematic until the denouement, when happiness is restored to the major protagonists. According to

Gergen (1994:196) this narrative is labeled comedy-romance because it conflates the Aristotelian forms.

- 4.6.6 Happily-ever-after narrative: If a progressive narrative is followed by a stability narrative, we have what is commonly known as the happily-ever-after myth, which is widely exemplified in traditional courtship Gergen (1994:196).
- 4.6.7 Heroic saga: The individual may characterize his or her past as a continuous array of battles against the powers of darkness.

4.7 SELF-NARRATIVE

- 4.7.1 Social accounting or public discourse: Narrative are conversational resources, constructions open to continuous alteration as interaction progresses. Persons in these cases do not consult an internal script, cognitive structure or perceptive mass for information or guidance. Rather, the self narrative is a linguistic implement embedded within conventional sequences of action and employed in relationships in such a way to sustain, enhance or impede various forms of action. As linguistic devices, narratives may be used to indicate future actions, but they are not themselves the cause or determinant basis for such actions. In this sense, self-narratives function much like oral histories or morality tales within a society. They are cultural resources that serve such social purposes as self-identification, self-justification, self-criticism and social solidification. According to Gergen (1994:188) this approach joins with those that emphasize the sociocultural origins of narrative construction, though it is not intended to endorse a cultural determinism-it is through *interacting* with others that we acquire narrative skills not through being acted upon Gergen (1994:188).
- 4.7.2 Narrative are true: Scholars concerned with narratives are sharply divided on the issue of truth value: many hold that narratives have the potential to bear truth, while others argue that narratives do not reflect but construct reality. The former view sees narrative as fact-organizing or even fact-producing. Most historians, biographers and empiricists emphasize the truth-bearing possibilities of narrative. The stories serve as communal resources that people use in ongoing relationships. From this standpoint, narratives do not reflect so much as they create the sense of “what is true.” It is largely

because of existing narrative forms that “telling the truth” are an intelligible act. The structure of proper story telling precedes the events about which “truth is told”. Thus, rather than being driven by facts truth telling is largely governed by a fore-structure of narrative conventions.

4.8 GENERATION OF DRAMA

4.8.1 Rapid decline in regressive narrative: It is interesting that one can scarcely locate a theatrical exemplar of the three rudimentary narratives. A drama in which all events were evaluatively equivalent (stability narrative) would scarcely be considered drama. Even a steady but moderate enhancement (progressive narrative) or decrement (regressive narrative) in a protagonist’s life conditions would be soporific. When consider the slope line of the tragedy, a drama bears a strong resemblance to the simpler, unarousing regressive narrative but it also differs in two significant ways. Firstly, the relative decline in events is far less rapid in the prototypical regressive than it is in the tragic narrative.

4.8.2 Alteration in narrative slope: (A shift in evaluative direction). A story in which there were many closely interspersed “ups” and “downs” would constitute high drama by common standards.

4.9 PRACTICES OF SELF-NARRATION: PROCESS

4.9.1 Variety of narrative forms: Individuals without a sense of core identity is without direction, without a sense of position or place. By shifting the emphasis from internal self-perceptions to the process of social intelligibility we can open new theoretical domains with different consequences for cultural life. Though, it is a common practice to view each person as possessing “a life story.” Our common participation in the culture will typically expose us to a wide variety of narratives forms, from the rudimentary to the complex Gergen (1994).

4.9.2 Macro-, micro-narratives: Macro-narratives refer to accounts in which events span broad periods of time, while micro-narratives relate events of brief duration. The

autobiographer generally excels in macro-narrative, while the comedian who relies on sight gags, strives to master micro-narrative.

- 4.9.3 Nesting of narratives: Given the capacity to relate events within different temporal perspectives, it becomes apparent that narratives may also be *nested*, one within another (Mandler cited by Gergen (1994:203)).

4.10 PRAGMATICS OF SELF-NARRATIVE

From a constructionist standpoint, narrative multiplicity is important primarily because of its social implications. Multiplicity is favored by the variegated range of relationships in which people are enmeshed and the differing demands of various relational contexts. As Wittgenstein cited by Gergen (1994:204) says, “Think of the tools in a box: there is a hammer, pliers, a screw-driver. The functions of words are as diverse as the functions of these objects”. In this sense, narrative constructions are essentially linguistic tools with important social functions. Let consider a selected number of functions self-narration fulfills Gergen (1994:204).

- 4.10.1 Stability narrative: Although generally devoid of dramatic value, people’s capacity to identify themselves as stable units has great utility within a culture. In important respects most relationships tend toward stable patterns and indeed, it is stabilization that enables us to speak of cultural patterns, institutions and individual identities at all. According to Gergen (1994:205), often such patterns become saturated with value. The societal demand for stability finds its functional counterpart in the ready accessibility of the stability narrative. To successfully negotiate social life one must be capable of making him or herself intelligible as an enduring, integral or coherent identity. In certain political arenas, for example, it is essential to demonstrate that in spite of extended absences, one is “truly rooted” in the local culture and part of its future. Or to be able to show on the more personal level that one’s love, parental commitment, honesty, moral ideas and so on have been unflinching over time, even when their outward appearance is suspicious may be essential to continuing a relationship. In close relationships people often wish to know that others “are what they seem,” that certain characteristics endure across time. A major way of conveying such assurance is the stability narrative. According to Gergen (1994:205) in this sense,

personality traits, moral character and personal identity are not so much the givens of social life, the building blocks of relationship, but the outcomes of relationship itself. Gergen (1994:205).

- 4.10.2 Progressive narrative: Society places strong value on change as well as on stability. For example, every stabilization may also be characterized from alternative perspectives as problematic, oppressive or odious. The possibility of progressive change is a *raison d'être*. Careers are selected, hardships endured and personal resources (including one's most intimate relations) sacrificed in the belief that one is participating in positive change a great progressive narrative. In addition, the success of many relationships depends a great deal on people's ability to demonstrate that their undesirable characteristics (such as unfaithfulness, quarreling and self centeredness) have diminished over time. As Kitwood's research suggests, people make special use of the progressive narrative in the early stages of a relationship, seemingly to invest the relationship with increased value and promise for the future. In effect, the progressive narrative plays a variety of useful functions in social life.

One must be prepared in most relationships to account for oneself as both inherently stable and undergoing change at the same time. One must be able to show that one has always been the same and will continue to be so, although continuing to improve. Achieving such diverse ends is primarily a matter of negotiating the meaning of events in relationship to each other Gergen (1994).

- 4.10.3 Regressive narratives: According to Gergen (1994:266), can a case be made for the social value of regressive narratives? There is reason to believe so. Consider the effects of tales of woe in soliciting attention, sympathy and intimacy. To relate one's story of depression is not to describe the onset of a mental state, but to engage in a particular kind of relationship. The narrative may simultaneously solicit pity and concern, excuse one from failure and deliver punishment. Within Western culture regressive narratives can also serve a *compensatory function*. Gergen (1994:266).

4.11 INTERKNITTING OF IDENTITIES

In this section, the develop view of narration as a discursive resource and of its richness and potentials as constituting a historical legacy available in varying degree to all within the culture have been attempted. To possess an intelligible self, a recognizable being with both a past and a future requires a borrowing from cultural repository. Narration may appear to be monologic, but its success in establishing identity will inevitably rely on dialogue.

4.11.1 Moral evaluation: Self-narratives are immersed within processes of ongoing interchange. In a broad sense they serve to unite the past with the present and to signify future trajectories (Csikszentmihalyi and Beattie cited by Gergen (1994:207)). According to Gergen (1994:207) it is their significance for the future that is of special interest, because it sets the stage for moral evaluation. To maintain that one has always been an honest person (stability narrative) suggests that one can be trusted. To construct one's past as a success story (progressive narrative) implies a future of continued advancement. To portray oneself as losing one's abilities because of increasing age (regressive narrative) generates the expectation that one will be less energetic in the future. The important point is that as these implications are realized in action they become subject to social appraisal.

4.11.2 Interminable negotiation: Narrative performance also sets the stage for further interdependence. Because the relationship between our actions and our accounts of them depends on social conventions and because conventions of reference are seldom univocal, there is an inherent ambiguity in how actions are to be understood. Because narratives generate expectations, there is the inevitable question about whether actions measure up to expectations. Does tax audit contradict the individual's claim to continuing honesty? It may be said that maintaining identity narrative validity within a community is an interminable challenge (Waele and Harre; Hankiss cited by Gergen (1994:208)).

One's moral being is never a completed project so long as the conversations of the culture continue.

4.11.3 Reciprocal identities: The incidents typically woven into a narrative are the actions not only of the protagonist but of others as well. In most instances the actions of others contribute vitally to the events linked in narrative sequence. For example, to justify his account of continuing honesty, an individual might describe how a friend unsuccessfully tempted him to cheat; to illustrate achievement he might show how another person was vanquished in a competition. The actions of others become an integral part of narrative intelligibility Gergen (1994:209).

4.12 EMOTIONS

Narratives of the self are not personal impulses made social, but social processes realized on the site of the personal. In this section this theme will be extended significantly on the way to articulating a relational conception of self. According to Gergen (1994:220) Western tradition is deeply committed to a view of the self as an independent or self contained unit, Gergen (1994) continues by saying “he does not intend to develop an entirely new vocabulary, unanchored to cultural practice, but to reconstitute existing conceptualization.” “He intends to demonstrate how the traditional conception of emotion can be redrawn, how the emotions can be viewed as constitutive features not of individuals but of relationships.”

4.12.1 Identity of emotions from personal experience: Contemporary science offers two major answers to the question of identification. According to Gergen (1994) the first belongs to the more humanistic, phenomenological and subjectively oriented schools: personal experience. We may justifiably study the human emotions, because of their transparent existence in human experience. And it is experience that also enables differentiation among emotions: “I know that love, fear and anger are different because I experience the differences clearly and distinctly” (Gergen (1994)).

4.12.2 Identity of emotions from personal experience: For the constructionist the very attempt to identify the emotions is obfuscating. Emotional discourse gains its meaning not by virtue of its relationship to an inner world (of experience, disposition or biology), but by the way it figures in patterns of cultural relationship. Some forms of action by current Western standards are said to indicate emotions. Following Averil cited by Gergen (1994), the actions themselves are properly viewed as performances or “transient social roles.” In this sense one is not “motivated” or “incited to action” by

emotions; rather one *does* emotions or participates in them much as he or she would on stage. To perform the emotions properly (so that the actions are identifiable by cultural standards) may require a substantial biological contribution (heart rate, blood pressure). Emotions do not “have an *impact* on social life”; they *constitute* social life itself. Gergen (1994).

4.12.3 Cultural meaning (moral evaluation): This view of identity emotion not only eliminates the thorny problems besetting the traditional search for emotions, it also allows placing the emotions within the broader networks of cultural meaning, Gergen (1994). For example, as variously reasoned by Bedford; Harre and Armon-Jones, the emotions cannot be extricated from the arena of moral evaluation. People can be blamed for feeling angry, jealous or envious, for example or praised for their love or sadness (as in the case of mourning).

4.12.4 Emotions vary form one culture or historical period: Further, the constructionist position is highly congenial with much anthropological and historical inquiry. As inquiry suggests, both the vocabulary of the emotions and the patterns of what Westerners call “emotional expression” vary *dramatically from one culture or historical period to another* (Lutz; Harkness and Super; Heelas and Lock; Shweder; Lutz and Abu-Lughod cited by Gergen (1994). Averill cited by Gergen (1994:223) demonstrate patterns of what Westerners call “hostility” are scarcely found in many cultures.

Scholars have taken significant steps toward placing emotion performances within the broader social network. For example, Armon-Jones; Lutz and Abu-Lughod; and Bailey cited by Gergen (1994), have explored the various cultural and political functions served by emotional expressions, giving special attention to the pragmatic importance of such expressions in adjudicating moral claims, aligning or realigning relationships, distributing power and establishing identities. Ancillary inquiry has explored the kinds of social contexts appropriate to various emotional expressions (Scherer cited by Gergen (1994)). According to Gergen (1994), although such attempts are both interesting and illuminating, “my analysis moves in a different direction.” Rather than inquire into broad social functions or specific eliciting

conditions, he gives an account of relational life in which emotional expressions are a constituent part.

- 4.12.5 Emotions are constituents of lived narratives: Narratives are forms of intelligibility that furnish accounts of events across time. Individuals actions, gain their significance from the way in which they are embedded within the narrative. In the same way, emotional expressions are meaningful (indeed, succeed in counting as legitimate emotions) only when inserted into particular, cross-time sequence of interchange. In effect, they are constituents of lived narratives Gergen (1994:224).
- 4.12.6 Hostility and Violence: Rather than view them as outer expressions of inner feelings, we can more properly cast hostility as modes of cultural performance “doing the right thing at the right time.” Rather than see them as individual actions, we may usefully consider the part they play in broader scenarios of interchange. Experiments are ill-equipped to make sense of patterns of action that unfolds or emerge over longer periods of time. Felson cited by Gergen (1994) interviewed 380 ex-criminal male offenders and mental patients for whom violence had been a problem. Among other things, the respondents were asked to describe an incident in which violence had occurred and the circumstances preceding the violent act. In analyzing these narratives Felson reached the conclusion that violent actions were not spontaneous, uncontrollable.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF ACCOUNTS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

According to Gergen (1994:187), human beings receive their first organised accounts of human action through fairy tales, folk tales and family stories. These stories serve as a critical means by which we make ourselves intelligible within the social world. They range from childhood stories, family relations, school years, teenage relations and first love.

The aim of this chapter is to analyse these stories or the findings, because accounts are so significant in that people use them to look for understanding of the major issues in their lives. The study of accounts is then seen as the significant element of offspring of work on attributional processes in psychology.

5.2 STORY NO 1

NdinguMnumzana Fikizolo, umfama. Ndineminyaka engamashumi amathandathu anesihlanu 65. Phambi kokuba ndibe ngumfama ndandiphangela emgodini. Ndathi ndakuva ukuba kukho umhlaba oza kunikezelwa kubantu abaNtsundu, ndenza isicelo. Oku, ndathi ndakuva ngomhlaba wam owayehlala apha, nanjengoko mna ndandingengowalapha. Apha ndifike ngonyaka ka1976. Ndafaka esam isicelo, ndaza ndibizelwa kudliwano-ndlebe ndaluphumelela.

Ndafikela kule-unit ndikuyo, u-unit 3. Mna ndiqale ngonyaka ka 1977, ndafika sele bekho abakhoyo apha, ndaba ngoweshumi elinesithathu. Ukuqala kwethu ezi fama siziqale ngeenkomo ezintandathu zohlobo lwefriesland esasizininikwa ngurhulumente. Kunye nehekhare ezine. Sanikwa zonke izixhobo zokuqala ifama ezifana nemibhobho yokunkcenkeshela, izixhobo zasegadini kunye nezinye izixhobo zokuqalisa ifama. Umfama ngamnye wanikwa indlu enye emagumbi mane, kunye nendlu esecaleni ebizwa ngokuba si-(store room). Yonke into ebesiyenza apha besiyenza phantsi kolawulo lwesebe lezolimo. Kukho i-unit 4 esiyibiza ngokuba kukwandlu-nkulu (headquarters). Kulapho besilawulwa khona sikwanikwa nemithetho emasiyilandele.

Ndaqala ngokuthi ndinikwe iminyaka emibini kusithiwa yi-lease. Kule minyaka mibini kwakufuneka ukuba ndisebenze nzima ukuze ndibenakho ukuzuza amanqaku. Umfama ngamnye wayevela phambi kwekomiti eyayibizwa ngokuba yi-selection board. Emva kwele minyaka mibini, saye sanikwa eminye iminyaka emibini yokuba siye kulungisa apho sithe sasilela khona. Oyena ndoqo esasicetyiswa kuwo yi-dairy farming. I-unit nganye inendlu yayo yokusengela amafama akulo-unit. Ubisi ngalunye lomfama belubhalwa phantsi, wandule ekupheleni kwenyanga sifumane iitsheki zethu kwandlu-nkulu. Yonke into esiyifunayo yeenkomo besiyifumana kwandlu-nkulu. Ukutya kweenkomo, amayeza okunyanga iinkomo, itelelele zokulima, iimbewu kunye nezichumisi. Oku kwakusisinyanzelo sokuba wonke umntu afake i-odolo yakhe kwandlu-nkulu. Zonke ezi zinto bezitsalwa emvuzweni owenziwe ziinkomo zomfama ngamnye. Yonke into obusithi uyokuyifuna kunye nokulinyelwa bekubhalwa phantsi, iihkhare ozilimileyo kulo nyanga bezibhalwa phantsi kwegama lakho. Siqhube ngale ndlela kwada kwangunyaka ka-1984. Njengokuba kuqala ubisi lwethu belulandwa ngeetelelele ezinkulu liye kugcinwa kwizibandisi kwandlu-nkulu. Izinto zaye zatshintsha emva ko-1984.

Kuye kwakho uhlehlengiso olwathi lwakho. Saphinda saya kuvela phambi kwe-selection board, saza sanyulwa njengamafama agqwesileyo. Babakho abo abathi abaphumelela ukuba bangaba ngamafama. Bathi banikwa izixa ezithile zemali. Kuye kwahlengahlengiswa i-unit. Kwakho i-unit eza kuthi ihlale awona mafama agqwesileyo kunamanye, lo unit ngu-unit 6. Le ndikuyo engu-unit 3 ihlala amafama alandela lawo athi agqwesa, ukutsho oko amafama athi aphuma isibini. Singamafama asixhenxe kule-unit ndikuyo.

Ngenxa yokuba sasibhathala izinto ezininzi, lo nto yabangela ukuba ezi zikimu zibhange. Kukho iconstant karhulumente ekwakumele ukuba siyihlawule ngeemali zethu, lo nto yabangela ukuba siphela thina sibhanga. Kukho unyaka apho kwafuneka ukuba sibhathale inkutyula yetyala kuba kusithiwa lemihlaba yethu izakupopolwa (survey). Siphela sele sinawo namatyala amakhulu ebhankini, bhanki leyo eyayijongene neemfuno zamafama. Ndithetha nawe nje mna ndityala ibhanki isixa esikumawaka alishumi elinesihlanu (R 15 000). Eyayilityala esilibiza ngokuba zi-inputs.

Indima karhulumente wamandulo

Urhulumente wamandulo uyidlalile indima enkulu kuthi mafama ngoba sasisaziwa kuMzantsi Africa uphela ngemveliso yobisi. Sasisenza iilitha eziqikelelwa kwumawaka asibhozo ngenyanga, oyena mfama uvelisa kakhulu. Mna bendivelisa iilitha ezinokuba ngamawaka amane ngenyanga. Kodwa kuba engazange asixhase ngokwaneleyo ngokwasezimalini, lo nto iye yabangela ukuba ezifama zethu zibhange. Besihlawula izinto ezifana nendlu, amasimi, ukusaveywa kwemihlaba yethu, izindlu zokusengela kunye namagosa karhulumente awayehla esenyuka apha kwezi zikimu zethu.

Indima karhulumente okhoyo

Urhulumente okhoyo uyayidlala indima kuthi mafama, ntonje indlela aze ngayo ndiyibona ingeyondlela enokuthi isiphuhlise. Into yokuba singathi sinale minyaka mingaka kufunwe into yokuba masidibane singamafama sakhe okopolotyeni. Kwathina ingxaki yethu asiye sibone ngasonye, omnye umfama uye atsalele kwelakhe icala nomnye naye atsalele kwelakhe icala kuphele kungekho nto ilungayo. Kanti xa anokuthi asibonelele umntu ngamnye ndicinga ukuba singabanakho ukuhluma kwakho.

Isishwankathelo

Xa urhulumente anokuthi athathe abazukulwana bethu abaqeqeshe ngakumbi ukuzuza izakhono zokuba babe ngamafama aphume izandla, lo nto ingabangela ukuba ezi fama zibuyele kundalashi. Ndithetha nawenje sele sixomekeke kwimali yendodla ngoku zona iifama azisasenzeli nto kwaphela. Nabantwana bethu baphelela ezidolophini kuba bengaboni nkqubela kwezi fama. Nangoku singamafama asikabi nambane, kwaye sisalwela amaphepha emihlaba yethu (title deed) ezathi zathathwa yibhanki ngenxa yamatyala esinawo. Bathi xa besifaka emagqwetheni abo basithathela namaphepha emihlaba. Ifaming ndiyibona nje ngesixobo esisabalulekileyo elinokuthi ulutsha luyithathe.

English Translation of Story no 1

I am Mr Fikizolo, a farmer. I am 65 years old. Before I become a farmer I was working in a mine. When I had that, there will be land that will be given to Black people, I submitted an

application form. I had these, from my friend who stays here as I was not staying here. I arrived here in 1976. I submitted my application form and I was called for an interview which I passed.

I arrived at this unit, which is unit 3. I started in 1977 and there were farmers who were already here before me, I become the 13th farmer. We started these farms with 6 in-milk good quality friesland cows which we were given by the government. We were also given 4 hectares. We were given all the farming equipment like, sprinklers, miscellaneous small tools and other important tools to start the farm. Each farmer was given a four room brick and steel house with a store room aside. Everything we do, we do it under the guidance of the department of agriculture and forestry. There is unit 4 which is the headquarters and it is where, we were given law and rules that we most follow.

I was at first given two years of lease. In these two years of lease I was expected to work hard and perform a lot in order to earn points. Each and every farmer was expected to appear before the selection board. After the first two years of lease, we were given another two years to go and rectify our mistakes. The main production we were advice to do is dairy farming. Each unit has its own dairy parlour where farmers in that area milk their cows. Each farmer's month milk production was recorded under his name and at the end of the month you go to headquarters and collect your check. Everything that we need for our cows we get it at headquarters like feed, cow treatment, tractors to plough the fields, seed and fertilizer. We were forced to order everything we need at headquarters. Everything was deducted from your cows' milk production. Everything you needed to be done like to plough you field was recorded under your name, hectares you have ploughed in that month were written under you name. Things were done this way until 1984. As our milk were fetched by big tractors and stored in one place in headquarters. Things changed after 1984.

There was an allocation which was done after 1984. We went to the selection board and we were selected as good and developing farmers. There were other farmers which did not qualify as they can be recognized as good farmers. They were given a package of money. There was allocation which was done according to the units. There was a unit which was meant to stay the best farmers and that is unit 6. The unit that I reside in it, which is unit 3 is for farmers that are second best. We are seven farmers in this unit.

Because we were renting almost everything, that leads to these farms to collapse. There was government consultant which we were forced to pay them out of our pockets and that ended us becoming poor and to collapse. There was a year whereby we were told that we must pay money for our land, which was going to be surveyed. We ended up owing the bank huge money. The bank which was responsible for farmers needs. I am still owing the bank, the sum of (R15 000) and this is an inputs money.

The role of the then government

The then government did play his role to uplift us, as we were known around entire South Africa with our milk production. The successful farmer was producing around estimated eight thousand litters of milk per month. I was producing an estimated four thousand litters per month. Because the government did not support us financially, that resulted in these farmers to collapse. We were renting houses, land, the surveys of our land, dairy parlour and government consultant which were responsible to make sure that we get everything we need.

The role of the present government

The present government plays a big role to us as farmers, but the way government approached us, I don't think that it is the right way that can uplift us. How can in our age to be asked to form co-operatives. Because we don't see things the same way, each farmer see things in his way and another see things in his own way and we end up going nowhere. If government can uplift each farmer, I think we can have a good production and become successful.

Conclusion

The government must upgrade our grandchildren and give them skills to become successful farmers in future, and that can lead in these farmers to have a good production, as they were before. I am now dependent in old pension grant; these farms have no production at all. Our children end up in towns, because they don't see any future in these farms. Even now as farmers, we don't have electricity and we are still fighting to get back our title deed, which were taken from us by the bank because we owe them money. When they handed us to their lawyers, they also took our title deed. Farming is still an important career which the young generation can think about.

5.2.1 Analysis of the story no 1

1. The Structure of the Narrative Account

End point: Theme and Goal

The theme of this story is about the importance of farming. The difficulties a person can expect in farming or as a farmer. It is about educating the young generation who wish to take farming as a career. It is about how black people struggled under farming. The importance of the value of land and what can land produce for you. It is also about teaching to be strong and stand firm against the difficulties you can encounter in life.

1.2 Selection of Events in the Account: Plot Structure

This narrative relates to the experience of an old farmer, who has gone through very rough and difficult times in farming. There are various events that are connected through these difficulties. All these events are organized in an order that gives result to the plot structure of the narrative.

The narrative consists of five events. The first event is concerned with how a farmer occupied the land, what he was given to start the farm and laws he was expected to follow. The next event is basically about how good the production was, how well they were known all over South Africa about their milk production. The third event, which is the possible central event of the narrative, is the downfall of the farm and the causes. The fourth event is concerned with the primary role that the present government is playing. The fifth event is about whether farming is still a good career for young generation which they can take as their future fortune, and what can be done to improve the farms.

The First Event

In the first event, the narrator narrates about how he came to occupy the land. What he did to become a farmer and what he overcomes to become a recognized farmer during the time of a lease. He narrates about the procedures that he followed to get a feed and equipment that was necessary to plant the fields.

Narrative of the First Event

NdinguMnumzana Fikizolo, umfama. Ndineminyaka engamashumi amathandathu anesihlanu 65. Phambi kokuba ndibe ngumfama ndandiphangela emgodini. Ndathi ndakuva ukuba kukho umhlaba oza kunikezelwa kubantu abaNtsundu, ndenza isicelo. Oku, ndathi ndakuva ngomhlobo wam owayehlala apha, nanjengoko mna ndandingengowalapha. Apha ndifike ngonyaka ka1976. Ndafaka esam isicelo, ndaza ndibizelwa kudliwano-ndlebe ndaluphumelela.

Ukuqala kwethu ezi fama siziqale ngeenkomo ezintandathu zohlobo lwefriesland esasizininikwa ngurhulumente. Kunye neehkhare ezine. Sanikwa zonke izixhobo zokuqala ifama ezifana nemibhobho yokunkcenkceshela, izixhobo zasegadini kunye nezinye izixhobo zokuqalisa ifama. Yonke into ebesiyenza apha besiyenza phantsi kolawulo lwesebe lezolimo.

Ndaqala ngokuthi ndinikwe iminyaka emibini kusithiwa yi-lease. Kule minyaka mibini kwakufuneka ukuba ndisebenze nzima ukuze ndibenakho ukuzuzwa amanqaku. Umfama ngamnye wayevela phambi kwekomiti eyayibizwa ngokuba yi-selection board. Emva kwele minyaka mibini, saye sanikwa eminye iminyaka emibini yokuba siye kulungisa apho sithe sasilela khona. Oyena ndoqo esasicetyiswa kuwo yi-dairy farming. I-unit nganye inendlu yayo yokusengela amafama akulo-unit. Ubisi ngalunye lomfama belubhalwa phantsi, wandule ekupheleni kwenyanga sifumane iitsheki zethu kwandlu-nkulu. Yonke into esiyifunayo yeenkomo besiyifumana kwandlu-nkulu. Ukutya kweenkomo, amayeza okunyanga iinkomo, itelelele zokulima, iimbewu kunye nezichumisi. Oku kwakusisinyanzelo sokuba wonke umntu afake i-odolo yakhe kwandlu-nkulu. Zonke ezi zinto bezitsalwa emvuzweni owenziwe ziinkomo zomfama ngamnye. Yonke into obusithi uyokuyifuna kunye nokulinyelwa bekubhalwa phantsi, iihkhare ozilimileyo kulo nyanga bezibhalwa phantsi kwegama lakho. Siqhube ngale ndlela kwada kwangunyaka ka-1984. Njengokuba kuqala ubisi lwethu belulandwa ngeetelelele ezinkulu liye kugcinwa kwizibandisi kwandlu-nkulu. Izinto zaye zatshintsha emva ko-1984.

I am Mr Fikizolo, a farmer. I am 65 years old. Before I become a farmer I was working in a mine. When I had that, there will be land that will be given to Black people, I submitted an application form. I had these, from my friend who stays here as I was not staying here. I

arrived here in 1976. I submitted my application form and I was called for an interview which I passed.

We started these farms with 6 in-milk good quality friesland cows which we were given by the government. We were also given 4 hectares. We were given all the farming equipment like, sprinklers, miscellaneous small tools and other important tools to start the farm. Everything we do, we do it under the guidance of the department of agriculture and forestry.

I was at first given two years of lease. In these two years of lease I was expected to work hard and perform a lot in order to earn points. Each and every farmer was expected to appear before the selection board. After the first two years of lease, we were given another two years to go and rectify our mistakes. The main production we were advice to do is dairy farming. Each unit has its own dairy parlour where farmers in that area milk their cows. Each farmer's month milk production was recorded under his name and at the end of the month you go to headquarters and collect your check. Everything that we need for our cows we get it at headquarters like feed, cow treatment, tractors to plough the fields, seed and fertilizer. We were forced to we order everything we need at headquarters. Everything was deducted from your cows' milk production. Everything you needed to be done like to plough you field was written under your name, hectares you have ploughed in that month were recorded under you name. Things were done this way until 1984. As our milk were fetched by big tractors and stored in one place in headquarters. Things changed after 1984.

The Second Event

In the second event, he narrates about his early years in farming, when he had a good milk production. The narrator gives as a flashback about how they were known in the whole country because of their production and also stating how many litters he produce a month. It seems that this was a good time for the narrator where his dreams were becoming to mature. When he got the farm, its seems that he told himself that he has got the fortune and things were still running smooth at this time. He narrates about the role the government of that time played in developing the farm.

Narrative of the Second Event

Urhulumente wamandulo uyidlalile indima enkulu kuthi mafama ngoba sasisaziwa kuMzantsi Africa uphela ngemveliso yobisi. Sasisenza iilitha eziqikelelwa kwumawaka asibhozo

ngenyanga, oyena mfama uvelisa kakhulu. Mna bendivelisa iilitha ezinokuba ngamawaka amane ngenyanga. Kodwa kuba engazange asixhase ngokwaneleyo ngokwasezimalini, lo nto iye yabangela ukuba ezifama zethu zibhange. Besihlawula izinto ezifana nendlu, amasini, ukusaveywa kwemihlaba yethu, izindlu zokusengela kunye namagosa karhulumente awayehla esenyuka apha kwezi zikimu zethu.

The then government did play his role to uplift us, as we were known around entire South Africa with our milk production. The successful farmer was producing around estimated eight thousand liters of milk per month. I was producing an estimated four thousand liters per month. Because the government did not support us financially, that resulted in these farmers to collapse. We were renting houses, land, the surveys of our land, dairy parlour and government consultant which were responsible to make sure that we get everything we need.

The Third Event

In this event, which is the possible central event is when the narrator saw things changing. What he thought will be his future fortune started to deteriorate. The farm started to collapse, whereby the narrator pin-point the causes that made the farms to collapse. This was the sad time of the narrator, because how he narrates shows that he was devastated because of many things that he was expected to pay out of his pocket. This was the turning point of the farm.

Narrative of the Third Event

Ngenxa yokuba sasibhathala izinto ezininzi, lo nto yabangela ukuba ezi zikimu zibhange. Kukho iconstant karhulumente ekwakumele ukuba siyihlawule ngeemali zethu, lo nto yabangela ukuba siphela thina sibhanga. Kukho unyaka apho kwafuneka ukuba sibhathale inkutyula yetyala kuba kusithiwa lemihlaba yethu izakupopolwa (survey). Siphela sele sinawo namatyala amakhulu ebhankini, bhanki leyo eyayijongene neemfuno zamafama. Ndithetha nawe nje mna ndityala ibhanki isixa esikumawaka alishumi elinesihlanu (R 15 000). Eyayilityala esilibiza ngokuba zi-inputs.

Kodwa kuba engazange asixhase ngokwaneleyo ngokwasezimalini, lo nto iye yabangela ukuba ezifama zethu zibhange. Besihlawula izinto ezifana nendlu, amasini, ukusaveywa kwemihlaba yethu, izindlu zokusengela kunye namagosa karhulumente awayehla esenyuka apha kwezi zikimu zethu.

Because we were renting almost everything, that leads to these farms to collapse. There was government consultant which we were forced to pay them out of our pockets and that ended us becoming poor and to collapse. There was a year whereby we were told that we must pay money for our land, which was going to be surveyed. We ended up owing the bank huge money. The bank which was responsible for farmers needs. I am still owing the bank, the sum of (R15 000).

Because the government did not support us financially, that resulted in these farmers to collapse. We were renting houses, land, the surveys of our land, dairy parlour and government consultant which were responsible to make sure that we get everything we need.

The Fourth Event

In this event, the narrator gives us a feedback about what the present government is down to uplift the farm. He tells us if the present government is doing enough or the government is lacking to improve the farm. He also narrates about what he noticed as a failer to uplift them and where the government can improve to take the standard of the farm to the same level it was during the good times of production.

Narrative of the Fourth Event

Urhulumente okhoyo uyayidlala indima kuthi mafama, ntonje indlela aze ngayo ndiyibona ingeyondlela enokuthi isiphuhlise. Into yokuba singathi sinale minyaka mingaka kufunwe into yokuba masidibane singamafama sakhe okopolotyeni. Kwathina ingxaki yethu asiye sibone ngasonye, omnye umfama uye atsalele kwelakhe icala nomnye naye atsalele kwelakhe icala kuphele kungekho nto ilungayo. Kanti xa anokuthi asibonelele umntu ngamnye ndicinga ukuba singabanakho ukuhluma kwakho.

The present government plays a big role to us as farmers, but the way government approached us, I don't think that, it is the right way that can uplift us. How can in our age to be asked to form co-operatives. Because we don't see things the same way, each farmer see things in his way and another see things in his own way and we end up going nowhere. If government can uplift each farmer, I think we can have a good production and become successful.

The fifth event

The fifth event is the part where the narrator voice about how important the value of land is. He also advice and uplift the spirit of young generation about the importance of farming, whereas the narrator didn't succeed to become a good and a successful farmer. He takes farming as something that is important and that the young generation can think about as their career. He also voice out his pain about the situation of the farm and advising the government about what he can do to uplift farming.

Narrative of the Fifth Event

Xa urhulumente anokuthi athathe abazukulwana bethu abaqeqeshe ngakumbi ukuzuza izakhono zokuba babe ngamafama aphume izandla, lo nto ingabangela ukuba ezi fama zibuyele kundalashi. Ndithetha nawenje sele sixomekeke kwimali yendodla ngoku zona iifama azisasenzeli nto kwaphela. Nabantwana bethu baphelela ezidolophini kuba bengaboni nkqubela kwezi fama. Nangoku singamafama asikabi nambane, kwaye sisalwela amaphepha emihlaba yethu (title deed) ezathi zathathwa yibhanki ngenxa yamatyala esinawo. Bathi xa besifaka emagqwetheni abo basithathela namaphepha emihlaba. Ifaming ndiyibona nje ngesixobo esisabalulekileyo elinokuthi ulutsha luyithathe.

The government must upgrade our grandchildren and give them skills to become successful farmers in future, and that can lead in these farmers to have a good production, as they were before. I am now dependent in old pension grant; these farms have no production at all. Our children end up in towns, because they don't see any future in these farms. Even now as farmers, we don't have electricity and we are still fighting to get back our title deed, which were taken from us by the bank because we owe them money. When they handed us to their lawyers, they also took our title deed. Farming is still an important career which the young generation can think about.

1.3 Ordering of Events

1.3.1 Sequence

The events of this narrative are ordered in a linear sequence. The narrator's self-introduction occupies the first position in the narrative. In the second event, he gives us a feedback about what was expected from him and all the laws and rules he was given, narrating about what he was given to start the farm. In the third event, he narrate about the causes that leads to the farm to collapse, which for him he thought that the farm will be his future fortune which he will gain from it. This is the possible central event of this story. He narrates about how he ended up owing the bank huge money which he still owes. He goes on to narrate about the production he used to produce and how they were known in the whole country because of their milk production. The final event which forms the primary event of the story, the narrator narrates about what can be done to bring back the value of the land as he noticed that the farm has lost its value. Advising the young generation about the importance of land, whereas he failed to be successful but he takes farming as an important career that the young generation can start and gain out of it.

1.3.2 Duration

According to what the narrator has given to us, it is reasonable to conclude that all this happens in a short period of time, whereas it is not stipulated in the story.

1.4 Stability of Identity

The narrator has a coherent identity throughout the narrative, starting from his arrival at the scheme, the challenges he faced after he won the interview. He overcomes all the obstacles when he fought to win the farm when he was still under probation. He didn't give up because of the rules that he was supposed to overcome, but he stand up and do what was expected from him. He did not give up when he saw what he told himself that will be his future fortune collapsing and this shows that he is a strong character. The narrator has a resolute character that is firm and determined in purpose. Although various incidents that lead to the farm to collapse were given, like things which he was expected to pay out of his pocket, it did not

change his character and even now as he is depending from the government grant he is still firm and strong.

1.5 Causal Linkages

The events in the narrative are causal linked. The narrator worked hard during the time of probation, because he wanted to gain points, win and own the farm. Secondly, the farm collapsed because he was expected to pay lot of things out of his pocket, things like his house, cows and to pay the cost of the survey of his land etc. The milk production started to decrease, because he was not full supported financially by the government. There is no way forward to upgrade the farm, because the narrator was told to form co-operatives with his colleagues, which is not work according to the narrator.

2. The Narrative Form

2.1 The Stability narrative

The narrator is stable, as the story begins with the narrator applying for the land. The story tells us the feedback about the good production the narrator was producing, the outcomes and causes that lead to the collapse of the farm. The story also tells what he thinks must be done to uplift the farm and advising the young generation about the importance of farming and which shows that, the narrative is stable.

2.2 Regressive narrative

The story has a regressive narrative. The fact that the narrator must form co-operatives with his colleagues, which is not working for them shows that the narrator regret the system of co-operatives because it is not working. The narrator views the system of co-operatives as a system which can't uplift him unless they can be uplifted as individuals.

3. Self-Narrative

3.1 Narrative is True

This is a true narrative, as it is expected that not all people's dreams and wishes become successful and there are times when people lose what they thought it will be their future fortune as in this story.

4. Practice of Self-Narration: Process

This story has a variety of narrative, the narrator narrates about the good production he made and how they were known in the entire country because of their production which is a stable narrative. This story also contains the regressive narrative, the narrator thought about the farm will be his future fortune but unfortunately the farm collapsed because he was renting many things and there was not enough support from the government which leads to the farm to collapse.

4.1 Micro Narrative

This is a narration of events that have taken place in a very short period of time, which makes this story a micro narrative.

4.2 Nesting of Narrative

There is no nesting of narratives.

5. Pragmatics of Self-Narrative

5.1 Regressive /Tragic Narrative

This narrative serves as a tragic narrative. The narrator is devastated that what he thought it will be his future fortune has lost its value. The farm had a good production before, where the narrator tells as that they were known all over the country because of their production. Things changed and brought sad times for the narrator as he tells as that now he is depending

in old pension grant. He shows concern about the children that leave the farm to stay in better places because the farm has no direction at all.

6. Interknitting of Identities

6.1 Moral evaluation

The narrator is evaluated as a strong person. He has portrayed himself as a strong and who stand up in any condition. He does not give up easily as he was producing a good production of milk, but he didn't give up when things changed.

6.2 Reciprocal Identities

The narrator's children are not strong like their father. Because the farm has collapsed they run away to stay in better places. There is no co-operative among his colleagues as each one decide to take his own way.

7. Emotions

- (a) The narrator experienced emotions which are painful, seeing the farm collapsing and his children living the farm to stay in better places because there is no production.
- (b) This emotion is acceptable in the culture, as it is common that you become sympathy when you see things turning the way you didn't expected to be. In this narrative story, the narrator is concerned about his children who leave him behind because they don't see any future in the farm which that can hat any parent.

5.3 STORY NO 2

NdinguMnumzana Somadoda, umfama. Ndineminyaka engamashumi amahlanu anesihlanu (55). Phambi kokuba ndibe ngumfama ndandingumvuni weziqhamo, eNtshona Koloni. Ndathi ndakuva ukuba kukho isibhengezo sokuba abantu abanqwenela ukuba ngamafama bangafaka isicelo. Nam ndafaka esam ndaza ndabizelwa kudliwano-ndlebe. Ndiqale ukuba ngumfama ngonyaka 1976, kwi-unit eyaziwa ngokuba yi-unit 6 ngoku.

Ndaye ndanikwa iminyaka emithathu ye-lease. Emva kwale minyaka saye savela phambi kwequmrhu elibizwa ngokuba yi-selection board. Sanikwa amanqaku ngokusebenza nzima kwethu, sishiyana ngokwamanqaku. Abo abathi abenza kakuhle bathi baxelelwa ukuba, bangazibona bephulukana nemihlaba. Saye sanikwa eminye iminyaka ye-lease.

Ukuqala kwethu ezifama, saye sanikwa iinkomo ezintandathu umfama ngamnye, indlu emagumbi mane kunye nenye encinci ebizwa ngokuba si-(store room) esisecaleni. Sanikwa nezixhobo zokuqalisa ifama, ezifana nemibhobho yokunkcenkceshela, izixhobo zasegadini kunye nezinye izixhobo zokuqala ifama. Bekukho amagosa karhulumente awayejikeleza kwezifama zethu, ejonga ukuba siyakwenza oko kufunekayo. Ngelo xesha kwakungafunwa mfama ohlala engenzi nto emini. Kwakunyanzeleka ukuba sihlale maxa onke sisemasimini. Babesithi ukuba bafikile bangene emasimini ukukhangela ukuba umbona wakho owulimileyo awuna khula okanye ubumdaka. Ngombona kwakusenziwa ukutya kweenkomo ebekubizwa ngokuba yisaledge. Bekufunwa ukuba maxa onke amasimi siwalimele iinkomo. Nombona xa uvuthiweyo bekuye kufuneka ukuba siwube ngoku ingowethu. Besiye sikhe phakathi emasimini ukuze amagosa angabi nakho ukubona ukuba umbona siyawutya.

Siqhube ngale ndlela kwada kwangunyaka ka-1984, apho urhulumente wathi wasibizela phambi kwe-selection board. Sakhethwa njengamafama agqwesileyo, babakho abo abathi abaphumelela ukuba bangaba ngamafama. Kuye kwabakho uhlehlengiso ngokwe-unit. Le unit ndaqala kuyo, yanikwa awona mafama agqwesileyo ndaye ndathathwa ndafakwa kule ndikuyo ngoku u-unit 3 esingamafama asixhenxe. Kodwa ndithetha nawe nje ngoku amanye amafama anikezela akubona ukuba ezifama ziyabhanga.

Emveni kokuba sizinikiwe ezi fama kwaye kwafuneka ukuba sizithenge. Siye sazithenga. Inkqubo iye yatshintsha, ngoba saqala ukuzilawula nokwenza intando yomfama ngamnye ayithandayo efameni yakhe. Phambi kuka-1984, yonke into nemithetho besiyinikwa ngundlu-nkulu. Emva kuka-1984, siye sakwazi nokuzithengisela ubisi lwethu kanti kuqala belulandwa ziiteletele zikarhulumente kwaye besingenalizwi kumaxabiso okuthengiswa kobisi lwethu. Siye saqukwa ekubekweni kwamaxabiso emveni kokuba sizithengile iifama. Onemoto ebizithengisela ubisi lwakhe ukuba ufuna njalo. Nasemasimini besilima into esiyifunayo, amagosa karhulumente ayekho ukusinika uncedo apho siludinga khona.

Urhulumente okhoyo

Ngokokwam ukubona urhulumente okhoyo akukho nto asenzela yona thina mafama. Sisesemva kwinto yonke, asinambane, iindlela zethu azihambeki. Kwaye neendleko zokuqala ezi fama ziya zikhula maxa wonke, usuku nosuku. Ngenxa yoxinzelelo oluphezulu (high pressure) oluzisa amanzi kwezi fama zethu, imibhobho yamanzi iyagqabhuka, ngoba asisalimi. Amasimi ethu ngamathafa azalela iinyoka. Azibiywanga kwaye ngoku kukhula iminga. Asisenazo neenkomo, sesixhomekeke kwimali ezithunyelwa ngabantwana bethu abasezidolophini. Amafama amaninzi ayazishiya ezi fama, esiya kuhlala kwiindawo ezinombane kunye neendlela ezihambekayo. Kunzima ukuhamba apha ngenxa yokuba zibaleka amanzi ezi fama, ngoku loo ngxaki inwenwela nalapha kuthi endlini, imibhobho igqabhuka apha endlini kwaye igqabhuka mihla le. Asinamali zokuqesha abantu bokusilungiselela le mibhobho, nokuba siyayilungisa iphinda ikhawuleze ukugqabhuka kuba asisankcenkesheli, noxinzelelo luphezulu. Le mihlaba yethu iphelelwa yi-(value) ngoba xa sele ufuna ukuyithengisa kungokuba singazithengisa ngamalini? Ngoba kufuneka umntu lowo uza kuyithenga umthobele ixabiso kuba zinintsi izinto ekufuneka ukuba aqale azenze kwezi fama, ukulungisa imibhobho ezisa amanzi, ukubiya kunye nokugawula iminga esele igqume amasimi onke. Kwaye kusekho netyala lebhanki ekufuneka ukuba ulihlawule ukuze ube nakho ukuyithengisa uze ufumane iimpepha zomhlaba (title deed). Siphelelwa zizihlangu kukuhamba iindibano ezingasisi ndawo. Kuthethwa okoko ngezinto eziza kwenziwa kodwa andide ndizibone mna, andazi amanye amafama. Urhulumente wakhupha iimali efana nemali ukulungisa izindlu zokusengela, kwafakwa izixhobo zala maxesha sithenjiswa ngeenkomo eziza kufika kunangoku akukabikho nto ndiyibonayo. Sele kuyiminyaka emihlanu ngoku ezi zindlu zokusengela zilungisiwe, zide ziyonakala ngoku namaphahla amka nomoya. Zonke izindlu zokusengela zaye zalungiswa kwi-unit zonke. Sithenjiswa ukuba nombane uyeza kuza kusetyenzwa imini nobusuku kulinyelwa iinkomo. Sathenjiswa ukuba kuza kufana nesezilokishini apho kuza kufakelwa izibane ezinde emasimini. Amanye amafama afana nam awasazihambi ezo ndibano kuba sibona kungekho nto ihambela phambili.

Isishwankathelo

Imeko yezi fama indishiya nombuzo wokuba, ukuhamba kwethu kweli, ingaba abantwana bethu baza kuphela besenza ntoni ngazo. Sisebenze nzima ukuqala kwethu ezi fama, endinqwenela ukuba ukumka kwethu abantwana bethu baqhubekeke nazo bangaveli baphise

ngazo kubantu abangabaziyo ubunzima thina esigqithe kubo ngelixa besisephantsi koqeqesho. Ngenxa yamatyala esinawo amanye amafama aphela ezishiya ezi fama eyiyinto ebuhlungu kum leyo xa ndicinga indlela ebesiphethwe ngayo silwela ukuphumelela kwaye sinethemba nokuba sinelifa likanaphakade, kodwa namhlanje silahlekelwa ziifama zethu ngendlela nje elula kubantu abangazinto ngobunzima esigqithe kubo. Kukho nabantu abasihlelele ngokusixelela ukuba bona bangondizalelwe kweli, lonto ithetha ukuba ezi fama mazinikwe bona. Kukho ugxa wethu owaxuthelwa ifama yakhe kwa-unit 6 ndithetha nje nomntu ongene ezihlangwini zakhe akukho nto siyibonayo engcono ayenzayo, ntonje into ephambili kukuthetha.

Urhulumente makaphucule iifama zethu, ukuze sibe nakho ukuzishiya kwizandla zabantwana bethu sisazi ukuba ukubila kwethu namandla ethu awayi kuwela phantsi ngokuthi bazithengise ukumka kwethu. Xa urhulumente anokubathatha abantwana bethu abase kuqeqesho ngezolimo, ndiyacinga ukuba singabona izinto zibuyela kundalashe. Ndithetha nawenje kangangendlela esabetheka ngayo, zange sibenakho nokusa abantwana bethu kwizikolo eziphezulu (tertiary). Ambalwa amafama athe abanakho ukufundisa abantwana babo bade bafumane izifundo zesidanga. Sisahlala kwizindlu ezimagumbi mane esaziphiwa ngurhulumente, kunzima nokuba singazandisa ngenxa yokungabi namali. Kwazona ezi zindlu zethu zixwebile kwangaphandle ngokuba singakwazi ukuzipenta.

Xa urhulumente anokuthi aqeshe abantu abafana nawe babe nakho ukuya kumfama ngamnye babuze ezakhe izimvo, kwaye ukuba uyasihlumisa ahlumise umfama ngamnye ayeke ukufuna ukuba masenze indibano sibe yimbumba enye ngoba lo nto ayiphumeleli.

English Translation of Story no 2

I am Mr Somadoda, a farmer. I am fifty five years old (55). Before I became a farmer I was working in Western Cape as a fruit harvester. When I heard that, people who are interested to be farmers can do so by applying, I submitted my application form and I was called for an interview. I become a farmer in 1976, in unit known as unit 6 now.

I was granted three years of lease. After these three years we were summoned before the commit called selection board. We were given points according to our achievement and hard work of each farmer. We got different points. Those who do badly were told that if they don't

pull up their hard work, they will end up losing their farms. We were granted another years of lease.

We started these farms with six in milk good quality friesland cows, each farmer. We were given a four room brick and steel house and a store room. We were also given agricultural tool like, sprinkler irrigation pipes and garden tools. There were government representatives which were going in and out, in these farms inspecting that we do perform what we have promise to do. During those days, you were not expected to sit around during the day. We were forced to be always seen in fields planting or removing dirt. When the inspectors arrive, they used to go to the fields and inspect if there's no dirt in your mealies. A mealies was used for cow feed, which is called saledge. All the times the fields were supposed to be ploughed for cows. Even if the mealies is reaped, we were forced to steal it, whereas it is ours. We used to have some in the middle of the fields, in order not to be seen by inspectors.

We ran the farms in this way until 1984, whereby the government summoned us again before the selection board. We were appointed as best farmers and there were others who failed to become farmers. There was a new allocation according to unit. The unit which I started in it was given to best farmers and I was allocated in unit 3 and we are seven farmers here. Most farmers drop out in these farmers now, as they were collapsed long ago.

After the farms were handed to us, we were told that we must buy them. We bought the farms. Things changed after we got independence, we started to rule ourselves and do what ever a farmer wants in his land. Before 1984, laws and rules were from headquarters we were told what to do and what to follow. After 1984, we managed to sell our milk production. Before 1984, there were big tractors that used to come and collect the milk and we had no voice in pricing our milk. We were included in pricing our milk after we bought the farms. The farmer that owns a car had the chance to sell his own milk production. We planted what we want to plant after our independence, the government inspectors were there to help and assist us when they are in need.

Present government

According to my own views, there is nothing the present government is doing for us farmers. We are behind in everything, we don't have electricity, and our roads need to be repaired. The

cost to start these farmers grows each and every day. Because of high pressure that brought water to us, the pipes blast, because we are no longer irrigating the fields. Our grassing fields are homes for snakes. These grassing lands are not fenced and they grow thorn trees. We don't even have some cows; we are depended from our grandchildren who work in towns. Most farmers leave these farms and stay in places that have electricity and good road. It is hard to walk around here because the water runs all over the road. The problem now is approaching our houses. The pipes blast at our houses and they blast each and every day. We don't have money to hire plumbers to fix the pipes, even when they get repaired they blast again. Our farms lose value every day, because when you want to sell it how much are you going to sell it. Because you must drop the price as there is lot the buyer is expected to do. He must fix the pipes, to fence the farms and to remove the thorn trees. There is also a loan which you are expected to repay before you sell the farm, in order to get you title deed. I am tired of attending meeting which does not have any goals. We discuss things which will be done, but I have not experienced any one of those. The government have spend a lot of money to renovate dairy parlour and they have install today's technology. We were promised to get good in milk friesland cows, until today I have not see any cow. It's been five years now these dairy parlours have been renovated, but now the roofs are going because of the wind. The entire dairy parlours in each unit were renovated. We were promised that, we will have electricity and we will work day and night. Our fields will have lights in ploughing fields for our cows until today there is nothing happening. Some of the farmers decided to stop attending these meetings, because we don't see any changes and we are wasting our times.

Conclusion

The state of these farms leave me with question of what will happen when we pass away, what our children will do with the farms. We worked hard to start these farms and I wish that our children can keep them, not just to let them go easily to people who did not experience the difficulties we passed when we were under lease or training. Because of loans we are still owing the bank, some farmers decide to leave this farm which is painful to me especially when I think of how we were treated when we were still fighting to pass training. When I got this farm I thought I have a future fortune, but today we lose our farms to people who don't know how we have struggled. There are people who tell us that, they are born here and they deserve to be given these farms. We have our colleague in unit 6 who lost his farm and the person who took over the farm does not do anything with the farm.

The government must upgrade our farms in order for us to leave them in good hands of our children when we pass away, knowing that they won't sell them and through our energy away. If the government can take our children for agricultural training and I think we can see a good milk production as before. Because we are poor, we didn't manager to educate our children to a tertiary level. Only fewer farmers that have managed to educate their children to tertiary level. I am still staying in a four room house which I was given by government; it's even hard to extend it because I don't have money. Even outside they are still unpainted, no money to renovate the house.

If government can hire people like you researches to go to each farmer and ask about his views. The government must upgrade each farmer, and stop asking us to form co-operatives because it does not work.

5.3.1 Analysis of the story no 2

1. The Structure of the Narrative Accounts

Endpoint: Theme or goal of the story

The theme of the story is about the farmer who experienced difficulties from his early years in farming, the Black farmer, his up and down in farming. The difficulties he encountered and how he managed to own the farms. It is also about the emotional thinking of the farmer and his view about the importance of farming.

1.2 Selection of Events in the Account: Plot Structure

This narrative relates to the experience of a farmer who was a fruit harvester, before he became a farmer. Leaving his work to become a farmer and hoping that this will be his future career and something that he will survive out of it. There are various events that are connected through this core element of "stressed farmer" who meets difficulties in farming until today. The manner in which they are organized, results to the plot structure of the narrative.

The narrative consists of four events. The first event is concerned with the development of the farms. The second event is when the narrative draws us to the situation after he bought the farm. The third event, which is the possible central event of the narrative, deals with the present state of the farm. The final event is the conclusion of the narrator, advising the government about what can be done to uplift the farms and the narrator's views about the importance of farming.

The First Event

In this event, the narrator shares with us his background about how he started to become a farmer. The steps and procedures that he followed before he became a farmer, the year he started as a farmer and the equipment that he got to start the farm. He also narrates about how he worked hard to earn points, which were going to lead him to become an excellent farmer. The narrator tells us about how he won the farm, with his hard work.

Narrative of the First Event

NdinguMnumzana Somadoda, umfama. Ndineminyaka engamashumi amahlanu anesihlanu (55). Phambi kokuba ndibe ngumfama ndandingumvuni weziqhamo, eNtshona Koloni. Ndathi ndakuva ukuba kukho isibhengezo sokuba abantu abanqwenela ukuba ngamafama bangafaka isicelo. Nam ndafaka esam ndaza ndabizelwa kudliwano-ndlebe. Ndiqale ukuba ngumfama ngonyaka 1976, kwi-unit eyaziwa ngokuba yi-unit 6 ngoku.

Ndaye ndanikwa iminyaka emithathu ye-lease. Emva kwale minyaka saye savela phambi kwequmrhu elibizwa ngokuba yi-selection board. Sanikwa amanqaku ngokusebenza nzima kwethu, sishiyana ngokwamanqaku. Abo abathi abenza kakuhle bathi baxelelwa ukuba, bangazibona bephulukana nemihlaba. Saye sanikwa eminye iminyaka ye-lease.

I am Mr Somadoda, a farmer. I am fifty five years old (55). Before I became a farmer I was working in Western Cape as a fruit harvester. When I heard that, people who are interested to be farmers can do so by applying, I submitted my application form and I was called for an interview. I become a farmer in 1976, in unit known as unit 6 now.

I was granted three years of lease. After these three years we were summoned before the commit called selection board. We were given points according to our achievement and hard

work of each farmer. We got different points. Those who do badly were told that if they don't pull up their hard work, they will end up losing their farms. We were granted another years of lease.

The Second Event

In the second event, he narrates about the changes that took place after he won the probation after 1984. Things changed and he started to have independence, doing what he wants in his farm. He had his views taken into consideration, as before he had no voice in anything that is being done in his farm, even in his milk production. He had no voice in pricing his milk production. The government representative where assisting to give him an additional advice and not to be after them as before. He narrates about the reshuffle which was done after 1984.

Narrative of the Second Event

Siqhube ngale ndlela kwada kwangunyaka ka-1984, apho urhulumente wathi wasibizela phambi kwe-selection board. Sakhethwa njengamafama agqwesileyo, babakho abo abathi abaphumelela ukuba bangaba ngamafama. Kuye kwabakho uhlehlengiso ngokwe-unit. Le unit ndaqala kuyo, yanikwa owona mafama agqwesileyo ndaye ndathathwa ndafakwa kule ndikuyo ngoku u-unit 3 esingamafama asixhenxe. Kodwa ndithetha nawe nje ngoku amanye amafama anikezela akubona ukuba ezifama ziyabhanga.

Emveni kokuba sizinikiwe ezi fama kwaye kwafuneka ukuba sizithenge. Siye sazithenga. Inkqubo iye yatshintsha, ngoba saqala ukuzilawula nokwenza intando yomfama ngamnye ayithandayo efameni yakhe. Phambi kuka-1984, yonke into nemithetho besiyinikwa ngundlu-nkulu. Emva kuka-1984, siye sakwazi nokuzithengisela ubisi lwethu kanti kuqala belulandwa ziiteletele zikarhulumente kwaye besingenalizwi kumaxabiso okuthengiswa kobisi lwethu. Siye saqukwa ekubekweni kwamaxabiso emveni kokuba sizithengile iifama. Onemoto ebizithengisela ubisi lwakhe ukuba ufuna njalo. Nasemasimini besilima into esiyifunayo, amagosa karhulumente ayekho ukusinika uncedo apho siludinga khona.

We ran the farms in this way until 1984, whereby the government summoned us again before the selection board. We were appointed as best farmers and there were others who failed to become farmers. There was a new allocation according to unit. The unit which I started in it

was given to best farmers and I was allocated in unit 3 and we are seven farmers here. Most farmers drop out in these farmers now, as they were collapsed long ago.

After the farms were handed to us, we were told that we must buy them. We bought the farms. Things changed after we got independence, we started to rule ourselves and do what ever a farmer wants in his land. Before 1984, laws and rules were from headquarters we were told what to do and what to follow. After 1984, we managed to sell our milk production. Before 1984, there were big tractors that used to come and fetch the milk and we had no voice in pricing our milk. We were included in pricing our milk after we bought the farms. The farmer that owes a car had the chance to sell his own milk production. We planted what we want to plant after our independence, the government inspectors were there to help and assist us when they are in need.

The Third Event

In this narrative, the narrator tells us his views about the present government. He narrates about what he noticed about the present government, the lack of development in government and the lack of his trust in government and also he narrates about the present state of the farm. He addresses his grievances in what he thought it will give him life to survive but it has turn to be a waste, whereas it has a value. He narrates about what the department has promised to do for them, but until today he doesn't see any progress in those promises. The farmer is devastated as the bank took his title deed because his owe the bank a loan. He narrates about how his farm loses value each and every day, about the treats they get from those who want to take over their farms. He conclude by telling how he lost hope in attending meeting which does not have a go ahead.

Narrative of the Third Event

Ngokokwam ukubona urhulumente okhoyo akukho nto asenzela yona thina mafama. Sisesemva kwinto yonke, asinambane, iindlela zethu azihambeki. Kwaye neendleko zokuqala ezi fama ziya zikhula maxa wonke, usuku nosuku. Ngenxa yoxinzelelo oluphezulu (high pressure) ezisa amanzi kwezi fama zethu, imibhobho yamanzi iyagqabhuka, ngoba asisalimi. Amasimi ethu ngamathafa azalela iinyoka. Azibiywanga kwaye ngoku kukhula iminga. Asisenazo neenkomo, sesixhomekeke kwimali ezithunyelwa ngabantwana bethu abasezidolophini. Amafama amaninzi ayazishiya ezi fama, esiya kuhlala kwiindawo

ezinombane kunye neendlela ezihambekayo. Kunzima ukuhamba apha kuthi ngenxa yokuba zibaleka amanzi ezi fama, ngoku loo ngxaki inwenwela nalapha kuthi endlini, imibhobho igqabhuka apha endlini kwaye igqabhuka mihla le. Asinamali zokuqesha abantu bokusilungiselela le mibhobho, nokuba siyayilungisa iphinda ikhawuleze ukugqabhuka kuba asisankcenkesheli, noxinzelelo luphezulu. Le mihlaba yethu iphelelwa yi(value) ngoba xa sele ufuna ukuyithengisa kungokuba singazithengisa ngamalini? Ngoba kufuneka umntu lowo uza kuyithenga umthobe ixabiso kuba zinintsi izinto ekufuneka ukuba aqale azenze kwezi fama, ukulungisa imibhobho ezisa amanzi, ukubiya kunye nokugawula iminga esele igqume amasimi onke. Kwaye kusekho netyala lebhanki ekufuneka ukuba ulihlawule ukuze ube nakho ukuyithengisa uze ufumane iimpepha zomhlaba (title deed). Siphelelwa zizihlangu kukuhamba iindibano ezingasisi ndawo. Kuthethwa okoko ngezinto eziza kwenziwa kodwa andide ndizibone mna, andazi amanye amafama. Urhulumente wakhupha iimali efana nemali ukulungisa izindlu zokusengela, kwafakwa izixhobo zala maxesha sithenjiswa ngeenkomo eziza kufika kunangoku akukabikho nto ndiyibonayo. Sele kuyiminyaka emihlanu ngoku ezi zindlu zokusengela zilungisiwe, zide ziyonakala ngoku namaphahla amka nomoya. Zonke izindlu zokusengela zaye zalungiswa kwi-unit zonke. Sithenjiswa ukuba nombane uyeza kuza kusetyenzwa imini nobusuku kulinyelwa iinkomo. Sathenjiswa ukuba kuza kufana nesezilokishini apho kuza kufakelwa izibane ezinde emasimini. Amanye amafama afana nam awasazihambi ezo ndibano kuba sibona kungekho nto ihambela phambili.

According to my own views, there is nothing the present government is doing for us farmers. We are behind in everything, we don't have electricity, and our roads need to be repaired. The cost to start these farms grows each and every day. Because of high pressure that brought water to us, the pipes blast, because we are no longer irrigating the fields. Our grassing fields are homes for snakes. These grassing lands are not fenced and they grow thorn trees. We don't even have some cows; we are depended from our grandchildren who work in towns. Most farmers leave these farms and stay in places that have electricity and good road. It is hard to walk around here because the water runs all over the road. The problem now is approaching our houses. The pipes blast at our houses and they blast each and every day. We don't have money to hire plumbers to fix the pipes, even we they get repaired they blast again. Our farms lose value every day, because when you want to sell it how much are you going to sell it. Because you must drop the price as there is lot the buyer is expected to do. He must fix the pipes, to fence the farms and to remove the thorn trees. There is also a loan which you are expected to repay before you sell the farm, in order to get you title deed. I am tied of attending

meeting which does not have any goals. We discuss things which will be done, but I have not experienced any one of those. The government have spend a lot of money to renovate dairy parlours and they have install today's technology. We were promised to get good in milk friesland cows, until today I have not see any cow. It's been five years now these dairy parlours have been renovated, but now the roofs are going because of the wind. The entire dairy parlours in each unit were renovated. We were promised that, we will have electricity and we will work day and night. Our fields will have lights in ploughing fields for our cows until today there is nothing happening. Some of the farmers decided to stop attending these meetings, because we don't see any changes and we are wasting our times.

The Fourth Event

In the fourth event, the narrator is worried about the state of these farms, especially when he passes away. What their children will do with the farm. His wish is that, their children can take over and not to think about selling the farm when he passes away, thinking about how he worked hard during the probation. He also wishes that, the department can upgrade their farms in order for their children to take over instead of selling them because there is no production. He concludes by addressing views about what can be done to upgrade the farms.

Narrative of the Fourth Event

Imeko yezi fama indishiya nombuzo wokuba, ukuhamba kwethu kweli ingaba abantwana bethu baza kuphela besenza ntoni ngazo. Sisebenze nzima ukuqala kwethu ezi fama, endinqwenela ukuba ukumka kwethu abantwana bethu baqhubekeke nazo bangaveli baphise ngazo kubantu abangabaziyo ubunzima thina esigqithe kubo ngelixa besisephantsi koqeqesho. Ngenxa yamatyala esinawo amanye amafama aphela ezishiya ezi fama eyiyinto ebuhlungu kum leyo xa ndicinga indlela ebesiphethwe ngayo silwela ukuphumelela kwaye sinethemba nokuba sinelifa likanaphakade, kodwa namhlanje silahlekelwa ziifama zethu ngendlela nje elula kubantu abangazinto ngobunzima esigqithe kubo. Kukho nabantu abasihlelele ngokusixelela ukuba bona bangondizalelwe kweli, lonto ithetha ukuba ezi fama mazinikwe bona. Kukho ugxa wethu owaxuthelwa ifama yakhe kwa-unit 6 ndithetha nje nomntu ongene ezihlangwini zakhe akukho nto siyibonayo engcono ayenzayo, ntonje into ephambili kukuthetha.

Urhulumente makaphucule iifama zethu, ukuze sibe nakho ukuzishiya kwizandla zabantwana bethu sisazi ukuba ukubila kwethu namandla ethu awayi kuwela phantsi ngokuthi bazithengise ukumka kwethu. Xa urhulumente anokubathatha abantwana bethu abase kuqeqesho ngezolimo, ndiyacinga ukuba singabona izinto zibuyela kundalashe. Ndithetha nawenje kangangendlela esabetheka ngayo, zange sibenakho nokusa abantwana bethu kwizikolo eziphezulu (tertiary). Ambalwa amafama athe abanakho ukufundisa abantwana babo bade bafumane izifundo zesidanga. Sisahlala kwizindlu ezimagumbi mane esaziphiwa ngurhulumente, kunzima nokuba singazandisa ngenxa yokungabi namali. Kwazona ezi zindlu zethu zixwebile kwangaphandle ngokuba singakwazi ukuzipenta.

Xa urhulumente anokuthi aqeshe abantu abafana nawe babe nakho ukuya kumfama ngamnye babuze ezakhe izimvo, kwaye ukuba uyasihlumisa ahlumise umfama ngamnye ayeke ukufuna ukuba masenze indibano sibe yimbumba enye ngoba lo nto ayiphumeleli.

The state of these farms leaves me with question of what will happen when we pass away, what our children will do with the farms. We worked hard to start these farms and I wish that our children can keep them, not just to let them go easily to people who did not experience the difficulties we passed when we were under lease or training. Because of loans we are still owing the bank, some farmers decide to leave this farm which is painful to me especially when I think of how we were treated when we were still fighting to pass training. When I got this farm I thought I have a future fortune, but today we lose our farms to people who don't know how we have struggled. There are people who tell us that, they are born here and they deserve to be given these farms. We have our colleague in unit 6 who lost his farm and the person who took over the farm does not do anything with the farm.

The government must upgrade our farms in order for us to leave them in good hands of our children when we pass away, knowing that they won't sell them and through our energy away. If the government can take our children for agricultural training and I think we can see a good milk production as before. Because we are poor, we didn't manager to educate our children to a tertiary level. Only fewer farmers that have managed to educate their children to tertiary level. I am still staying in a four room house which I was given by government; it's even hard to extend them because I don't have money. Even outside they are still unpainted, no money to renovate them.

If government can hire people like you researches to go to each farmer and ask about his views. The government must upgrade each farmer, and stop asking us to form co-operatives because it does not work.

1.3 Ordering of Events

1.3.1 Sequence

The events of the narrative are ordered in a linear sequence as already shown in the four events above. At first, the narrator relates to us to how he got a farm by applying. He continued to narrate to us as to what happened when he first arrived, the challenges he encountered, the changes that took place after he won the probation and the difficulties after he bought the farm. He narrates to us to what causes some farmers to leave the farms, because there is no production and the farms collapsed.

1.3.2 Duration

The duration of this narrative is not clear as it is not mentioned in the story, but according to what the narrator has told us, it is reasonable to conclude that all this happened after the narrator was summoned for interview and succeeded.

1.4 Stability of Identity

The narrator does not have a coherent identity throughout the narrative, his character displays two sides firstly, he appears as a strong character with lot of challenges he come across but he stand firm. The state of the farm changed the narrator's emotions. The way he reason about the state of the farm, shows that he changed emotionally.

The narrator as a strong character

Starting from his arrival at the farm, the narrator came across challenges and difficulties, where he was to fight to win the probation and he stand firm. He also stands firm and strong when he saw what he thought it will be his future fortune collapses, he did not think of living

the farm. Although various incidents of hard work situation were given, it did not change his resolute character. The narrator is a resolute character that is firm and determined.

The narrator's appearance

The fact that he is devastated about what will happen about the farm when he dies shows that the narrator is not happy at all and also the fact that other farmers are leaving the farming environment, affects him. The present state of the farm and because there is no proper help from the government also affects him.

1.5 Causal Linkage

The events in the narrative are causally linked in that they show the relationship between a cause and effect. Firstly, the farmer left his job as a fruit harvest to become a farmer. Secondly, he worked hard during probation because he wanted to win the farm. Thirdly, he stops to attend the meeting because he doesn't see any changes and promises that take place. Fourthly, he is so devastated because the farm is collapsing and there is no production.

2. The Narrative Form

2.1 Stability narrative

The thoughts of the narrator were that, when he got the farm he thought that he have a fortune of his future. He also thought that he have got something which will feed him and his children, something that will bring money and wealth to him, but when the farm lost production he didn't give up. He told himself that with no production or with a production he doesn't go anywhere.

2.2 The Regressive narrative

The story has a regressive form, which can be symbolized by the phrases:

- I am tired of attending meeting which does not have any goals. We discuss things which will be done, but I have not experienced any one of those.

The narrator hoped that there will be changes that will happen after the department renovated the dairy parlour and promised them that there will be changes. He lost hope when he saw that there is nothing that takes place and he ended up regretting to attend the meetings that have no way forward.

3. Self-Narrative

3.1 Narrative is True

This is a true narrative, to get what you want you must work hard and sweat for it. It is also common that, sometimes there are promises that are not always been fulfilled, as the narrator tells us that there are promises that are not be fulfilled. It is true that, to have a way forward you need a support.

4. Practices of Self-Narration: Process

4.1 Variety of Narrative Forms

The story has a variety of narrative forms. At the beginning, the story opens with a brief stable narrative, where the farmer left his old job and became a farmer. He goes on to tell us all the equipment which he was given to start the farm. It didn't take him long to see good results of the farm under his probation as he was also expected to work hard and produce. The narrator had a good milk production whereas he did not have any voice in pricing of his milk and this is a progressive narrative. Soon after the narrator won the probation and had independence, things changed dramatically whereby the farm started to deteriorate and losing production. The government had an effort to help the farmer by advising him to form co-operative which does not work according to the narrator and there are promises from the government which are not been fulfilled and the narrator is tired of attending bear meeting which does not have a go ahead, this forms a regressive narrative of the story. When he won the probation, the narrator appears to be enthusiastic about his new environment and think that he has got the fortune of his future. It didn't take him long to realize that the farm is collapsing. This sudden changed his life.

4.2 Micro Narrative

This is a narration of events that have taken place in a very short period of time; almost from the time of a good production to the time of the collapse of the farm. This span makes this story a micro narrative.

4.3 Nesting of the Narrative

Nesting of events is not possible here as there is only one narrative.

5. Pragmatic of Self-Narrative

5.1 Regressive Narrative

This narrative solicits attention, pity and concern. The narrator give attention to the state of the farm, as it loses value each and every day. His attention is that if he can think of selling the farm, he can sell it with how much because the person who will take over must first fix lot of things. His attention again is to the state whereby the pipes blast every day and the situation is worsening whereby now it comes to his house. He pity about those who leave their farms because there is no production. His concern is that, what will happen when he passes away. He is afraid that his children will sell the farm to people who did not experience the difficulties that they went through them.

6. Interknitting of Identities

6.1 Moral evaluation

The narrator is evaluated as a strong character, motivated, concern and pity. He didn't give up when the farm started to deteriorate but he continues with his farm. He is so concern about what will happen when he passes away, if the children will sell the farm or not. He is pity about his colleagues that end up leaving the farms because there is not production at all and there is no hope to them that the farms will be upgraded.

7. Emotions

- (a) At the beginning, the narrator experienced emotions of excitement after he bought the farm. There was a good production and the farm was a source of living for him and his family. This emotion was short-lived because the farm started to collapse and he was not trained enough to run the farm.
- (b) All these emotions are embedded in the culture as it is normal that you must work hard to achieve your goals and it is also common to everyone to have pity and concern when he or she sees his colleague leaving the environment because of bad condition and lack of support after a hard work. Sometimes to achieve your goals, there must be a second hand to help you and achieve what you want as the narrator needs help from the government to upgrade his farm.

5.4 STORY NO 3

NdinguNkosikazi Mabhelandile, ndinemyaka engamashumi asibhozo anesibini. Phambi kokuba size kuhlala kulomhlaba esikuwo nomyeni wam ongasekhoyo, sasihlala ePlettenberg Bay. Sasuswa ngeminyaka yo-1968 xa kwakuqala inkqubo ye-segregation, apho imimandla yayisahluhlwa ngokwebala lomntu. Indawo esasikuyo kwathiwa iza kuhlala abantu abamhlophe. Kwakubuhlungu kuthi ukususwa kwindawo esasisesiyiqelile, kwaye singayazi nendawo esiya kuyo ukuba injani. Sisuswa kwindawo esasizalelwe kuyo, neyayiyindawo ekwakulele kuyo izinyanya zethu. Sasiphangela njengomabhalana sobabini nomyeni wam. Siye safikela kweli cala emveni okuba sisusiwe ePlettenberg bay, ngokuthi sithathwe ngurhulumente welo xesha. Safika apha kulithafa eligwele yimanga, saza sageca ii-ankile ezisixhenxe. Siye saphinda sabamba njengomabhalana kwi-office zikamantyi. Emveni kweminyaka emithathu siye sagqiba ngokuthatha umhlala phantsi, saza saqala ngokusebenza umhlaba wethu. Sakwenza oku kuba besifuna ukuqala into entsha. Saye sathenga izixhobo zokuqala ifama ngemali yomhlala phantsi. Sakuqala oko singazi nokuba siza kuphumelela, emveni kokuba siyeke iimisebenzi yethu yokuba ngomabhalana. Saqala kancinci ngokuthi silime ii-ankile ezintathu. Siye saqhubela phambili sakubona ukuba ingeniso ikhona. Iinkomo zona asinazo sigxininise kwicala lokulima izityalo.

Siye saqhuba sada saqesha abantu bokusincedisisa. Site sakubona ukuba ingeniso ihamba kakuhle emveni kweminyaka emithathu, sagqiba ekubeni sandise indlu setsale nombane. Ikho

inxaso esasiyifumana kurhulumente wangaphambili, noxa thina sasinezixhobo zethu sasingaxomekekanga kuncedo lukarhulumente. Urhulumente wayebanika abantu izinto abazidingayo, ezifana nezixhobo zokugeca imiga. Wayekwasilimela iifama zethu ngexabiso elifikelelekayo. Oyena mcezi mngeni esasijongene nawo kukuba kude kakhulu kwamanzi, kwakufuneka ukuba sihambe umgama omde ukuya kwindawo enamanzi. Nawo amanzi lawo besiwasebenzisela ukuwasela nokupheka, kodwa ibikho inxaso kurhulumente kuba bekukho iiteletele ebezijikeleza namanzi apho abantu bebhakhelela ngeembombozi. Ezi teletele bezijikeleza kanye emva kweeveki ezimbini. Izityalo zethu bezixhomekeke emvuleni, nangoku asinawo amanzi ngokwasekunkcencesheleni izityalo, kodwa izinto zingcono kakhulu kuba sinempompo ezisemizini yethu.

Enye ingxaki esasijongene nayo, kukungabikho kwemalike ezikufutshane. Besiye silime amasimi kungabikho ndawo apho sinokuthi sithengise khona. Kodwa kuba thina besinezixhobo zethu, ezifana neeteletele kunye nemoto besiye sibenakho ukuya kuzithengisela izityalo zethu edolophini. Ibibakho ilahleko ebesiye siyifumane, kodwa kuba bendingaphelelanga ekulimeni kodwa. Bendifuye neehagu ebendizixela ndizithengise ngexesha lenkama-nkam. Izityalo ebezithi zonakele bendizinika iihagu. Ifama iye yakhula apho siye sanakho ukukhulisa abantwana bethu ngemali yengeniso ebisenziwa ngumhlaba wethu. Ndithe ndakubona ukuba itshitshini lefama lihambela phambili, ndiye ndaqalisa neshishini lokuthengisa iinkukhu zenyama. Ndithetha nje nangoku abantwana kunye nesizukulwana siluncedo kulomhlaba, bebonisa uthakazelelo lokuba ukumka kwam apha bazakushiyeke bethathisa apho ndiyeke khona.

Akho amahla ndenyuka oye udibane nawo kwifaming, afana nokubelwa, izityalo ezithi zonakale ngenxa kukutyiwa yimibundane, kodwa kuye kufuneka ukuba usebenze nzima ukuze ube nakho ukuzahlula iingxaki kwaye nokuba nomonde kuyafuneka. Nangoku isekho imiceli mngeni esiye sidibane nayo, efana nokungabikho kweemalike ezikufutshane nathi, imbalela maxa wambi ukungqongophala kwemvula, ubusela obandileyo. Yena urhulumente uyazama ukusihlangabeza ngokuthi akhuphe imbewu simahla kanye emva kweenyanga ezintathu.

Enye yengxaki esijongene nayo kulemihla kukunyuka kwamaxabiso okuthenga izinto zefama, lonto ikhokhele ekubeni xa ufuna abantu bokuba baze kukunceda ekuvuneni okanye ekulimeni, umntu afune ukuba umhlawule imali efana nemali ngenxa yokunyuka kwezinto.

Kube nzima kuthi ukuthengisa kuba izinto kuye kufuneke sizinyuse amaxabiso, kube nzima ukuba abantu bazithenge ngokukhawuleza kuba abantu bengenamali kwaye isininzi sabantu singaphangeli.

Ukuhambela phambili kwemveliso, kuye kwanefuthe elihle ngoba siye songeza ngokuthenga izixhobo zokusebenza ukongeza kwezo esasinazo. Siye sathenga itelelele, ikhuba kunye nelori yokuthengisa imveliso.

Ifaming ngokwezam imbono, iseyinto ebalulekileyo elinokuthi ulutsha luyithathe. Xa banokuthi baqale ngokuthatha izifundo zezolimo kwakumabanga asezantsi. Kudala urhulumente ebesithatha asise kuqeqesho lwezolimo, ukufunda ngakumbi ngezolimo. Kodwa kweli xesha sikulo kungcono xa ulutsha lunokuthi lufundele izifundo zezolimo. Kuba ngexesha lethu, ezolimo yayizizifundo zabantu bebala kuphela, thina singena lungelo lokufundela ezolimo. Kungalulutho xa ulutsha lunokuthi lube namava ngakumbi ngezolimo. Ikho imiceli mgeni abazakuthi bajongane nayo kodwa kubabulekile ukuba umntu anyamezele ukuze abe nakho ukuphumelela.

English Translation of Story no 3

I am Mrs Mabhelandile, I am eighty two years old. Before we came to stay where we are now with my late husband, we were staying in Plettenberg Bay. We were removed during 1968, when the segregation system was introduced. When places were divided according to your race and color. We were told that, the place we occupied will be reserved for white people. It was painful for us to be moved from the place we were used to it, being taken to a new place which we were familiar with it. Taken and removed from the place that our ancestors were rested in it. We were both working as clerks. We arrived here, after we were shifted from Plettenberg Bay, by the then government. The time we arrived here, the place was full of grass and thorn trees and we removed the dirt things, until we had seven plots. We continued working as clerks at magistrate office. After three years, we decided to retire, and concentrate in our land. We did this, because we wanted to start a new thing and face challenges. We bought agricultural tools with our retirement money, to start with farming. We started farming not knowing whether, it will succeed after we decided to retire. We started to plant three plots. We went a step further after we noticed that there is a gain. We don't have cows; our main production is to plant vegetables.

We continued planting our plots, until we saw the importance of hiring labors to help us. When we noticed that we had a good production and a good profit after three years, we decided with my husband to extend the house and have electricity. The government used to give us a good support, but for us we had our own equipment we were not much more depended from the government support. The government used to give other farmers equipment that they need, like tools to cut bushes and to plant our plots with an affordable price. The most challenge we were faced with is water, which was far from us. We used to walk long distance to go and fetch water for drinking and cooking purpose but not for irrigating our vegetables. There was support which we used to get from government, there were tractor with big tanks of water where we used to go and fetch water. The tractors used to circulate once after two weeks. Our production was depended from rain to grow and to be irrigated, even now our production still depends on rain, but things are better now than before because I have water on my yard, I have a tap and a big tank.

Another challenge we are faced with, is market. There is no market which is close to us. We used to plant our plots, but too hard to find where we can sell our production. It was not difficult for us to sell our production during those days, because we had our own equipment like a tractor and a car to go to town and sell our production. I used to run out of lose with my production, but because I had other businesses like selling pigs during pension. I used to give my pigs rotten vegetables and this was also helpful to me. The production increased and we saw a good profit, whereby we managed to raise our children and educate them with the profit of what we produce. When I saw that the farm is growing, I opened chicken selling business. My children and my grandchildren are helpful to this farm; they help me when I need their help. They show that, they will keep the farm in good running condition when I die and they will continue producing.

There are problems you encounter in farming, like stealing, worms that rotten you vegetable, but you must work hard and be patient if you want to overcome those obstacles. Even now, there are challenges which we are still faces, markets which are still far from us, draught, scarce of rain and an increase of stealing. The government is trying to help by giving us free seed, once after three months.

Another challenge I am faced with in this farm is high price of agricultural equipment. This leads to high demand from labors, when you pay them when you have asked them to help you to harvest or to plant. It's difficult for us to sell our products, because the price must be high and it's difficult for our vegetable go quick because people don't have enough money. Because of good gain we had, we managed to add other important agricultural tools from those we had. We bought a tractor and a lorry to help to sell our product.

To me farming is still an important career the young generation can think about. If the young generation can take agricultural studies at low level, that could help them. During the apartheid regime, government used to take us for training, to learn more about agriculture. In this generation, it is important for young generation to study agriculture. During our generation, agricultural studies were meant for white people we didn't have those chances as blacks, but now everyone can study agriculture. It is important for young generation to have an experience of farming before they become farmers. There are challenges that they must expect in farming, but it is important for a person to be patient and work hard to get success.

5.4.1 Analysis of the story no 3

1. The Structure of the Narrative Accounts

Endpoint: Theme or goal of the story

This narrative story is about the importance of farming. It educates the young generation who wishes to take farming as a career. It warns the young generation about the difficulties a person must expect and how to overcome the obstacles. The story also educates about the difficulties other people have overcome to get success and how they overcome the obstacles.

1.2 Selection of Events in the Account: Plot Structure

This narrative relates to the experience of a farmer who was a clerk with his husband, before they decided to retire and concentrate in farming. They were removed from their place of birth, because of segregation system which was to be implemented. They were brought to the place they are leaving in now. When they arrived here, the place was full of bushes and thorn trees but they overcome to remove and clear the place. After three years in this place, they

retired and started to plant their plots. When they took the decision to retire, they didn't know if it was a good idea or not, but they decided to take a risk. After some years this planting resulted to have good results. There are various events that are connected through this core element of "a happy farmer" who meets difficulties in farming but she overcomes them. The manner in which they are organized, results in the plot structure of the narrative.

The narrative consists of four events. The first event is concerned with the background of the farmer. She narrators about how they became farmers and their occupation. The second event is about the farm, the production they were producing. The third event is about the difficulties she encountered in farming or as a farmer. The fourth event is about her advice about the importance of farming to the young generation.

The First Event

In this event, the narrator shares with us her background, their occupation before they retired and why they were removed from their place to the new place. She tells us how the new place was when they arrived. She also narrator about the risk, they decided to take and concentrate on farming. The risk to retire and not knowing if farming will succeed and what they did with retirement money.

Narrative of the First Event

NdinguNkosikazi Mabhelandile, ndineminyaka engamashumi asibhozo anesibini. Phambi kokuba size kuhlala kulomhlaba esikuwo nomyeni wam ongasekhoyo, sasihlala ePlettenberg Bay. Sasuswa ngeminyaka yo-1968 xa kwakuqala inkqubo ye-segregation, apho imimandla yayisahlulwa ngokwebala lomntu. Indawo esasikuyo kwathiwa iza kuhlala abantu abamhlophe. Kwakubuhlungu kuthi ukususwa kwindawo esasisesiyiqelile, kwaye singayazi nendawo esiya kuyo ukuba injani. Sisuswa kwindawo esasizalelwe kuyo, neyayiyindawo ekwakulele kuyo izinyanya zethu. Sasiphangela njengomabhalana sobabini nomyeni wam. Siye safikela kweli cala emveni okuba sisusiwe ePlettenberg bay, ngokuthi sithathwe ngurhulumente welo xesha. Safika apha kulithafa eligcwele yiminga, saza sageca ii-ankile ezisixhenxe. Siye saphinda sabamba njengomabalana kwi-office zikamantyi. Emveni kweminyaka emithathu siye sagqiba ngokuthatha umhlala phantsi, saza saqala ngokusebenza umhlaba wethu. Sakwenza oku kuba besifuna ukuqala into entsha. Saye sathenga izixhobo

zokuqala ifama ngemali yomhlala phantsi. Sakuqala oko singazi nokuba siza kuphumelela, emveni kokuba siyeke iimisebenzi yethu yokuba ngomabhalana. Saqala kancinci ngokuthi silime ii-ankile ezintathu. Siye saqhubela phambili sakubona ukuba ingeniso ikhona. Iinkomo zona asinazo sigxininise kwicala lokulima izityalo.

I am Mrs Mabhelandile, I am eighty two years old. Before we came to stay where we are now with my late husband, we were staying in Plettenberg Bay. We were removed during 1968, when the segregation system was introduced. When places were divided according to your race and color. We were told that, the place we occupied will be reserved for white people. It was painful for us to be moved from the place we were used to it, being taken to a new place which we were familiar with it. Taken and removed from the place that our ancestors were rested in it. We were both working as clerks. We arrived here, after we were shifted from Plettenberg Bay, by the then government. The time we arrived here, the place was full of grass and thorn trees and we removed the dirt things, until we had seven plots. We continued working as clerks at magistrate office. After three years, we decided to retire, and concentrate in our land. We did this, because we wanted to start a new thing and face challenges. We bought agricultural tools with our retirement money, to start with farming. We started farming not knowing whether, it will succeed after we decided to retire. We started to plant three plots. We went a step further after we noticed that there is a gain. We don't have cows; our main production is to plant vegetables.

The Second Event

In the second event, the narrator tells us about how good the farming was doing, a good production until they decided to have their own labor to help them. She also narrators about the help and support they received from the government.

Narrative of the Second Event

Siye saqhuba sada saqesha abantu bokusincedisisa. Sitehe sakubona ukuba ingeniso ihamba kakuhle, emveni kweminyaka emithathu sagqiba ekubeni sandise indlu setsale nombane. Ikho inxaso esasiyifumana kurhulumente wangaphambili, noxa thina sasinezixhobo zethu sasingaxomekekanga kuncedo lukarhulumente. Urhulumente wayebanika abantu izinto abazidingayo, ezifana nezixhobo zokugeca imiga. Wayekwasilimela iifama zethu ngexabiso

elifikelelekayo. Oyena mneni mngeni esasijongene nawo kukuba kude kakhulu kwamanzi, kwakufuneka ukuba sihambe umgama omde ukuya kwindawo enamanzi. Nawo amanzi lawo besiwasebenzisela ukuwasela nokupheka, kodwa ibikho inxaso kurhulumente kuba bekukho iiteletele ebezijikeleza namanzi apho abantu bebekhelela ngeembombozi. Ezi teletele bezijikeleza kanye emva kweeveki ezimbini. Izityalo zethu bezixhomekeke emvuleni, nangoku asinawo amanzi ngokwasekunkcencesheleni izityalo, kodwa izinto zingcono kakhulu kuba sinempompo ezisemizini yethu.

We continued planting our plots, until we saw the importance of hiring labors to help us. When we noticed that we had a good production and good profit after three years, we decided with my husband to extend the house and have electricity. The government used to give us a good support, but for us we had our own equipment we were not much more depended from the government support. The government used to give other farmers equipment that they need, like tools to cut bushes and to plant our plots with an affordable price. The most challenge we were faced with is water, which was far from us. We used to walk long distance to go and fetch water for drinking and cooking purpose but not for irrigating our vegetables. There was support which we used to get from government, there were tractor with big tanks of water where we used to go and fetch water. The tractors used to circulate once after two weeks. Our production was depended from rain to grow and to be irrigated, even now our production still depends on rain, but things are better now than before because I have water on my yard, I have a tap and a big tank.

The Third event

In this event, the narrator tells us about the challenges she faced in farming, and how the government came to the rescue. She talks about the challenges that can be expected in farming and how to overcome those challenges. She tells us about how the farming became to introduce other businesses and how it grows whereby she managed to add some agricultural equipment.

Narrative of the Third Event

Enye ingxaki esasijongene nayo, kukungabikho kwemalike ezikufutshane. Besiye silime amasimi kungabikho ndawo apho sinokuthi sithengise khona. Kodwa kuba thina

besinezixhobo zethu, ezifana neeteletele kunye nemoto besiye sibenakho ukuya kuzithengisela izityalo zethu edolophini. Ibibakho ilahleko ebesiye siyifumane, kodwa kuba bendingaphelelanga ekulimeni kodwa. Bendifuye neehagu ebendizixela ndizithengise ngexesha lenkama-nkam. Izityalo ebezithi zonakele bendizinika iihagu. Ifama iye yakhula apho siye sanakho ukukhulisa abantwana bethu ngemali yengeniso ebisenziwa ngumhlaba wethu. Ndithe ndakubona ukuba itshitshini lefama lihambela phambili, ndiye ndaqalisa neshishini lokuthengisa iinkukhu zenyama. Ndithetha nje nangoku abantwana kunye nesizukulwana siluncedo kulomhlaba, bebonisa uthakazelelo lokuba ukumka kwam apha bazakushiyeka bethathisa apho ndiyeke khona.

Akho amahla ndenyuka oye udibane nawo kwifaming, afana nokubelwa, izityalo ezithi zonakale ngenxa kukutyiwa yimibundane, kodwa kuye kufuneke ukuba usebenze nzima ukuze ube nakho ukuzahlula iingxaki kwaye nokuba nomonde kuyafuneka. Nangoku isekho imiceli mngeni eseye sidibane nayo, efana nokungabikho kweemalike ezikufutshane nathi, imbalela maxa wambi ukungqongophala kwemvula, ubusela obandileyo. Yena urhulumente uyazama ukusihlangabeza ngokuthi akhuphe imbewu simahla kanye emva kweenyanga ezintathu.

Enye yengxaki esijongene nayo kulemihla kukunyuka kwamaxabiso okuthenga izinto zefama, lonto ikhokhele ekubeni xa ufuna abantu bokuba baze kukunceda ekuvuneni okanye ekulimeni, umntu afune ukuba umhlawule imali efana nemali ngenxa yokunyuka kwezinto. Kube nzima kuthi ukuthengisa kuba izinto kuye kufuneke sizinyuse amaxabiso, kube nzima ukuba abantu bazithenge ngokukhawuleza kuba abantu bengenamali kwaye isininzi sabantu singaphangeli.

Ukuhambela phambili kwemveliso, kuye kwanefuthe elihle ngoba siye songeza ngokuthenga izixhobo zokusebenza ukongeza kwezo esasinazo. Siye sathenga iteletele, ikhuba kunye nelori yokuthengisa imveliso.

Another challenge we are faced with, is market. There is no market which is close to us. We used to plant our plots, but too hard to find where we can sell our production. It was not difficult for us to sell our production during those days, because we had our own equipment like a tractor and a car to go to town and sell our production. I used to run out of lose with my production, but because I had other businesses like selling pigs during pension. I used to

give my pigs rotten vegetables and this was also helpful to me. The production increased and we saw a good profit, whereby we managed to raise our children and educate them with the profit of what we produce. When I saw that the farm is growing, I opened chicken selling business. My children and my grandchildren are helpful to this farm; they help me when I need their help. They show that, they will keep the farm in good running condition when I die and they will continue producing.

There are problems you encounter in farming, like stealing, worms that rotten you vegetable, but you must work hard and be patient if you want to overcome those obstacles. Even now, there are challenges which we are still faces, markets which are still far from us, draught, scarce of rain and an increase of stealing. The government is trying to help by giving us free seed, once after three months.

Another challenge I am faced with in this farm is high price of agricultural equipment. This leads to high demand from labors, when you pay them when you have asked them to help you to harvest or to plant. It's difficult for us to sell our products, because the price must be high and it's difficult for our vegetable go quick because people don't have enough money. Because of good gain we had, we managed to add other important agricultural tools from those we had. We bought a tractor and a lorry to help to sell our product.

The Fourth event

In this event, the narrator share with us her thoughts about the importance of agriculture. She advices the young generation about what they can do to become qualified farmers, when they think of becoming farmers. She tells us about the opportunities the young generation have and how things were during her generation.

Narrative of the Fourth Event

Ifaming ngokwezam imbono, iseyinto ebalulekileyo elinokuthi ulutsha luyithathe. Xa banokuthi baqale ngokuthatha izifundo zezolimo kwakumabanga asezantsi. Kudala urhulumente ebesithatha asise kuqeqesho lwezolimo, ukufunda ngakumbi ngezolimo. Kodwa kweli xesha sikulo kungcono xa ulutsha lunokuthi lufundele izifundo zezolimo. Kuba ngexesha lethu, ezolimo yayizizifundo zabantu bebala kuphela, thina singena lungelo

lokufundela ezolimo. Kungalulutho xa ulutsha lunokuthi lube namava ngakumbi ngezolimo. Ikho imiceli mgeni abazakuthi bajongane nayo kodwa kubabulekile ukuba umntu anyamezele ukuze abe nakho ukuphumelela.

To me farming is still an important career the young generation can think about. If the young generation can take agricultural studies at low level, that could help them. During the apartheid regime, government used to take us for training, to learn more about agriculture. In this generation, it is important for young generation to study agriculture. During our generation, agricultural studies were meant for white people we didn't have those chances as blacks, but now everyone can study agriculture. It is important for young generation to have an experience of farming before they become farmers. There are challenges that they must expect in farming, but it is important for a person to be patient and work hard to get success.

1.3 Ordering of Events

1.3.1 Sequence

The events of the narrative are ordered in a linear sequence as already shown in the four events above. At first, the narrator tells us their background with his husband and their occupation. She tells us what brought them to the place they are residing now. How painful it was when they were removed from their birth place. She continued to narrate to us about what they did when they arrived in their new place which was full of thorn trees. She tells us about the difficult decision they decided to take and concentrate in their farming, the decision to retire and plant their plots. She tells us about how the farm was producing, whereby it introduced new businesses. She tells us about what they did with their profit and also what their children and grandchildren are so helpful to the farm.

1.3.2 Duration

According to what the narrator has given to us, it is reasonable to conclude that all this took place when the narrator decided to retire as a clerk and concentrate at farming.

1.4 Stability of Identity

The narrator does not have a coherent identity throughout the narrative; her character displays two sides, first she appears as a person who is not consistent. When they decided to retire from their old work as a clerk with his husband, they were not sure whether this was a good decision. She tells us that, they started to plant three plots; this shows that at the beginning the character was not consistent but she was afraid not knowing if she will succeed. The farm showed a good profit, and the identity of the narrator changed and now showing “happiness” until she decided to open other businesses, like to sell chickens.

1.5 Causal Linkage

The events in the narrative are causally linked in that they show the relationship between of a cause and effect. Firstly, the narrator left their own place of birth, the reason behind this was the introduction of the segregation system. Secondly, the narrator decided to retire as a clerk and concentrate in farming because they wanted to start and face new challenges. She extends the house and hire labors to help her because the farm was producing well with good profit. Lastly, she started other businesses because she noticed a good profit the farm was doing and she noticed reasons to start them, like knowing that the rotten vegetables will be given and feed her pigs.

2. The Narrative Form

2.1 Stability narrative

At first, it was difficult for the narrator, when she left her birth place to the new place which she was familiar with it. When she arrived here, she decided to continue working as a clerk, when they decided to retire and concentrate in farming, they did not know if that was a good decision and not knowing if they will succeed with farming. They decided to start planting three plots, but when there was a good production and hired labors and they saw the need to add they agricultural equipment. Because the farm was producing a good production, this leads to introduce other businesses. The narrator ends with a good profit with her children and grandchildren helpful in the farm. These events results in a stability narrative.

2.2 Progressive narrative

At first, the narrator was not show if farming will help her to be successful. When she decided to retire from her work as a clerk, she was afraid if farming will produce good results. At first, she was inconsistent about planting the whole plots. She started farming by planting three plots out of seven plots she had, but things changed as the farm produced good results like.

- We continued planting our plots, until we saw the importance of hiring labors to help us.
- When we noticed that we had a good production and good profit after three years, we decided with my husband to extend the house and have electricity.
- When I saw that the farm is growing, I opened chicken selling business.
- Because of good gain we had, we managed to add other important agricultural tools from those we had. We bought a tractor and a lorry to help to sell our product.

At first, the narrator was not sure if farming will succeed, but these phrase shows that after a while the farm became to have good show results and progressive. These above phrases show the progressive narrative.

3. Self-Narrative

3.1 Narrative is True

This is a true narrative because during the apartheid regime people were shifted from their place of birth, because of the segregation system. According to the research, this was a system which was meant to remove the black people from the areas which were meant to reside white people. Black people were going to be scatted to one place. It is reasonable that, to get what you want you need to work hard and be patient as what the narrator did. It is also reasonable that, when you start a new thing you become to have doubts if it will succeed or it will fail. The narrator introduced other businesses when she noticed that farming is producing, which is common that when other businesses show a good profit you introduce another, which sometimes is relevant to another. It is true that, there are challenges that are most common to

farmers like stealing, running out of lose because of worms and shortage of skills or knowledge.

4. Practice of Self-Narration: Process

4.1 Variety of Narrative Forms

The story has a stable of narrative forms. At the beginning, the story opens with a narrator working as a clerk in her new place which she was removed to. When she decided to retire and concentrate in farming, she was not sure if that was a good idea. She started by planting three plots, which lead her to plant more and hire labors to help her. From the beginning of this narrative, it shows the progressive narrative. The narrator opened other businesses, which shows that her life was improving. Whereas there were challenges that the narrator was facing as a farmer, they didn't affect her much.

4.2 Micro Narrative

This is a narration of events that have taken place in a very short period of time; almost after the narrator decided to retire and concentrate in farming.

4.3 Nesting of the Narrative

Nesting of events is not possible in this narrative, as there is only one narrative.

5. Pragmatic of Self-Narrative

5.1 Progressive Narrative

This is a progressive narrative, at first the narrator was not sure when she decided to retire and concentrate in farming. She was afraid if farming will give her what she wants, it was going to be successful or it will fail. She started her farm by planting few plots, because she was not sure of farming but after few years the farm was producing a good profit. She ended up hiring labors to help her with planting because the farm was producing a good profit. They also managed to raise and educate their children, extending the house and adding another

agricultural tool in a farm because of the good production from her plots. She also started other businesses, when she saw a good profit from the farm and these events shows the progressive of the story.

6. Interknitting of Identities

6.1 Moral evaluation

The narrator is evaluated as a strong character and a good hearted person. She has portrayed herself as a strong character after she decided to start a new thing and retire from her work. She was not sure if this was a good idea but she carry on being ambitious and starting farming. When the farm was producing good results, she decided to hire labors and help them that show she is good hearted person.

6.2 Interminable Negotiation

The identity of the narrator as a courageous, strong and tolerant person has been witnessed by the community. The odds and challenges she stood against, as she has emphasize that she faced challenges like scarce of water, which was far from her place, thieves and running out of a lose but she stand tolerant and overcome the challenges.

7. Emotions

- (a) At the beginning, the narrator-experienced emotion of doubts but it was a different world after that. After she decided to retire, it took her few years to see a turning point and she started to plant all the plots she had, as at the beginning she was afraid to plant all her plots and having doubts about farming.
- (b) All these emotions are embedded in the culture in a way that, it is normal that when you start a new things you start to have doubts if it will succeed or not. It is expected that, to get want you want you must sometimes take risk and work hard to get or achieve success.

5.5 STORY NO 4

NdinguMnumzana Maweza, ndingumfundisi lizwi kwicawe yama-Assemblies of God. Ndifike apha ngonyaka ka-1989, xa ndanditshintshwa yicawa ndisuka kuKomani apho ndandingumfundisi khona. Ndiye ndathenga lomhlaba ndikuwo, kumntu owayesuka eHankey besuswa ngurhulumente wobandlululo. Ngexesha lokukhethwa kweendawo ezithile zibekelwa abebala. Wafika yena kulithafa apha waza wazilungiselela lo mhlaba ngokwendlela yena awayefuna ukuwulungisa ngayo, uzi-ankile ezisibhozo. Uthe ngexesha lokungena kukarhulumente wesininzi, wagqiba kwelokuba abuyele apho ebevela khona, waza wandithengisela lomhlaba. Oyena mceli mngeni endifikele kuye apha ngonyaka ka-1992, kukufumanisa ukuba inxaso ingekho ngokwaneleyo kurhulumente owayephethe ngeloxesha. Bendisithi nokuba ndiye ndabetheka ngenxa yembalela kungabikho mali okanye luncedo alukhuphayo kuthi mafama, ngakumbi thina mafama asecaleni kokwendlela esaziwa ngayo. Kukho amafama awathi anikwa imihlaba ngurhulumente, wona anawo amanzi.

Thina amanzi yenye nezinto esingenazo apha, sibetheka kakhulu kuba naxa ndisenza izinto ezifana nee-bedding ndiye ndichaneke kuba zifuna amanzi. Asinamanzi apha, kwaye nezityalo esizilimayo ziye zixomekeke emvuleni ukuze zibe nakho ukuhluma. Ukuba kude kwemalike yenye yezinto eyiyindleko kuthi, ngoba kufuneka ndihambe imigama emide ndisiya kuthengisa ezonto sizilimileyo okanye ndisiya emalikeneni kwaye neendlela eza apha kwam imbi, nto leyo ebangela ukuba abantu abaninzi kube nzima ukuba bazokuthenga apha ngakumbi abantu abanemoto. Kuye kufuneka ukuba ndilinde iintsuku zendodla, ukuze ndiye kuthengisa edolophini kuba ezinye iintsuku akuye kuthengwe kakhulu. Emva kwendodla izinto endizilimileyo ziye zingathengwa ngokukhawuleza, ziphele zisonakala emasimini.

Kuye kube phethele maxa wambi, kuba abantu endakhe nabo, bathenga apha kunokuba baye kuthenga i-vegetables edolophini. Ndiye ndincedakale nangenxa yemingcwabo okanye imigidi eye ibekho. Noxa ndingenamoto yokuya kuthengisa izinto endizityalileyo edolophini, kodwa ukulima khona yinto endiyenza minyaka le. Kwaye ukulima kuyandiphilisa. Zikho iinkomo endinazo kodwa oyena ndoqo kule fama yam, kukulima izivuno. Iinkomo zona zindinceda kubisi mna nosapho lwam.

Ikho imiceli mgeni apha, ngaphandle kokuba singenamanzi. Ndiye ndifumane ubunzima benkomo ezithi zindimoshele okanye ziwise ucingo lwam, kodwa ndisalima. Nobusela

buyanda, ndiye ndilahlekelwe kakhulu xa ndityale umbona. Indawo endikuyo iyathandwa nayimivundla ethi indimoshele xa ndilime ikhaphetshu.

Urhulumente okhoyo uyasanceda kakhulu, ngoba sineteletele yethu. Apho umntu ngamnye aye abhalise xa efuna ukulinyelwa, nexabiso liyafikeleleka kwaye uyakwazi nokuthi ubhalise uze ubhathale xa unemali. Uye urhulumente akhuphe iimpewu yasimahla athi andixase ngayo, kanye emva kweenyanga ezintandathu. Kona ndisabetheka kwicala lamanzi, kodwa uye andincece urhulumente ngokuthi xa loo nyaka uye wanembalela akhuphe isixa esithile semali ukukhawulelana neendleko endikuzo.

Ngenxa yokuhluma kwefama, ndathi ndongeza ii-ankile, ngoku zilishumi endinazo, ndiye ndakwazi ukwandisa umzi wam, ukufundisa abazukulwana. Kwaye le fama yam iluncedo kuba ndiye ndifundise abazukulwana bam i-faming, ndibafundisa indlela yoku-bedisha izityalo xa zisakhulayo. Ukulima izityalo ngokwahlukana kwazo, kunye namaxesha azo. Esikolweni bathi bafunde izifundo ngento abayaziyo nethi bayenye mihla le. Kubo izifundo zezolimo ziba zizifundo ezilula kuba iyinto abathi bayenze.

Kule ndawo ndikuyo sinomceni mngeni onzima, wolutsha olungafuni kwenza nto. Ukho umhlaba omhleli nje ofuna ukulungiswa abanokuthi bazigecele wona, balime. Ntonje abafuni kwenza ntoni, kodwa eyona nto ixaphakileyo yeyokuba xa ezethu izityalo thina bantu balimileyo zivuthiwe basibele. Andazi eyona ngxaki banayo, ngoba urhulumente uyasinika inxaso apho sisilela khona, kwaye sacetyiswa ngokuba sakhe okopolotyeni abandincedayo kakhulu. Ngoba nesebankini siyakwazi ukufumana uncedo lwemboleko mali xa silufuna. Kwaye xa sisiya kurhulumente ngobuninzi bento ngengxaki ethile uye asimamele, ndithetha nje sineteletele yethu ehamba nezixhobo zayo esayinikwa ngurhulumente. Maxa wambi uye asinike izichumiso kunye namayeza okubulala izinambuzane eziyinxaki kuthi.

Into esisilela kuyo ngamandla yimali, ubucwepheshe (skills), urhulumente okhoyo uqononondisa ukuba amafama asele ehlumile makancedise lawo asokolayo, endicinga ukuba yenye indlela le enokuthi isincece sihlume ngakumbi. Urhulumente makasihlumise ngokuthi ase-empower asinike i-skills nanjengoko kukho abantu abamhlophe ababesele benemiqweno yokudala ubuhlobo (partnership) nathi besibonisa ngefaming. Basibonise ukuba i-farming yezityalo ukuba yenziwa njani ngakumbi xa ungenamanzi okunkcenkceshela. Ngakumbi xa

abantu abamhlophe banokuthatha abantwana bethu bababonise ukuba ifaming yenziwa njani ukuze babe nolwazi ngakumbi lwezi fama bababeke emgangathweni ophezulu.

Ndiyabakhuthaza abantu abatsha ngefaming. Ngoba ifaming lilifa likanaphakade. Kodwa ndingabalumkisa kwinto yokuba bangaqali ifaming ngamatyala. Xa banokuthi bazisondeze nabantu abamhlophe abasele bephumelele ukuze babanike i-skills ekwakumele ukuba nathi sizifumene, banganakho ukuphumelela. Ukuba nomonde ngenye into endinokuthi ndibacebisi kuyo, bangacingi ukuba izinto zithatha iintsuku ukulunga maxa wambi ziye inzima zikongamele apho ude ucinge nokunikezela, into engafunekiyo leyo yokunikizela lula.

English Translation of story no 4

I am Mr Maweza, the Pastor of Assemblies of God. At first, I was a Pastor in Queenstown, before my congregation changed me to this side. I bought this land, from a Hankey citizen who was removed from Hankey during the apartheid regime. During the start of the segregation system, when black people were shifted from their birth places. When he arrived, the place was full of thorn trees and bushes and he removed all the dirty rubbish and created the plots according to his way he wanted, this land had eight plots. After the democratic government, the landlord decided to go back to his place of birth and he sold me this land. The major challenge I encountered the time I arrived here in 1992, was the lack of support from the government. Even during draught there was no support or subsidy I received from government, especially the farmers which are known as an outside farmers because there were those farmers which were under the rule and where governed by the government.

Water is another challenge I am faced with, as I don't have water I am struggling a lot especially when I am doing bedding, because the bedding needs a lot of water to be successful. I don't have water and what I plant here depends on the rain to fall in order to grow well. The markets are far from me, which is another problem I am faced with which cost me a lot because I must walk a long distance to reach the market or to sell my produce. The roads which come to my place needs to be repaired and most people especially those that have cars are afraid to drive and come here to buy my product. I must wait for pension days to go and sell my product because the product goes fast than other normal day. After the pension my product goes slow and sometimes I experience a huge loss.

Sometimes things are better because my neighbors buy what they need here to me, they don't waste time to go to town to buy vegetables. I get a peace of mind most of time because of funerals and other ceremonies, because people come to buy in bulk vegetable and sometimes place orders to weekends because they have ceremonies. Whereas I don't have a car to go and sell my vegetable in town, but I plant vegetable each and every year and I gain a lot from vegetable farming. I do have cows, but my main production here in this farm is planting vegetables. Cows help me and my family with milk.

There are challenges here except the lack of water. I struggle a lot sometimes with cows that roam around and bother me in my plots sometimes they eat my vegetables or the cows lean against my fence, but I keep on planting. Thieves are also increasing; I get a huge loss especially when I have planted maize. There is a lot of rabbits where I am, which bothers me with my vegetable especially when I have planted cabbage.

The present government is helpful and supportive to me, because we have our own tractor. Where each farmer writes his or her name when he or she wants to plough his or her fields with an affordable price, you can also book the tractor to come and plant your plots even if you don't have money and you will pay when you have money. The government issues a free seed once after six months to support me. I am still struggling a lot with the lack of water, but the government supports me financially when I have experienced a loss because of a dry season. The government supports me to overcome the loss I have experienced.

Because of a good production, I managed to add other plots and now I have ten plots. I also managed to extend my house and educate my grandchildren. My farm is also helpful to my grandchildren, because they also learn about farming. I teach them how to do bedding, when the seeds are still growing and also about planting different vegetables and also their season. At school, they learn about what they know and do, to my grandchildren agricultural studies are easier because they learn about what they do and what they experienced.

Another challenge here is the young generation who are lazy and don't want to do anything. There is a lot of land which is full of bushes, which they can clear for themselves and start their own farms, but they are lazy. They are good to still from us when our vegetable is reaped. I don't know their problem, because the government supports us when we need help and we have been advised to form co-operatives that help me a lot. We can also borrow from the bank

if we need money to upgrade of farms. Even when we confront the government as co-operatives, the government lessens to us. Sometimes, the government gives us fertilizer to kill the crawling insects.

The challenge we encounter now its money which is not enough, skills, but the present government advices the successful farmer to partnership with small farmers to give us help and become successful, this is a good plan which I think will help us to be more successful. The government must empower us with skills as there are white farmers who have offer themselves to help and partnership with us to become more successful and show us how to run vegetable farming especially those like me that does not have water. If they can take our grandchildren and show them how to run a farm in order to know more about farming and have skills and more experience.

I encourage the young generation to take agricultural studies and become farmers, because farming is a future career. I will advice the young generation not to start farming with loans. They (young generation) must try to get close to white farmers who have already succeeded to get and acquire important skills and knowledge about farming which we were supposed to get. They must be patience and they must not think that the will be see good just in few day, sometimes difficulties and challenges comes and they must remain strong.

5.5.1 Analysis of the story no 4

1. The Structure of the Narrative Accounts

Endpoint: Theme or goal of the story

The theme of the story is about importance of farming, the challenges that are there in farming and how the narrator in this story overcome and managed to carry on with his farming. The theme of this story educate the young generation who wish to take farming as a career about the challenges of becoming a farmer and also getting the views and advice of people who have an experience of farming.

1.2 Selection of Events in the Account: Plot Structure

This narrative relates to the experience of a farmer who is a Pastor and also running a farm. He was shifted from where he was a Pastor before and he bought the farm, when the owner of the farm decided to go back home after he was removed from his birth place because of the segregation system. There are various events that are connected through this core element of a “stable farmer” who meets challenges and also difficulties in farming. All these events are organized in an order that gives result to the plot structure.

The narrative consists of four events. The first event is concerned with the background of the farmer, the land and who he came to own the farm. The next event is about the challenges he faced in farming and what are those challenges and how he try to overcome the challenges. He also narrates about the usefulness of his farm. The third event is basically about what the government is doing and also the lack of the government and what can be done by the government to lure the young generation in farming. The last event is about the views and advice of the narrator about farming.

The First Event

In the first event, the narrator gives a flashback of his background and how he became to be a farmer and the background of the farm.

Narrative of the First Event

NdinguMnumzana Maweza, ndingumfundisi lizwi kwicawe yama-Assembles of God. Ndifike apha ngonyaka ka-1989, xa ndanditshintshwa yicawa ndisuka kuKomani apho ndandingumfundisi khona. Ndiye ndathenga lomhlaba ndikuwo, kumntu owayesuka eHankey besuswa ngurhulumente wobandlululo. Ngexesha lokukhethwa kweendawo ezithile zibekelwa abebala. Wafika yena kulithafa apha waza wazilungiselela lo mhlaba ngokwendlela yena awayefuna ukuwulungisa ngayo, uzi-ankile ezisibhozo. Uthe ngexesha lokungena kukarhulumente wesininzi, wagqiba kwelokuba abuyele apho ebevela khona, waza wandithengisela lomhlaba. Oyena mceli mngeni endafikela kuye apha ngonyaka ka-1992, kukufumanisa ukuba inxaso ingekho ngokwaneleyo kurhulumente owayephethe ngeloxesha. Bendisithi nokuba ndiye ndabetheka ngenxa yembalela kungabikho mali okanye luncedo

alukhuphayo kuthi mafama, ngakumbi thina mafama asecaleni kokwendlela esaziwa ngayo. Kukho amafama awathi anikwa imihlaba ngurhulumente, wona anawo amanzi.

I am Mr Maweza, the Pastor of Assemblies of God. At first, I was a Pastor in Queenstown, before my congregation changed me to this side. I bought this land, from a Hankey citizen who was removed from Hankey during the apartheid regime. During the start of the segregation system, when black people were shifted from their birth places. When he arrived, the place was full of thorn trees and bushes and he removed all the dirty rubbish and created the plots according to his way he wanted, this land had eight plots. After the democratic government, the landlord decided to go back to his place of birth and he sold me this land. The major challenge I encountered the time I arrived here in 1992, was the lack of support from the government. Even during draught there was no support or subsidy I received from government, especially the farmers which are known as an outside farmers because there were those farmers which were under the rule and where governed by the government.

The Second Event

In this event, the narrator shares with us the challenges he encountered as a farmer and what are those challenges and how he overcomes those challenges. He goes on to tell us about the usefulness of his farm to himself and also to his family.

Narrative of the Second Event

Mna amanzi yenye yezinto endingenayo apha, ndibetheka kakhulu kuba naxa ndisenza izinto ezifana nee-bedding ndiye ndichaneke kuba zifuna amanzi. Asinamanzi apha, kwaye nezityalo endizilimayo ziye zixomekeke emvuleni ukuze zibe nakho ukuhluma. Ukuba kude kwemalike yenye yezinto eyindleko kum, ngoba kufuneka ndihambe umgama omde ndisiya kuthengisa ezonto ndizilimileyo okanye ndisiya kuzithengisa emalikeneni kwaye neendlela eza apha kwam imbi, nto leyo ebangela ukuba abantu abaninzi kube nzima ukuba bazokuthenga apha ngakumbi abantu abanemoto. Kuye kufuneke ukuba ndilinde iintsuku zendodla, ukuze ndiye kuthengisa edolophini kuba ezinye iintsuku akuye kuthengwe kakhulu. Emva kwendodla izinto endizilimileyo ziye zingathengwa ngokukhawuleza, ziphele zisonakala emasimini.

Kuye kube phethele maxa wambi, kuba abantu endakhe nabo, bathenga apha kunokuba baye kuthenga i-vegetables edolophini. Ndiye ndincedakale nangenxa yemingcwabo okanye imigidi eye ibekho. Noxa ndingenamoto yokuya kuthengisa izinto endizityalileyo edolophini, kodwa ukulima kona yinto endiyenza minyaka le. Kwaye ukulima kuyandiphilisa. Zikho iinkomo endinazo kodwa oyena ndoqo kule fama yam, kukulima izivuno. Iinkomo zona zindinceda kubisi mna nosapho lwam.

Ikho imiceli mgeni apha, ngaphandle kokuba ndingenamanzi. Ndiye ndifumane ubunzima benkomo ezithi zindimoshele okanye ziwise ucingo lwam, kodwa ndisalima. Nobusela buyanda, ndiye ndilahlekelwe kakhulu xa ndityale umbona. Indawo endikuyo iyathandwa nayimivundla ethi indimoshele xa ndilime ikhaphetshu.

Ngenxa yokuhluma kwefama, ndathi ndongeza ii-ankile, ngoku zilishumi endinazo, ndiye ndakwazi ukwandisa umzi wam, ukufundisa abazukulwana. Kwaye le fama yam iluncedo kuba ndiye ndifundise abazukulwana bam i-faming, ndibafundisa indlela yoku-bedisha izityalo xa zisakhulayo. Ndikwabafundisa ukulima izityalo ngokwahlukana kwazo, kunye namaxesha azo. Esikolweni bathi bafunde izifundo ngento abayaziyo nethi bayenye mihla le. Kubo izifundo zezolimo ziba zizifundo ezilula kuba iyinto abathi bayenze.

Kule ndawo ndikuyo sinomceni mgeni onzima, wolutsha olungafuni kwenza nto. Ukho umhlaba omhleli nje ofuna ukulungiswa abanokuthi bazigecele wona, balime. Ntonje abafuni kwenza nto, kodwa eyona nto ixaphakileyo yeyokuba xa ezethu izityalo thina bantu balimileyo zivuthiwe basibele. Andazi eyona ngxaki banayo, ngoba urhulumente uyasinika inxaso apho sisilela khona, kwaye sacetyiswa ngokuba sakhe okopolotyeni abandincedayo kakhulu. Ngoba nasebankini ndiyakwazi ukufumana uncedo lwemboleko mali xa ndilufuna. Kwaye xa sisiya kurhulumente ngobuninzi bentu ngengxaki ethile uye asimamele, ndithetha nje sineteletele yethu ehamba nezixhobo zayo esayinikwa ngurhulumente. Maxa wambi uye asinike izichumiso kunye namayeza okubulala izinambuzane eziyinxaki kuthi.

Water is another challenge I am faced with, as I don't have water I am struggling a lot especially when I am doing bedding, because the bedding needs a lot of water to be successful. I don't have water and what I plant here depends on the rain to fall in order to grow well. The markets are far from me, which is another problem I am faced with which cost me a lot because I must walk a long distance to reach the market or to sell my produce. The

roads which come to my place needs to be repaired and most people especially those that have cars are afraid to drive and come here to buy my product. I must wait for pension days to go and sell my product because the product goes fast than other normal day. After the pension my product goes slow and sometimes I experience a huge loss.

Sometimes things are better because my neighbors buy what they need here to me, they don't waist time to go to town to buy vegetables. I get a peace of mind most of time because of funerals and other ceremonies, because people come to buy in balk vegetable and sometimes place orders to weekends because they have ceremonies. Whereas I don't have a car to go and sell my vegetable in town, but I plant vegetable each and every year and I gain a lot from vegetable farming. I do have cows, but my main production here in this farm is planting vegetables. Cows help me and my family with milk.

There are challenges here except the lack of water. I struggler a lot sometimes with cows that roam around and bother me in my plots sometimes they eat my vegetables or the cows lean again my fence, but I keep on planting. Thieves are also increasing; I get a huge loss especially when I have planted maize. There is lot of rabbits where I am, which bother me with my vegetable especially when I have planted cabbage.

Because of a good production, I managed to add other plots and now I have ten plots. I also managed to extend my house and educate my grandchildren. My farm is also helpful to my grandchildren, because they also learn about farming. I teach them how to do bedding, when the seed are still growing and also about planting different vegetable and also their season. At school, they learn about what they know and do, to my grandchildren agricultural studies are easier because they learn about what they do and what they experienced.

Another challenge here is the young generation who are lazy and don't want to do anything. There is lot of land which is full of bushes, which they can clean for themselves and start their own farmers, but they are lazy. They are good to still from us when our vegetable is reap. I don't know their problem, because the government supports us when we need help and we have been advised to form co-operatives that help me a lot. We can also borrow from the bank if we need money to upgrade of farms. Even when we confront the government as co-operatives, the government lessens to us. Sometimes, the government gives us fertiler to kill the crawling insects.

The Third Event

In this event, the narrator tells us about what the present government is doing to help him to overcome the difficulties he has in his farm. He also narrates about the lack of government and what the government can add more to lure the young generation into considering farming as important and as a career.

Narrative of the Third Event

Urhulumente okhoyo uyasanceda kakhulu, ngoba sinetelelele yethu. Apho umntu ngamnye aye abhalise xa efuna ukulinyelwa, nexabiso liyafikeleleka kwaye uyakwazi nokuthi ubhalise uze ubhathale xa unemali. Uye urhulumente akhuphe iimpewu yasimahla athi andixase ngayo, kanye emva kweenyanga ezintandathu. Kona ndisabetheka kwicala lamanzi, kodwa uye andincede urhulumente ngokuthi xa loo nyaka uye wanembalela akhuphe isixa esithile semali ukukhawulelana neendleko endikuzo.

Ngenxa yokuhluma kwefama, ndathi ndongeza ii-ankile, ngoku zilishumi endinazo, ndiye ndakwazi ukwandisa umzi wam, ukufundisa abazukulwana. Kwaye le fama yam iluncedo kuba ndiye ndifundise abazukulwana bam i-faming, ndibafundisa indlela yoku-bedisha izityalo xa zisakhulayo. Ukulima izityalo ngokwahlukana kwazo, kunye namaxesha azo. Esikolweni bathi bafundi izifundo ngento abayaziyo nethi bayenye mihla le. Kubo izifundo zezolimo ziba zizifundo ezilula kuba iyinto abathi bayenze.

Kule ndawo ndikuyo sinomceni mngeni onzima, wolutsha olungafuni kwenza nto. Ukho umhlaba omhleli nje ofuna ukulungiswa abanokuthi bazigecele wona, balime. Ntonje abafuni kwenza ntoni, kodwa eyona nto ixaphakileyo eyokuba xa ezethu izityalo thina bantu balimileyo zivuthiwe basibele. Andazi eyona ngxaki banayo, ngoba urhulumente uyasinika inxaso apho sisilela khona, kwaye sacetyiswa ngokuba sakhe okopolotyeni abandincedayo kakhulu. Ngoba nesebankini sayakwazi ukufumana uncedo lwemboleko mali xa silufuma. Kwaye xa sisiya kurhulumente ngobuninzi bento ngengxaki ethile uye asimamele, ndithetha nje sinetelelele yethu ehamba nezixhobo zayo esayinikwa ngurhulumente. Maxa wambi uye asinike izichumiso kunye namayeza okubulala izinambuzane eziyinxaki kuthi.

Into esisilela kuyo ngamandla yimali, ubucwepheshe (skills), urhulumente okhoyo uqononondisa ukuba amafama asele ehulumile makancedise lawo asokolayo, endicinga ukuba yenye indlela le enokuthi isincede sihlume ngakumbi. Urhulumente makasihlumise ngokuthi ase-empower asinike i-skills nanjengoko kukho abantu abamhlophe ababesele benemiqweno yokudala ubuhlobo (partnership) nathi besibonisa ngefaming. Basibonise ukuba i-farming yezityalo ukuba yenziwa njani ngakumbi xa ungenamanzi okunkcenceshela. Ngakumbi xa abantu abamhlophe banokuthatha abantwana bethu bababonise ukuba ifaming yenziwa njani ukuze babe nolwazi ngakumbi lwezi fama bababeke emgangathweni ophezulu.

The present government is helpful and supportive to me, because we have our own tractor. Where each farmer writes his or her name when he or she wants to plough his or her fields with an affordable price, you can also book the tractor to come and plant you plots even if you don't have money and you will pay when you have money. The government issues a free seed once after six month to support me. I am still struggling a lot with the lack of water, but the government support me financially when I have experienced a loss because of a dry season. The government supports me to overcome the loss I have experienced.

Because of a good production, I managed to add other plots and now I have ten plots. I also managed to extend my house and educate my grandchildren. My farm is also helpful to my grandchildren, because they also learn about farming. I teach them how to do bedding, when the seed are still growing and also about planting different vegetable and also their season. At school, they learn about what they know and do, to my grandchildren agricultural studies are easier because they learn about what they do and what they experienced.

Another challenge here is the young generation who are lazy and don't want to do anything. There is lot of land which is full of bushes, which they can clean for themselves and start their own farmers, but they are lazy. They are good to still from us when our vegetable is reap. I don't know their problem, because the government supports us when we need help and we have been advised to form co-operatives that help me a lot. We can also borrow from the bank if we need money to upgrade of farms. Even when we confront the government as co-operatives, the government lessens to us. Sometimes, the government gives us fertiler to kill the crawling insects.

The challenge we encounter now is money which is not enough, skills, but the present government advises the successful farmer to partnership with small farmers to give us help and become successful, this is a good plan which I think will help us to be more successful. The government must empower us with skills as there are white farmers who have offer themselves to help and partnership with us to become more successful and show us how to run vegetable farming especially those like me that does not have water. If they can take our grandchildren and show them how to run a farm in order to know more about farming and have skills and more experience.

The Fourth Event

In this last event, the narrator shares his views about farming and also advising those who have interest in farming about the challenges they must expect what to be aware with. He also shares with us his views about how he considers farming.

Narrative of the Fourth Event

Ndiyabakhuthaza abantu abatsha ngefaming. Ngoba ifaming lilifa likanaphakade. Kodwa ndingabalumkisa kwinto yokuba bangaqali ifaming ngamatyala. Xa banokuthi bazisondeze nabantu abamhlophe abasele bephumelele ukuze babanike i-skills ekwakumele ukuba nathi sizifumene, banganakho ukuphumelela. Ukuba nomonde ngenye into endinokuthi ndibacebisi kuyo, bangacingi ukuba izinto zithatha iintsuku ukulunga maxa wambi ziye inzima zikongamele apho ude ucinge nokunikezela, into engafunekiyo leyo yokunikizela lula.

I encourage the young generation to take agricultural studies and become farmers, because farming is a future career. I will advice the young generation not to start farming with loans. They (young generation) must try to get close to white farmers who have already succeeded to get and acquire important skills knowledge about farming which we were supposed to get. They must be patience and they must not think that the will be good just in few day, sometimes difficulties and challenges comes and they must remain strong.

1.3 Ordering of Events

1.3.1 Sequence

The events of the narrative are ordered in a linear sequence as already shown in the four events above. At first, the narrator relates to us about how he became to own the farm and his background before he became a farmer. He continues to narrate about the background of the farm and his difficulties he encountered after he bought the farm. He shares with us the challenges he encountered in farming and how he worked hard to overcome those challenges like not having market where he can go and sell his product. He keeps on telling us more about what the present government is doing to uplift him as a farmer. He concludes the story about telling his views about the importance of farming to him and advising the young generation about the danger of starting the farm with loans.

1.3.2 Duration

The duration of this narrative is not clear as it is not mentioned in the story, but it could have been from the time the Pastor bought the farm.

1.4 Stability of Identity

The narrator has a coherent identity throughout his narrative; his character does not change as he portrays himself as a strong character throughout the narrative. There are events which are shown in the narrative like challenges which the narrator was faced but he stands firm and he kept on farming.

The narrator as a strong character

The narrator eventually stands firm against all odds he faced from his arrival from the farm. He keeps on telling about the challenge he faced from his arrival and even during the course of the time but he has tried to overcome and keep on farming and he managed to add his plots. These phrases show the strength of the narrator as a strong character:

- Whereas I don't have a car to go and sell my vegetable in town, but I plant vegetable each and every year and I gain a lot from vegetable farming.
- I struggle a lot sometimes with cows that roam around and bother me in my plots sometimes they eat my vegetables or the cows lean against my fence, but I keep on planting.
- Because of a good production, I managed to add other plots and now I have ten plots.

1.5 Causal Linkage

The events in this narrative are causally linked in that they show the relationship between of a cause and an effect. Firstly, sometimes the narrator runs out of a cost losing his vegetables because he is far from markets where he can go and sell his product and the road needs attention as it is not good for cars. Secondly, the narrator managed to add plots, to extend his house and educate his grandchildren because the farm is producing well and there is a good profit. Thirdly, the farm is not just helpful to the narrator because of its produce, but because it is also a tool that helps his grandchildren to learn and know more about farming. Last, the farm is doing well with its produce, because the government is also helpful to the narrator as they have their own agricultural tools, he can also go to the bank and ask for a loan and they have been advised to form co-operatives which the narrator considers the co-operative system as helpful.

2. The Narrative Form

2.1 Stability narrative

The narrative is stable because the narrator keeps on with his farming whereas he encountered challenges. He did encounter challenges at his arrival at the farm but he kept on with planting and trying to gain a production. Whereas there was no proper support from the previous government but the narrator went on with his farm and in this narrative the narrator does not mention that he gave up his work as a Pastor, he runs all of this at the same time. Whereas there are challenges the narrator faced like scare of water, stealing, rabbits that eat his vegetable and also the cows that roam around, but there are no signs where the narrator is complaining about the fall of the farm and production.

2.2 Progressive narrative

The narrative is progressive because the narrator managed to overcome all the challenges he faced at his farm from his arrival. There are challenges like cows that lean against his fence and that eat his vegetables, but he overcome all those challenges and keeps on planting. He managed to extend his house, educate his grandchildren and add plot because of the good results that the farm shows. He doesn't just enjoy farming but he also enjoys teaching his grandchildren about farming which shows a progress in farming. The fact that the narrator can also go to the bank for a loan shows that there is a progress in farming.

3. Self-Narrative

3.1 Narrative is True

This is a true narrative as it is common that to get what you want and to achieve your goals you need to work hard. It is also true that you can overcome all the challenges if you are patient and keep on pushing as the narrator in this narrative keeps on with his farming whereas there were challenges he faced. This is a true narrative story, because according to the history there are many people who were removed from their birth places because of the segregation system and apartheid.

4. Practices of Self-Narration: Process

4.1 Variety of Narrative Forms

The story has a variety of narrative forms. For example, the story opens with a regressive narrative whereby the narrator is facing the challenges. There was no proper financial support from the government that was ruling at the time he arrived. There were years of draught and the government was not helpful, but because the narrator has a passion of farming he kept on planting and running his farm. There were other challenges he faced like scarce of water, markets which are far from the narrator and also the road which needs repairing, but the narrator kept on with his planting. There is also a progressive narrative, where the narrator managed to overcome all the obstacles he faced. He managed to extend his house and also to educate his grandchildren because of the good profit the farm did. There is also a happily-

ever-after narrative. The narrator seems to be happy about his farm as he teaches his grandchildren about running the farm. The children seem to learn something they know in their agricultural studies because of their grandfather's farm.

4.2 Micro Narrative

This is a narration of events that have taken place in a very short period of time; almost from the time the narrator bought the farm.

4.3 Nesting of Narrative

Nesting of events is not possible in this narrative as there is only one narrative.

5. Pragmatic of Self-Narrative

5.1 Regressive Narration

This narration solicits sympathy and concern. Why, because the narrator is concerned and sympathetic about the young generation who don't want to do anything as there is a lot of land which needs to be cleaned and a person can start his farm, but the young generation wants to steal from them as farmers. The narrator also shows concern about the cows which bothers him in his farm.

5.2 Progressive

There is a progressive in the narrator in the sense that he is supportive. He also thought of teaching his grandchildren about farming. His grandchildren learn something they know at school about the agricultural studies.

6. Interknitting of Identities

6.1 Moral evaluation

The narrator is evaluated as a strong character, motivated and concern. He didn't give up farming when he faced challenges from his arrival at the farm. The narrator keeps of facing huge challenges at the farm, but he was so optimistic that he will carry on farming. The government that was ruling at the time he arrived at the farm was not supportive, but the farmer kept on with his farming until the farm produce good results. He is also concern about the young generation that is so lazy. There is land that needs to be cleaned and do your farming, but the young generation does not show any interest.

7. Emotions

- (a) The narrator experienced emotions of sadness, whereby at his arrival the government that was ruling was not supportive and there are challenges that he faced. There were also challenges that he went through them and managed to overcome and his farm did a good profit and the narrator managed to extend his house, to add more plots and educate his grandchildren. He was so optimistic about farming as he told himself that even if there are challenges but he will keep on with planting.
- (b) All these emotions are embedded in the culture because to get what you want you must face the challenges and work hard. There is nothing that comes easily and if there is less support from the second hand, for example the government there will be difficulties. It is also embedded that in what you do engage your children and teach them more about what you do especially if it will so useful to them as most parents do.

5.6 STORY NO 5

NdinguMnumzana John Velebhayi umfama phambi kokuba ndibe ngumfama ndandilipolisa. Ndineminyaka engamashumi asixhenxe. Kungonyaka ka 1976 apho ndathi ndaqala ukuba ngumfama kwesi sikimu. Ezi zikimu zaqalwa ngonyaka 1976, iinjongo zokuqalwa kwezi zikimu yayi kukuhlumiswa kwezolimo kwingingqi ezikuzo (zabantu abaNtsundu). Ezi zikimu zingange-heckta eziliwaka makhulu mahlanu aneshumi elinethoba nanye (1 591 hectare), iiheckta ezingamakhulu asixhenxe anamashumi anesithoba ananye (791) zezonkcenkceshelo, ezinye zazisalungiswa zikwaquka nezo zingenalo unkcenkceshelo ukutsho oko zazingankcenkceshelwa ngabantu bazo babexomekeke emvuleni. Lo mhlaba wawumiwe zi(Germans) kuqala, ezazisaziwa njengamaJalumane. Mhla amaJalumane athi awushiya lo mhlaba, ngenxa yokuqala kwe-(segregation) nokungena kweNkulumbuso eNtsundu. Urhulumente wangaphambili okanye wangelo xesha wagqiba ekubeni umhlaba lo sikuwo unikezelwe kubantu abaNtsundu. Kwabakho isibhengezo sokuba abantu abanomqweno wokuba babe ngamafama bangafaka izicelo, nam ndafaka esam. Ndabizelwa kudliwalondlebe, babakho abathi abaluphumelela udliwano-ndlebe. Kwaba mnandi kum emveni kokuba ndiluphumelele udliwano-ndlebe, yaba sisiqalo samaphuma am okuba ndibe ngumlimi okanye omfama ophum' zandla. Saqala ngokuthi sibizwe ngokuba sisi Settlers. Kwakukho iqumrhu labantu ababekongene nokuhluzisa amafama kunye nokujonga ukuba inkqubela ikho kumafama akhethiweyo. Ngenxa yokuba sasibaninzi kwanyanzeleka ukuba kubekho iqumrhu (selection board) elizakujonga ukuba siyakwenza oko sithe sizakwenza.

Emveni kokuba ndiluphumelele udliwano-ndlebe, ndaqeqeshwa unyaka. Sanikwa iinkomo, ezi nkomo bekusithiwa zigcine. Ubujongwa kwezi nkomo, uqeqeshwa kwakuzo indlela yokuzinyanga, yokuzondla kunye nendlela yokuziphatha. Emveni konyaka ububa namanqaku, uze uye kuvela kwiselection board ukhethwe njengomfama ophumeleleyo ngokwamanqaku onawo nangendlela osebenze nzima ngayo. Sanikwa i-(lease) enye, yeminyaka emithathu. Emva kwale minyaka mithathu kwathiwa umfama ophumeleleyo uza kuyithenga ifama.

Ukususela ekunikweni kwethu ezifama besizirhafela (lease). Siye sanikwa iinkomo ezilishumi elinesibini emveni konyaka ka-1984. Ezi nkomo saye sazithenga. Saye sathengiselwa nemihlaba. Kwaye kwenziwa uhlehlengiso. Kwabakho abanye abathi abaphumelela ukuba bangaba ngamafama. Urhulumente uye wosongezelela imihlaba. Umfama ngamnye emveni kuka-1984, kwabo bathi baphumelela baye banikwa iheckta

ezilishumi elinesibini ukusuka kwezo zine sasiqale ngazo. Njengoko i-unit zisixhenxhe, kwaye kwabekwa abo babenenkqubela ndawonye. Kwakhethwa esi sikimu ndikuso njengesikimu esizakuhlala awona mafama agqwesileyo. Nezindlu ziye zongezwa umfama wafumana izindlu ezimbini ukuya kwezintathu njengoko sishiyana. Abo bathi abaphumelela baye banikwa isixa esithile semali. Singamafama angamashumi amabini anesixhenxe aphumelelayo, abangamashumi amathandathu bathi bathathwa njengabangaphumelelanga. Emveni kokuba sizithengile ezi fama, kwabakho utshintsho ngoba sathi sazilawula ngokwethu. Isikimu ngasinye besizilawula.

Emveni kokuba sizimele zaye zaguquka izinto. Ngenxa yokuba bekumele ukuba silinde ezo nyanga zilithoba phambi kokuba inkomo izale. Le nto yasichana, kuba bekusenzeka ukuba iinkomo ezintathu ubuncinci zibe zidry ngexesha elinye. Zibe mbalwa iinkomo ezisengwayo, kwaye nebisi libe lincinci. Sikwabhathala amatyala kwangaxeshanye. Ngenxa yala matyala kwaye kwaba nzima ukuba sibolekwe iimali yibhanki. Imveliso yobisi iqale ukwehla, kwaye neenkomo bezizala amaduna nto leyo ibibangela ukuba ukhulise inkomo oza kuphela uyithengisa. Bekunzima ukuthengisa ithole leduna liselincinci, besiyise silikhulise xa lisexabisweni lokukwela lithengiswe. Nawo amathole ebekwaxomekeke kweli bisi, ukuba siwenyise. Belisithi ithole lakuba neveki lizelwe lilumlwe kunina lenyiselwe ngesandla.

Enye yezinto eyenza ukuba singabi nankqubela, kukuba zange safumana luqeqeshe lwaneleyo, umzekelo ukufundiswa ngakumbi ngokulawula iifama. Ukuphathwa kwemali. Oyena nobangela wokuba singabi nankqubela phambili kukuba saziqala ngamatyala ezi fama. Kwakukho ne (consultant) eyayibizwa ngokuba ngoLimoco, esiyibona njengenye yezinto eyabangela ukuba singabi nampumelelo.

Ingxaki kulo rhulumente yinto yokuba uze kade kwicala lezolimo. Nditsho kuba nangoku thina mafama asikabi nawo umbane. Likhona ithemba kulo rhulumente lokuba singahluma ngoba usivulele ingcango kwibhanki, ukuba singaya kuboleka kwaye siyibhathale ngezavenge ngendlela umfama ngamnye anokuthi akwazi ukuyihlawula. Kwaye kukho amahumhum okuba urhulumente uyiphethe indaba yamatyala esinawo kwaye likho ithemba lokuba singawacintyelwa.

Noxa thina sathi sabetheka ukutsho oko asabanampumelelo, kodwa yona ifaming ndiyibona njengento ebalulekileyo abanokuthi abantwana bethu bayithathe kwaye baxamle kuyo. Xa

banokuthi bathathe izifundo zolimo kwakumabanga aphantsi oko kunokuthi kubancede kakhulu xa sele benefama zabo. Into endinokubalumkisa kuyo kukuqala iifama ngamatyala, ngoba yenye yezinto ethe nathi yasibangela ukuba singabi nankqubela.

Into urhulumente endibona ukuba angayenza, kukutyala imali ngakumbi kwezi fama. Amanye amafama ade aqeshisa ngazo ngenxa yokuba asikwazi kuzilima, mna kuqala kukho inkampani elime umqaphu, ezakuthi yenze imali ngomhlaba ongowam. Urhulumente makasilimele, asithengele itelelele kwi-unit ngaye kubekho itelelele yayo. Nathi mafama sibe negalelo kuyo yonke into eyenziwayo sibenebango (share). Asimfuni u-(middle-man) ngoba nguye ophela etyeba sishiyeke thina singenazimali sihluphekile.

English Translation of story no 5

I am Mr John Velebhayi a farmer before I was a farm I was working as a police officer. I am 70 years old. The scheme started in 1976 with the aim of developing the agricultural potential in the area. It covers 1 591 hectares of which 791 hectares are under irrigation and the remainder being cleared and developed. This land was being occupied by the Germans, which were known as (AmaJalumane in isiXhosa). When the Germans left the land, the then Government decided to give the land to black people. There were publications that people who are interested in farming can submit the application forms. We started to submit forms and we were interviewed. There are those who fail the interview. We were called Settlers. There was a selection board which was responsible to select people and this selection board was also responsible for monitoring the farmers. It was a settlement scheme, designed to enable hard working settlers to earn a reasonable living from modern irrigation farming. Small irrigated farms will be leased or (rented) to selected farmers. Settlers will be trained to become efficient farmers. If we prove ourselves we will be given the opportunity of leasing a farm on the scheme. Our tenancy will be subjected to performance. There was a publication that those who are interested can submit the application form. I submitted mine and I was summoned for an interview. I was happy when I won the interview and I told myself that this is the beginning to fulfill my dreams of becoming a successful farmer.

After I passed the interview, I was trained for a year. We were given cows; I was told that they are for lease. You were being monitored and trained in these cows how to treat, feed and take care of them. After a year you were given points and you appear before the selection

board, you were selected as a best farmer according to the points you have and how you worked hard. We were given another lease for three years. After these three years we were told that if you win you will buy the farm.

Starting from the time we were given the farms, we were renting them. We were given 12 cows after 1984. We bought the cow and the land. There are farmers which were told that they have failed to become successful farmers. We were given more land, and each farmer after 1984 received 12 hectares from the 4 hectares we started with. Out of 7 units we have, best farmers were placed in one unit. The department chose this unit I am in it as a unit for best farmers. The houses were also added; the farmer received 2 to 3 houses. We are 27 farmers that passed. After we bought the farms things changed and we started to rule our selves.

After we were independent things changed. We started to bride our cattle by our own. Those who have bulls they bride their cows, those who do not have bulls they use machine. Because we were to wait for nine month before the cow gives birth, it happens that more than three cows to be dry. We were to pay the loans at the same time. Because of the loan, it was difficult to apply for another loan. Production started to decrease, and cows used to give birth to bulls. It was difficult to sell the bull while it is still young; we were to feed it until it becomes old. Even the calves were also dependent in this milk to feed them, after a calve is one week old we used to feed it by our hand.

One of the down fall of the farms is that, there was no proper training for the farmers for example, how to run the farm, how to handle money. The major fall down of the farms is that we started farming with loans. There was also the consultant which was called Limoco, which farmers saw it as one which sank us down.

The lack of the present government is that, he came late to us as farmers. I am saying this because we do not have electricity until today. There is hope that we can be empowered by this present government, because he has opened the doors for us in the bank industry. We can go and borrow money and pay in month terms according to what you can afford to pay. There are rumors that he is considering our loans and they will be cleared.

Whereas we had up and downs which means we did not succeed, but farming is an important tool, which I motivate our young generation to consider it and benefit from it. If they can choose agriculture from primary level and this can help them when they have their own farm. What I can advice them is that, they must beware of starting farming with loans, because that is what affected us not to succeed.

What the government can do is that, if he can put more money in these farms. Some of the farmers have decided to lease some of their land, even me I have lease some of my land to a company that has planted (umqaphu) which the company will do a lot of money out of my land. In some farmers, their land has been planted perfum. The government must plough our land for us and buy tractors for each unit and we must have a share and a word in this equipment. This can lead us to plough for people who are our neighbors and we can make money out of this. We don't want the (middle-man) because it ends up for us becoming poor and the middle-man becomes rich.

5.6.1 Analysis of the story no 5

1. The Structure of the Narrative Accounts

Endpoint: Theme or goal of the story

This narrative story is about the difficulties a person can except in farming. The theme is actually about farming and its difficulties challenges and how to overcome those challenges.

1.2 Selection of Events in the Accounts: Plot Structure

This narrative relates to the experience of a farmer who has gone through very rough sad times in his farming experience. He left his work as a police officer after he heard about the land which was going to be handed to black people, who were interested in farming. There are various events that are connected through this core of being “sad”. All these events are organized in an order that gives results to the plot structure.

The narrative consists of four events. The first event is concerned with the background of the farmer and the background of the land. The next event is basically about the methods which

the farmer was expected to follow and how things were ran in the farm. The third and primary event of the narrative is basically about the changes after the farmer got an independent from the government and also the reasons behind the collapse of the farm. The fourth which is the last event is about the failer of the government and views of the narrator about the importance of farming.

The First Event

In the first event, the narrator gives a flashback about his background and the background of the land and why the government decided to give the land to black people. He also tells us the procedure he followed to become a farmer and how they were known during the probation.

Narrative of the First Event

NdinguMnumzana John Velebhayi umfama phambi kokuba ndibe ngumfama ndandilipolisa. Ndineminyaka engamashumi asixhenxe. Kungonyaka ka 1976 apho ndathi ndaqala ukuba ngumfama kwesi sikimu. Ezi zikimu zaqalwa ngonyaka 1976, iinjongo zokuqalwa kwezi zikimu yayi kukuhlumiswa kwezolimo kwingingqi ezikuzo (zabantu abaNtsundu). Ezi zikimu zingange-heckta eziliwaka makhulu mahlanu aneshumi elinethoba nanye (1 591 hecktare), iiheckta ezingamakhulu asixhenxe anamashumi anesithoba ananye (791) zezonkcenkceshelo, ezinye zazisalungiswa zikwaquka nezo zingenalo unkcenkceshelo ukutsho oko zazingankcenkceshelwa ngabantu bazo babexomekeke emvuleni. Lo mhlaba wawumiwe zi(Germans) kuqala, ezazisaziwa njengamaJalumane. Mhla amaJalumane athi awushiya lo mhlaba, ngenxa yokuqala kwe-(segregation) nokungena kweNkulumbuso eNtsundu. Urhulumente wangaphambili okanye wangelo xesha wagqiba ekubeni umhlaba lo sikuwo unikezelwe kubantu abaNtsundu. Kwabakho isibhengezo sokuba abantu abanomnqweno wokuba babe ngamafama bangafaka izicelo, nam ndafaka esam. Ndabizelwa kudliwalo-ndlebe, babakho abathi abaluphumelela udliwano-ndlebe. Kwaba mnandi kum emveni kokuba ndiluphumelele udliwano-ndlebe, yaba sisiqalo samaphuma am okuba ndibe ngumlimi okanye omfama ophum' zandla. Saqala ngokuthi sibizwe ngokuba sizi Settlers. Kwakukho iqumrhu labantu ababekongene nokuhlulaza amafama kunye nokujonga ukuba inkqubela ikho kumafama akhethiweyo. Ngenxa yokuba sasibaninzi kwanyanzeleka ukuba kubekho iqumrhu (selection board) elizakujonga ukuba siyakwenza oko sithe sizakwenza.

I am Mr John Velebhayi a farmer before I was a farm I was working as a police officer. I am 70 years old. The scheme started in 1976 with the aim of developing the agricultural potential in the area. It covers 1 591 hectares of which 791 hectares are under irrigation and the remainder being cleared and developed. This land was being occupied by the Germans, which were known as (AmaJalumane in isiXhosa). When the Germans left the land, the then Government decided to give the land to black people. There were publications that people who are interested in farming can submit the application forms. We started to submit forms and we were interviewed. There are those who fail the interview. We were called Settlers. There was a selection board which was responsible to select people and this selection board was also responsible for monitoring the farmers. It was a settlement scheme, designed to enable hard working settlers to earn a reasonable living from modern irrigation farming. Small irrigated farms will be leased or (rented) to selected farmers. Settlers will be trained to become efficient farmers. If we prove ourselves we will be given the opportunity of leasing a farm on the scheme. Our tenancy will be subjected to performance. There was a publication that those who are interested can submit the application form. I submitted mine and I was summoned for an interview. I was happy when I won the interview and I told myself that this is the beginning to fulfill my dreams of becoming a successful farmer.

The Second Event

After the narrator won the interview, there were methods which he was to follow. In this event, the narrator tells us about the methods he was expected to follow and how the farm was ran by the government.

Narrative of the Second Event

Emveni kokuba ndiluphumelele udliwano-ndlebe, ndaqeqeshwa unyaka. Sanikwa iinkomo, ezi nkomo bekusithiwa zigcine. Ubujongwa kwezi nkomo, uqeqeshwa kwakuzo indlela yokuzinyanga, yokuzondla kunye nendlela yokuziphatha. Emveni konyaka ububa namanqaku, uze uye kuvela kwiselection board ukhethwe njengomfama ophumeleleyo ngokwamanqaku onawo nangendlela osebenze nzima ngayo. Sanikwa i-(lease) enye, yeminyaka emithathu. Emva kwale minyaka mithathu kwathiwa umfama ophumeleleyo uza kuyithenga ifama.

Ukususela ekunikweni kwethu ezifama besizirhafela (lease). Siye sanikwa iinkomo ezilishumi elinesibini emveni konyaka ka-1984. Ezi nkomo saye sazithenga. Saye sathengiselwa nemihlaba. Kwaye kwenziwa uhlehlengiso. Kwabakho abanye abathi abaphumelela ukuba bangaba ngamafama. Urhulumente uye wosongezelela imihlaba. Umfama ngamnye emveni kuka-1984, kwabo bathi baphumelela baye banikwa iheckta ezilishumi elinesibini ukusuka kwezo zine sasiqale ngazo. Njengoko i-unit zisixhenxe, kwaye kwabekwa abo babenenkqubela ndawonye. Kwakhethwa esi sikimu ndikuso njengesikimu esizakuhlala awona mafama agqwesileyo. Nezindlu ziye zongezwa umfama wafumana izindlu ezimbini ukuya kwezintathu njengoko sishiyana. Abo bathi abaphumelela baye banikwa isixa esithile semali. Singamafama angamashumi amabini anesixhenxe aphumelelayo, abangamashumi amathandathu bathi bathathwa njengabangaphumelelanga. Emveni kokuba sizithengile ezi fama, kwabakho utshintsho ngoba sathi sazilawula ngokwethu. Isikimu ngasinye besizilawula.

After I passed the interview, I was trained for a year. We were given cows; I was told that they are for lease. You were being monitored and trained in these cows how to treat, feed and take care of them. After a year you were given points and you appear before the selection board, you were selected as a best farmer according to the points you have and how you worked hard. We were given another lease for three years. After these three years we were told that if you win you will buy the farm.

Starting from the time we were given the farms, we were renting them. We were given 12 cows after 1984. We bought the cow and the land. There are farmers which were told that they have failed to become successful farmers. We were given more land, and each farmer after 1984 received 12 hectares from the 4 hectares we started with. Out of 7 units we have, best farmers were placed in one unit. The department chose this unit I am in it as a unit for best farmers. The houses were also added; the farmer received 2 to 3 houses. We are 27 farmers that passed. After we bought the farms things changed and we started to rule our selves.

The Third Event

In this event, the narrator tells us more about what took place about time he won farm and the years he was granted for probation. He tells us about changes and what caused the farm to collapse. This is actually the climax of his life, whereas this is not narrated in the story but

from what the narrator told us as he put the blame to one of the consultants which was responsible to give him rules which he must follow.

Narrative of the Third Event

Emveni kokuba sizimele zaye zaguquka izinto. Ngenxa yokuba bekumele ukuba silinde ezo nyanga zilithoba phambi kokuba inkomo izale. Le nto yasichana, kuba bekusenzeka ukuba iinkomo ezintathu ubuncinci zibe zidry ngexesha elinye. Zibe mbalwa iinkomo ezisengwayo, kwaye nebisi libe lincinci. Sikwabhathala amatyala kwangaxeshanye. Ngenxa yala matyala kwaye kwaba nzima ukuba sibolekwe iimali yibhanki. Imveliso yobisi iqale ukwehla, kwaye neenkomo bezizala amaduna nto leyo ibibangela ukuba ukhulise inkomo oza kuphela uyithengisa. Bekunzima ukuthengisa ithole leduna liselincinci, besiyel silikhulise xa lisexabisweni lokukwela lithengiswe. Nawo amathole ebekwaxomekeke kweli bisi, ukuba siwenyise. Belisithi ithole lakuba neveki lizelwe lilumlwe kunina lenyiselwe ngesandla.

Enye yezinto eyenza ukuba singabi nankqubela, kukuba zange safumana luqeqeshe lwaneleyo, umzekelo ukufundiswa ngakumbi ngokulawula iifama. Ukuphathwa kwemali. Oyena nobangela wokuba singabi nankqubela phambili kukuba saziqala ngamatyala ezi fama. Kwakukho ne (consultant) eyayibizwa ngokuba ngoLimoco, esiyibona njengenye yezinto eyabangela ukuba singabi nampumelelo.

After we were independent things changed. We started to bride our cattle by our own. Those who have bulls they bride their cows, those who do not have bulls they use machine. Because we were to wait for nine month before the cow gives birth, it happens that more than three cows to be dry. We were to pay the loans at the same time. Because of the loan, it was difficult to apply for another loan. Production started to decrease, and cows used to give birth to bulls. It was difficult to sell the bull while it is still young; we were to feed it until it becomes old. Even the calves were also dependent in this milk to feed them, after a calve is one week old we used to feed it by our hand.

One of the down fall of the farms is that, there was no proper training for the farmers for example, how to run the farm, how to handle money. The major fall down of the farms is that we started farming with loans. There was also the consultant which was called Limoco, which farmers saw it as one which sank us down.

The Fourth Event

The fourth event is about where the government failed according to the narrator and what caused the government to fail him to become a successful farmer and what the government can do to upgrade his farm. The narrator also advice the young generation about the importance of farming, his views about farming and what the young generation can do to become successful farmers and warning the young generation about farming.

Narrative of the Fourth event

Ingxaki kulo rhulumente yinto yokuba uze kade kwicala lezolimo. Nditsho kuba nangoku thina mafama asikabi nawo umbane. Likhona ithemba kulo rhulumente lokuba singahluma ngoba usivulele incango kwibhanki, ukuba singaya kuboleka kwaye siyibhathale ngezavenge ngendlela umfama ngamnye anokuthi akwazi ukuyihlawula. Kwaye kukho amahumhum okuba urhulumente uyiphethe indaba yamatyala esinawo kwaye likho ithemba lokuba singawacintyelwa.

Noxa thina sathi sabetheka ukutsho oko asabanampumelelo, kodwa yona ifaming ndiyibona njengento ebalulekileyo abanokuthi abantwana bethu bayithathe kwaye baxamle kuyo. Xa banokuthi bathathe izifundo zolimo kwakumabanga aphantsi oko kunokuthi kubancede kakhulu xa sele benefama zabo. Into endinokubalumkisa kuyo kukuqala iifama ngamatyala, ngoba yenye yezinto ethe nathi yasibangela ukuba singabi nankqubela.

Into urhulumente endibona ukuba angayenza, kukutyala imali ngakumbi kwezi fama. Amanye amafama ade aqeshisa ngazo ngenxa yokuba asikwazi kuzilima, mna kuqala kukho inkampani elime umqaphu, ezakuthi yenze imali ngomhlaba ongowam. Urhulumente makasilimele, asithengele itelelele kwi-Unit ngaye kubekho itelelele yayo. Nathi mafama sibe negalelo kuyo yonke into eyenziwayo sibenebango (share). Asimfuni u-(middle-man) ngoba nguyey ophela etyeba sishiyeyeke thina singenazimali sihluphekile.

The lack of the present government is that, he came late to us as farmers. I am saying this because we do not have electricity until today. There is hope that we can be empowered by this present government, because he has opened the doors for us in the bank industry to go

and borrow money. We can go and borrow money and pay in month terms according to what you can afford to pay. There are rumors that he is considering our loans and they will be cleared.

Whereas we had up and downs which means we did not succeed, but farming is an important tool, which I motivate our young generation to consider it and benefit from it. If they can choose agriculture from primary level and this can help them when they have their own farm. What I can advice them is that, they must beware of starting farming with loans, because that is what affected us not to succeed.

What the government can do is that, if he can put more money in these farms. Some of the farmers have decided to lease some of their land, even me I have lease some of my land to a company that has plant (umqaphu) which the company will do a lot of money out of my land. In some farmers, their land has been planted perform. The government must plough our land for us and buy tractors for each unit and we must have a share and a word in this equipment. This can lead us to plough for people who are our neighbors and we can make money out of this. We don't want the (middle-man) because it ends up for us becoming poor and the middle-man becomes rich.

1.3 Ordering of Events

1.3.1 Sequence

The events of the narrative are ordered in a linear sequence as already shown in the four events above. Firstly, the narrator not only gives us his background, but he also gives us the background of the land and what caused the government to hand the land to black people. The narrator also gives us the flashback about why the land became available. He goes no to elaborate more about the produce he went through in order to occupy the land. The narrator tells us about the methods which was laid down by the government which he was to follow. This is followed by what he was given to start the farm, the training he got and how it was implemented. He went on to tell us the years he was given as a lease and what was expected from him during that time of probation. The narrator tells us more about the changes that took place after he won the probation, how things changed. This is followed by the climax or central event of the narrative whereby the farm collapsed because of the reasons he

mentioned. He conclude about what can be done to upgrade his farm and his views about the importance of farming to the young generation and what they must be aware about farming if they want to become successful farmers.

1.3.2 Duration

The duration of this narrative is not clear as it is not mentioned in the story, but it could have been from the time the narrator gave up his work and become the farmer, after he won the interview and became a farmer.

1.4 Stability of Identity

The narrator does not have a coherent identity across time. His character displays three sides firstly; he appears stable and happy about winning the interview and become a farmer, after there were others who failed and interview. This can be seen in the following phrase:

- I was happy when I won the interview and I told myself that this is the beginning to fulfill my dreams of becoming a successful farmer.

When the farm started to collapse after he won the probation, his emotions changed. Whereas he was strong when he saw his farm collapsing, but the fact that he put the blame to the consultants shows that the narrator's character changed. This is shown by this phrase:

- (One of the down fall of the farms is that, there was no proper training for the farmers for example, how to run the farm, how to handle money. The major fall down of the farms is that we started farming with loans. There was also the consultant which was called Limoco, which farmers saw it as one which sank us down.)

This phrase shows the devastated farmer about what is happening with his farm. The third side that the narrator shows is hope. He has got hope about the present government, that his farm will be upgraded. This can be shown by this phrase:

- (There is hope that we can be empowered by this present government, because he has opened the doors for us in the bank industry. We can go and borrow money and pay

in month terms according to what you can afford to pay. There are rumors that he is considering our loans and they will be cleared.)

This above phrase shows that the narrator has hope in the present government, as he thinks that what is the major problem will be overcome and he will have a chance to go and borrow money at the bank and that the loan he has at the bank will be cleared.

The narrator as a strong person

The narrator was happy after he won the probation and he thought that it was the beginning of his dreams to come true. But when the farm was not producing well he didn't give up his farm. He has got hope that the present government will bring changes and his farm will be upgraded and produce good results.

1.5 Causal Linkage

The events in the narrative are causal linked in that they show the relationship between a cause and an effect. Firstly, the narrator quit his work as a police officer, because he wanted to become a farmer. Secondly, the production started to deteriorate after he won the probation because there were calves which were also depended from the milk production and the cows started to get dry in numbers and he was left with few cows to milk. The farm collapsed as a result he was not probably trained to handle money and how to spend money. He has hope to the present government because the government has opened for him doors to go and borrow money from the bank and there is hope that the government will clear his loan.

2. The Narrative Form

2.1 Stability narrative

This story has a stability form, whereas the narrator was happy at the beginning when he won the farm. He wanted to become a successful farmer, but his wishes were shattered when the farm lost production and did bad but the narrator has hope from the present government that he will be helped to upgrade the farm.

3. Self-Narrative

3.1 Narrative is True

This is a true narrative as it is expected that to earn what you want, you need to work hard and there is almost nothing that comes easily. The narrator worked hard during his probation as it is true that you must work hard and sweat to get what your goals are. It is reasonable that, sometimes you need help to stand up and work hard as the narrator is in need of help from the government to upgrade his farm. It is reasonable that this is a true story, because when you are not well trained to do things you might fall, as the narrator told us that he fell because there was no proper training he received like to handle money and how to spend money.

4. Practices of Self-Narration: Process

4.1 Variety of Narrative Forms

This story has a variety of narrative form. For example, the story opens with a progressive narrative whereby the narrator won the farm and he was given cows which he was trained from them, how to treat, feed and take care of them. He worked hard to win the probation whereby he was doing a good production of milk. He was happy at the time as his dreams were being to be fulfilled. But after a while, when he got an independence things changed, the milk production started to deteriorate, whereby many cows started to get dry in number and sometimes giving birth to bulls. The farm lost its production and started to collapse which is the regressive form of this story, whereby the narrator blame the government consultant as one of the results of collapse of the farm.

4.2 Micro Narrative

This is a narration of events that have taken place in a very short period of time; almost from the time the farm won the interview to become a farmer.

4.3 Nesting of the Narrative

Nesting of events is not possible in this story as there is only one narrative.

5. Pragmatic of Self-Narrative

5.1 Stability Narrative

There is a stability in the narrator in a sense that even what he told himself that he is happy because he was got was will make him successful, became to collapse he didn't give up. He worked hard during the probation period because he wanted to fulfill his ambitions of becoming a successful farmer he carry on without giving up. He was hope from the present government that maybe things will change as the government has opened doors for him to go to the bank and borrow money and there is hope that his loan will be cleared.

5.2 Regressive Narration

This narrative solicits sympathy and pity, because the narrator is losing what he told himself that will be his future success, whereas there is hope that the present government will change the situation of the farm but because the narrator is old enough he won't become a successful farmer as he wished.

6. Interknitting of Identities

6.1 Moral evaluation

The narrator is evaluated in his community as a strong character and who don't give up. He was portrayed himself not only as a person who stand firm against all odds, but also as a person with hopes. When his farm lost production his stand firm as he told himself when he won the probation that he has won something that will give him success even when things changed he didn't give up. He has hope and courage from the present government that things will become to normal, the farm will produce again.

7. Emotions

- (a) At the beginning, the narrator experienced emotions of happiness after he won the interview, as it seems that he wished long times along to become a farmer. He

experienced tough times with his farm, but he didn't give up until he bought the farm after the years of probation he was given. This emotion was short-lived as the farm shows that, it was losing a production.

- (b) All these emotions are embedded in the culture as it is normal to become upset when things do not go the way you wish to be. The narrators wish was to see himself as a respected farmer with a good production and success.

CHAPTER 6

GENERAL CONCLUSION

6.1 AIM

The aim of this chapter is to summarize what has been said in previous chapters.

In chapter 2, Wilson *et al* (2005) discuss the cognitive rule model: a theory of message production. Wilson *et al* (2005) focus on two families of “message production” theories of communicative competence which are (a) those falling within a goal-plan-action framework and (b) those emphasizing multiple hierarchical levels of procedural knowledge.

They went on to discuss *goal-plan-action* theories; *interaction goals* and *cognitive rule model*. This chapter presents a “cognitive rules” model which specifies assumptions about the structure and processes underlying goal formation.

The concepts of plans and planning are frequently confused, definition of each term are advanced to clarify the difference between them; the remainder of chapter 2 is devoted to an explanation of a theory of planning. Consideration is given to the differences between the concepts of *plan* and *planning*.

In chapter 3, Benoit (1995) discusses the theory of image restoration discourse. Firstly, the key assumptions that under-gird this theory are described. Then, an integrated typology of image restoration strategies is developed. Finally, the relationship of this theory to other approaches to understand image restoration discourse is explored. The two key assumptions that provide the foundation for these theories of image restoration are outlined.

Benoit (1995) discusses communication as a goal-directed activity. He outlines three Aristotle’s Rhetorics which are *political* rhetoric, *judicial* rhetoric and *epideictic* rhetoric. Benoit also discusses how the different theorists view rhetoric as goal directed activity and how people mislead others about their goals. He also discusses the five broad categories of image restoration.

Benoit (1995) argues that human beings in general are constantly faced with situations whereby they have to explain or justify their behaviors, and to offer excuses or apologies for certain aspects of their behavior that seem to have offended others.

As far as narrative accounts in chapter 4 is concerned. Scholars from different spheres gathered to explore communication as a form for understanding the world and ultimately ourselves. Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) begin with a worldview of narrative that can draw on a long intellectual history: the world of literary narrative and narratology. Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) discuss the notion of narrative in the human sciences. Different theorists discuss the importance of story-telling.

Hinchman and Hinchman (1997) discuss the original meaning of the word narrative. The remaining part of chapter 4 is devoted in articulating motivations and conditions for account-giving. Account episodes and their consequence and the different types of reproaches and the impact that they have on accounts. The self-narration and its structures have also been discussed in this chapter.

Another aim of this chapter is to summarize the findings of the analysis in chapter 5. This chapter is dealing with the analysis of account giving. Five narrative accounts that are concerned with life stories have been collected and analyzed. All the stories concerned with Black farming environment in Eastern Cape. All five of them are personal stories, told by the internal narrator.

6.2 THEME OF THE NARRATIVE:

All of the narratives have one thing in common as far as the theme is concerned, which is about the importance of farming. The difficulties one encounter, when one is within the farming environment. It is also about educating the young generation who wish to take farming as a career and about the importance of the value of land.

6.3 ORDERING OF EVENTS

a) Sequence

In all the narratives, the events are ordered in a linear sequence and they all maintain coherence with one another and are relevant to the conclusion of their respective narratives. The events start from the beginning, proceed to the middle and the climax of the story, then the end follows.

b) Duration

In most narratives, the aspect of time is not clear as it has not been stated. However, there are some narratives where even though time is not clearly mentioned, but it can be traced. For instance the first, second and fifty narratives covers a period of 32 years, as the narrator's state it was during 1976 the time they started until recently the time of an interview.

c) Stability of Identity

The first and the fourth narrative have a common element when it comes to stability of identity. Both narrator depict a coherent identity throughout the story, they are strong and overcome the obstacles. The second, third and fifty narratives have a common element of stability of identity. The narrators does not have a coherent identity for example, the narrator of the second narrative first appears as a strong character with lot of challenges he came across and stands firm, but when the state of the farm changed, his emotions and the way he reason changed. The narrator of the third narrative first appears as a person who is not consistent about farming when she decided to retire, but when the farm produced a good profit her identity changed, she showed happiness. The narrator of the fifty narrative first appears stable and happy about becoming a farmer, but when the farm collapsed his emotions changed whereas he was strong when he saw the farm collapsing but the fact that he put the blame to others show a change. On the other hand he hopes that things will change with the present government and this shows another change in his identity.

d) Causal Linkage

Events of all the narratives are causally linked in that they all show the relationship between the cause and effect. The narrator in the first narrative worked hard during the time of probation, because he wanted to gain points and win the farm and there is no way forward to upgrade the farm, because the narrator was told to form co-operative with his colleagues which are not working according to the narrator. In the second narrative, the narrator left his job as a fruit harvest to become a farmer. He is also devastated because the farm is collapsing and there is no production. Because of the introduction of the segregation system Mrs Mabhelandile left her place of birth, in the third narrative. After a while she decided to retire and become a farmer whereas she was not sure about the move. In the fourth narrative, farming was difficult for Mr Maweza, because his farm is situated far from the markets and whereas there are challenges like scarce of water, stealing etc the narrator stands firm and strong. In the final narrative, the narrator quits his work as a police officer because he wanted to become a farmer. The farm collapsed as a result the narrator was not probably trained to handle money and how to spend money.

6.4 THE NARRATIVE FORM

All the narratives are characterized by stability but the first and second narratives add a regressive narrative whereas the third and fourth narratives have a progressive narrative. The narrator in the first, second and fifth narrative seems stable at the beginning in their farms, but the narrator of the first and second narratives changes when their farms show a fall in the production, the narrator shows a regressive state with words like, “I am tired of attending meetings which does not have any goals....” The narrator of the third and fourth narrative shows a progressive form, as their farms show a good profit.

6.5 SELF-NARRATIVE

a) Narrative is True:

All the narratives show true personal stories and are stories that most people can relate to in our daily lives.

6.6 PRACTICES OF SELF-NARRATION: PROCESS:

a) Variety of narrative form:

All the narratives have various forms except the third narrative which has only a stable form. They are mostly characterized by stable, progressive and regressive forms.

b) Micro narrative

All the narratives are micro narratives because they have taken place in a very short period of time.

c) Nesting of narratives:

There is no nesting of narratives in all the narratives because they all have only one narrator.

6.7 PRAGMATIC OF SELF-NARRATIVE

The first narrative depicts regressive/tragic narrative. The narrator is devastated about what he thought it will be his future fortune has lost its value. He shows concern about the children that leave the farm to stay in better places because the farm has no direction at all. The second, fourth and the fifth narratives depict regressive narratives; the narratives solicit pity and attention. The third and the fourth depict a progressive narrative, the narrators both worked hard in their farms and the farm had a good profit.

6.8 INTERKNITTING OF IDENTITIES

a) Moral evaluation

All the narrators are evaluated as strong, motivated and concerned in the community.

6.9 EMOTIONS

- a) The narrator of the first, second and fifth narrative experienced at the beginning the emotion of excitement after they all won their interviews. After a while their emotions were short – lived because the farms were losing a production. The narrator of the third narrative first shows emotions of doubts when she did not know whether to retire and concentrate in farming. But after she decided to retire it was a different world, it took here few years to see a turning point in her farm. The narrator of the fourth narrative first experienced emotions of sadness whereby at his arrival there was no support from the present government. He went through and overcome the obstacle and challenges.
- b) All the emotions as discussed above are embedded into the culture in a way that people who are or have undergone through the same experience as those mentioned in these narratives are bound to experience these emotions. For example sometimes it is difficult to get up if there is no second hand to help you, as the farmers need a hand from the government to be upgraded. And to achieve what you want, you need to work hard.

6.10 GENERAL FINDINGS

1. All the characters view agriculture as an important career, especially for young generation.
2. Most young generation is not interested in agriculture especially in developing areas. This is caused by the lack of financial support from government.
3. Agriculture is one of the industries which can create more jobs for poor black community.
4. The black farmers especially in Eastern Cape has passion about farming especially old people, but they need findings and support in order to take their farmers to higher grounds.

5. The past system (during apartheid regime) of agriculture did affect most black farmers in Eastern Cape which left them poor.
6. The lack of training during the past played a huge role in the down fall of farmers, like lack of agricultural farming, lack of how to handle finances.

6.11 RECOMMENDATIONS

1. If government can subsidize agriculture, more jobs will be available and young generation will be interested to take over with planting when their old father passes away.
2. The government must not just implement system(s) without consulting with the farmers.
3. An investigation is important, even if it's once a month to find out if the money being allocated to small developing farmers reached them and they spend it the right way.
4. The government must support the developing farmers with supplement like seed, agricultural tools and other agricultural equipment.
5. The farmers must control their equipment, with a second hand to help them; there must be no middle man which will control their assets.
6. The government must fix roads which lead to farmers as they complain that the business is hard to go especially during rained day as car can't get in.
7. The government must also supply the black developing farmers with electricity, as this is one of the important things to make some agricultural tools to function, and because of this factor young generation leaves farmers for township.
8. The government must also stop their empty promises and try to implement what they promise farmers.

9. We must stop importing agricultural production, by starting to look back and try to fix problems are arises.

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