Transformation in the South African Storytelling Tradition: Stylisation and New Genres in Storytelling NGOs

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DECLARATION

I, Nomusa Happiness Mdlalose, declare that this thesis entitled **Transformation in the South African Storytelling Tradition: Stylisation and New Genres in Storytelling NGOs** is my own work; and that it is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Literature at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa; and that this work has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Sign _____

_____day of _____

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my ancestors and the ancestors of all Peoples of South Africa for the rich heritage of storytelling they bequeathed this nation despite many difficulties. To the many young and yet to be born, who will be enriched by our rich heritage through modern and enhanced media of storytelling. To all the story tellers who through their love for stories deliver the intended messages to various audience. I also dedicate this thesis to every person who truly wished me success in this difficult endeavor.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis traces the trajectory of storytelling from pre-colonial period to colonial, apartheid through to 1994 democratic era in South Africa. It juxtaposes this trajectory with the sudden emergence of the non-governmental storytelling organizations (NGOs) in the democracy; and advances a claim that, storytelling is still alive regardless of its altered outlook for purposes of adapting itself into dynamics of modernity. To justify the claim this study makes on the ever-existence of storytelling, first and foremost the researcher traces the beginning of storytelling NGOs and interrogates their work in South Africa's new dispensation.

Explored in the thesis thereof are factors that influenced the emergence of storytelling non-governmental organizations (NGOs) at the beginning of the South African democracy, between 1990 and 2010. The main question raised is meant to disclose a role that these NGOs play in the field of storytelling – in any manner. In furtherance of determining this role, attention is put on innovative storytelling styles demonstrated by modern storytellers during performance, observable new genres, performance material as is needed and used by storytellers, as well as the types of audiences with which modern storytellers engage and reactions from these audiences to storytelling performances. Since storytelling NGOs generally survive through grants and funding, especially State funding, the relationship between NGOs and the States is critically explored herein. This also, is meant to ascertain the role and impact of funding in the NGOs' work.

Key Words: *Storytelling, Culture, Non-governmental organizations, The State, Stylization, Genres, Performance material, Audience; Nationalization; Contextualization; Modernity*

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NGOs	Non-governmental organisations
Zanendaba	Zanendaba storytelling organisation
Kwesukela	Kwesukela storytelling academy
KSA	Kwesukela storytelling academy
Sibikwa	Sibikwa Cultural Centre
HIV	human immunodeficiency virus
AIDS	acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
PanSALB	Pan South African Language Board
CoRMSA	Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa
IDASA	Institute for Democracy in South Africa
Cope	Congress of the People
SANGOCO	South African non-governmental organisations coalition
Apartheid	A period of discrimination and subjugation in South Africa
UN	United Nations
ACH	Arts, Culture and Heritage
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
ANC	African National Congress
NAC	National Arts Council
DGA	Dream Art Gallery

CHAPTER 1 BACKGROUND: THE JOURNEY OF STORYTELLING FROM APARTHEID TO DEMOCRACY

1.1 Introduction

Storytelling has been part of African culture since time immemorial, and has, historically, played a crucial role in African society and life in general. Achebe (1988) states that in Africa, storytelling was a flourishing, revered art form and contributed to the preservation of memory, the education of people, entertainment, it nurtured creativity, assisted the cohesion of communities, promoted spirituality and so on. However, as Rananga (2008) and others propose, the situation began to change during colonial times in South Africa, when Western values were introduced. Western knowledge promoted its epistemologies, perspectives and perceived superiority, while simultaneously discrediting African ways of knowing and practices, which included the entire African cultural praxis.

Over the years, hegemony was created, as well as negative perceptions that what was African was of less value than that with Western roots. That hegemony was perpetuated continuously in Africa and imposed on Africans by colonisers. Thus, storytelling was labelled primitive, and in other instances associated with children's entertainment. Denning (2001: xv) concurs that storytelling was considered "suspect." "Scientists derided it. Philosophers threatened to censor it. Logicians had difficulty in depicting it. Management theorists generally ignored it." He continues, "Storytelling bad press was not new. It had been disreputable for several millennia, ever since Plato identified poets and storytellers as dangerous fellows, who put unreliable knowledge into the heads of children and hence would be subject to strict censorship." Fikry Atallah (1972) agrees with this notion when he says that African stories are not taken seriously. As a result, this art form lost some of its value. While the hegemony continued, as in the process of colonisation and the implementation of apartheid systems, political turmoil in the country also continued.

Unexpected societal changes occurred, for example, that of urbanisation; in many ways, this, in turn, affected storytelling practices. There were hardly any organisations dedicated to storytelling at that time. Instead, stories were told around the fire, in royal courtyards, under the full moon and in other traditional venues; see Okpewho (1977), Scheub (2000), and Hofmeyr (1992). At the beginning of the 1990s, storytelling institutions appeared in the form of non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The question asked in this chapter is, what inspired the formation of these NGOs? Two South African political situations will be

analysed and compared in answering this question; the period of apartheid and that of democracy in order to determine any change over this time, or the difference between the two periods, which is expected to provide answers to the question posed**.**

The study, therefore, explores the development of storytelling in the post-1994 period in South Africa and highlights the advancement, or lack of progress, of storytelling. Both the text and performative aspects of storytelling are explored herein. To this effect, the study considers storytelling NGOs as new spaces for any storytelling-related work, and so examines how each NGO came into being and the reasons behind its formation. Seemingly, these NGOs attempt to locate storytelling within modern society. Hence, the study investigates their establishment and significance in contemporary society. It also takes a critical look at storytelling features such as stylisation, genres, performance material and storytelling audiences, to determine the role of storytelling NGOs.

While storytelling NGOs and professional storytellers have increased in South Africa since 1990, there was little academic focus on the development of storytelling during this period. The study takes into account the migration tendencies of the oral arts. Newer approaches to the study of oral forms in Africa are affirmed by Finnegan (1992, 2007) as she repeatedly emphasises the transient nature and mutability of oral forms.

Ultimately, discussions central to this study will pertain to the formation of NGOs and the role they play in the art of storytelling. A hypothesis presented here relates to the notion that these NGOs were formed to bring back into society values and morals embedded in storytelling, which in turn would help affirm the cultural identity some people had lost during the period in South Africa when there was racial discrimination. This would in turn help pave the way for healing the emotional wounds caused by apartheid.

According to Bauman (1986), Ben-Amos (1983), Okpewho (1992), and Scheub (2010), a popular discourse that informs storytelling production is not satisfactorily explored. Therefore, by understanding how storytelling NGOs arose and engaged with new storytelling elements that have been introduced by modern storytellers, as they work together in NGOs, this study stands to contribute to storytelling and add to the existing scholarship knowledge on the topic. Furthermore, it intends to inspire critical discourse in this field.

There has been an upsurge in the formation of storytelling NGOs since the early 1990s. In this study, the researcher investigates the sudden establishment of these organisations between 1990 and 2010.

Ever since modernisation took root in South Africa, the practice of storytelling has been receding; according to Letsie (2004). This observation brought about, among others, a lack of clear visibility around storytelling practice and had led other scholars, such as Rananga (2008), to assume that storytelling is dying in South Africa. According to Rananga (2008: 23), "Western civilisation had a negative impact on the verbal transmission of these stories." He is of the view that radio and television; the education system and the family set-up where children no longer live with their grandparents, all threaten the viability of storytelling. Rananga says that, if this art becomes obsolete, stories will vanish from the people's minds and new ones will no longer be created. However, the period leading up to the 1994 democratic elections in South Africa saw a rise in storytelling NGOs being established in Johannesburg and spreading to other provinces.

Letsie and Rananga base their claim on the observation that very few families still have grandmothers at home who tell stories around the fire with the children listening. He maintains that the devaluing of the storytelling tradition began with the missionaries, who perceived storytelling as backward and barbaric. That perception resulted in modern African society placing less value on this tradition (Rananga, 2008). Canonici (1990), on the other hand, attributes this perception to the advent and sedimentation of industrialisation and urbanisation, which had, by the end of the twentieth century, obliterated the tradition within modernising African society. Migrant labour being also central to these changes which is reflected in day to day living, as seen, men going to work in cities and women having to stay at home, minding the home and children. While this study alludes to the role of modernisation and its negative impact on storytelling, the scholars however overlooked two critical issues. First, on account of adaptation, storytelling practice adjusted to new conditions which consequently made it invisible.

In line with recent approaches to studying oral forms, as espoused by Barber (1987, 1995, 2000); Hofmeyr (1992); Groenewald (1990); Wilson (1999); and Kerr (1995), this study investigates the post-apartheid advancement of the storytelling tradition. It proceeds from a general premise that there has always been a continuity of tradition between precolonial oral

forms and modern oral practices, an aspect corroborated by Groenewald (1990:128), who states that "[t]o the superficial observer the art form represented by the folktales tradition seems to be fast fading away. The more serious researcher, however, finds the tradition not only alive but permeating all the literary genres which have – to some extent – take the place of oral literary expressions. The evidence of which is reflected in both the spirit and the form of modern literature and bears witness to a tradition which – far from being a dead letter – promises to give new life and new directions to African literature."

To that effect, an argument posited on a dearth of the oral tradition of storytelling is simplistic and parochial as it is based on an outdated understanding of the fixed nature of oral literature. As seen in the years of political struggle in South Africa, storytelling harmonised with modern African protest theatre, Kerr (1995). This type of theatre demonstrated continuity between precolonial oral forms and modern-day art forms. Protest theatre incorporated African precolonial performing arts such as music, chanting, poetry and storytelling. Among theatre plays that have made use of folktales and storytelling genres are *Nosilimela*, an epic play by Credo Mutwa, which, according to Kerr (1995: 221) attempts to explore African myth and religion. Another famous playwright, Matsemela Manaka, uses techniques that involve significant audience participation in his plays, such as inviting the audience to respond by clapping, shouting and whistling. With his methods, the audience becomes active participants in and contributors to, the performance. Kerr describes Manaka's creative plays as influenced by indigenous South African traditions of Xhosa storytelling.

Therefore, during the struggle years in South Africa, storytelling continued to be contextualized, which occurred concurrently with its adaptation to the realm of electronic media. On the radio, in particular, is where storytelling first launched its modern and electronic appearance. For instance, King Edward Masinga, popularly known as K.E. Masinga of Radio Zulu, now called Ukhozi FM, introduced the telling of folktales in the form of drama on radio, (Gunner 2000; 2002). He was the first African to be hired by that radio station in 1945, almost twenty-five years after the radio was first introduced in South Africa in 1920. While he was at Radio Zulu, in the 1940s, Masinga wrote some plays for the station, including traditional African folktales he adapted for radio drama.

Moreover, in the 1970s, Mary Nontolwane, a presenter on the same radio station, started a radio storytelling program featuring traditional stories, with the primary target being children. The stories came on at allocated times. Here, folktales undoubtedly provided content for the modern technology of radio. As the radio personalities, K.E. Masinga and Mary Nontolwane drew from the existing material of their cultural heritage, traditional storytelling was kept alive and passed on to an urban population which possessed radios and spoke the language. However, Rananga (2008) argues that radio contributed to the death of storytelling.

On the contrary, Wilson (2004) is of the view that, the adaptation of storytelling has been taking place quietly and has advanced into the post-apartheid period. Additionally, since the South African democratic dispensation in 1994, the country has seen some non-governmental storytelling organisations, and consequently professional storytellers, emerging from the margins of society and into national and international arenas, as storytelling now features at most arts festivals.

Hofmeyr (1994), Scheub (1996), Rananga (2008), Groenewald (1990), and Canonici (1987) are some of the scholars whose work is pertinent to this research, as their studies focus on diverse aspects of storytelling in the South African context. Their contribution is to the practical application of storytelling. For instance, Scheub recorded Xhosa and Zulu storytellers in the early 1980s, analysing core images in stories as a storyteller presents them and exploring different ways to exhibit meaning and emotion during a rendition. Hofmeyr (1994: 119 & 107) describes the telling of oral history by male storytellers within the Sotho culture, mainly focusing on style. It is such research that enabled this study to explore the state of storytelling. Rananga (2008) has examined the life of storytelling in the new South Africa. He looks at it from the perspective of Tshivenda language storytelling practice. He researches the professionalism of storytelling in South Africa, focusing on Venda storytelling but also referring to South African storytelling in general. His study is paramount for understanding the state of storytelling within local communities. Rananga's study further concerns itself with the role of the government, which according to him, is that of safeguarding art and heritage by, among others, providing funding to organisations that are involved. Rananga believes that art can be saved from disappearing. His main argument is that this art is slowly dying out; it needs resuscitation, from the government in particular.

For Rananga, people in South Africa have stopped telling and listening to stories around the fire at family homes. Storytelling does not appear in public libraries or schools; storytelling organisations are not effectively financially supported by the government, and therefore storytellers are unable to move forward with their craft. Canonici, on the other hand, looks at the functional value and meaning of folktales, how these stories contribute to the well-being of a society. Boateng (1983) also analysed meanings, the significance of traditional tales and their function as an educational tool for African people. He maintains that traditional folktales remain relevant for modern society as they carry educational and moral messages that the current generation needs even more than the previous one. Taking into consideration Rananga's argument about the lack of funding, the study further asks how these organisations then survive in such a situation; how NGOs can be of assistance to storytelling and storytellers.

1.2 Aim of study

The study aims to critically analyse and determine why storytelling NGOs suddenly appeared in numbers after democracy.

In a study of the contemporary storytelling landscape, Wilson (2006) observes:

> The rise of the professional storyteller over the past thirty years has been one of the remarkable success stories of the performing arts in the closing decades of the twentieth century and the opening years of the twenty-first. It has, however, taken place almost unnoticed. Storytelling did not suddenly burst onto the scene but has gradually been developing and expanding, exploring itself and establishing a new territory and new audiences. The revolution has been a relatively quiet one, but nonetheless significant. Storytellers can now be found everywhere because storytelling has not just arrived, but it seems with every year that passes, it is here to stay. (2006:143).

Considering the above comment, this study aims to zoom in on the nature of professional storytelling in South Africa by analysing the various styles for telling a story (stylisation) that different contemporary storytellers employ in their storytelling renditions. Exploring stylisation in storytelling will consequently determine how the art of storytelling had advanced and risen in popularity since 1994 in South Africa. Analysis of stylisation involves the following aims:

- An explanation of the emergence of storytelling organisations and how their existence advances the storytelling art and individual stylisation.

- Exploring the implementation of traditional material, such as folktales and other genres, to creatively bring across messages during the rendition. Here, aesthetics, creativity, contextualisation of the art, as well as employment of meta-communicative elements associated with cultural performance, are of critical importance.

- Explaining creative ways of integrating various techniques to produce personal stylisation. This aim will involve looking at a careful arrangement of content and engagement in high-intensity performance (vocally or physically or both), and the portrayal of emotional content.

- Critically analysing generative material new genres that have emerged post-1994. Of importance in this aim is the way stories or genres come about, and the way audiences receive them. Therefore, new stories are interrogated by looking at the framing of new content and the art of new genres that are emerging.

- Government's role in the emergence of NGOs, as well as.

- Audience influences and engagements in a storytelling performance.

The intention is to research relevant contexts where storytelling performances would be taking place for an immediate audience, on stage. The aim is to study the individual storytelling styles of contemporary storytellers.
The research hopes to achieve this aim by exploring how storytellers manipulate various techniques and cultural elements to create an individual style, which is the manner by which storytellers skillfully combine certain techniques to produce performances that are aesthetic and meaningful.

1.3 Research questions

1.3.1 *Primary question*

Why were storytelling NGOs formed, and what is their central role in modern society?

1.3.2 *Secondary questions*

1. How do NGOs contribute to the growth of storytelling currently?

2. How NGOs, as the formal structure of storytelling, influence current matters that affect the field of storytelling in contemporary times.

1.4 Rationale

The study attempts to fill a gap that exists between what is happening and what is written about in the field of storytelling. To understand the processes that enabled the growth of storytelling, the primary concern of this study is performance aspects, as opposed to the textuality of it. As of recently, there are about 200 universities in the United States of America (USA) alone that offer storytelling courses, both at undergraduate and postgraduate level. Included in this list is the East Tennessee State University, which offers storytelling courses up to master's degree level regardless of the point made by Borowski and Sugiera (2010: 129) that "the history of this long and affluent oral tradition originally flourished in Africa." It is therefore absurd that Africa offers no storytelling courses in any universities, let alone in the Basic education system. Instead, storytelling NGOs are mushrooming across South Africa. In light of this, this study tries to understand the reasons why the art in South Africa has not caught up with the progress that has been made internationally. How South African storytelling is faring performance-wise; hence the question, what is the role that storytelling NGOs have occupied the storytelling space since the advent of democracy in South Africa?

According to Dorson (1972), during the colonial era in Africa, folktale materials were collected from various communities on the continent and published by missionaries. These folktales became academic texts in folklore studies in Europe and the USA, (see Dorson 1972; Scheub 1994; and Bauman 1974). Since the focus was on folktales as written texts rather than performance art, the aspects that relate to performance were not integrated into the discipline. This practice was contrary to the African tradition, where stories and their practical application intertwined. Owing to this exclusion from scholarly discourses, the performance component of the oral tradition became insignificant, if not invisible.

There are three schools of thought that approach folktales from a textual point of view: structuralism, functionalism and oral formulaic. Structuralism focuses on the construction of the tale with the aim of effecting form in its structure, since Dorson (1972) states that it is argued that structure can be perceived to be non-existent in folktales. Structuralism dissects folktales into units to highlight all binary oppositions within a tale, creating an apparent

distinction between good and evil, villain and hero or the ugly one and the beauty. As much as the structural analysis contributed to explaining the physical make-up of folktales, it did not address performance as a component. This exclusive method led to limited progress in the study of the performance art of traditional tales.

A similar approach of exclusion was adopted in functionalism; scholars concentrated on the functionality of folktales by analysing the role of folk stories in each community, focusing on how stories work to sustain social institutions, (Benedict, 1935; Malinowski, 1926; Hyman and Vogt 1959), among others. While a commendable and relevant approach, the influence of performance or style in bringing out the meaning, creating popularity and importance of the folktale, is absent in the functionalist approach. This study presumes that structuralism and functionalism account for the extensive work in the theorisation of folktales and that these two approaches pay attention only to the theoretical component, treating storytelling as a transmission vehicle. According to Na'Allah (2007), there is difficulty in interpreting this oral art because the measuring framework used does not fit; hence, African oral traditions are studied as folk literature, imposing European literary hermeneutic principles on oral forms. Discursive practices like these are evidence of how oral narratives turned into literary texts that were not conceptualised initially within those traditions. Bauman (1992), states that this was the case with authors who documented and rewrote oral stories. "If their writing launched a tale into oral circulation, the written evidence could mark the earliest known version of a tale, Ben-Amos (1992:104)." Therefore, the general colonial, imperialist ideology, and the oversight of performance stylisation and genres comes across as deliberate in the sense that it automatically fell out of the desired framework.

Folk-culture theory purported by Glassie (1968) presents a similar view to that of structuralism: it questions the survival of folk culture during the spread and development of mass technology, contesting that the storytelling art cannot survive in a world where high technological art brings out quick and elaborate forms of communication and entertainment. This perspective is valid to a certain extent when one thinks of the technological advances we face daily, and yet it ignores two aspects relating to the use of technology, people and culture. High technical art cannot operate in a vacuum, it requires content, which is influenced by the culture and the art of the people it serves, for it to be effectively recognised, accepted and become popular. Ben-Amos (1972) further argues that the emergence of modern urban life and the increase in mass communication may affect oral literature but does not eradicate it.

High technology in its techniques incorporated some of the traditional approaches, such as that of storytelling; therefore, the two technologies feed into each other. Contrary to the folk-culture perspective, culture survives because there are people, not because there is no technology.

These ideas and approaches dominated much of the earlier folklore studies but gradually changed over the years. New scholars against the domination of tale as text began promoting folktales as performance narratives, (See Bauman 1996; Ben-Amos 1972; Dundee, 1975). In South Africa, scholars such as Hofmeyr (1994), Scheub (1996), Rananga (2008), Groenewald (1990), and Canonici (1987) have all made contributions to the practical application of storytelling scholarship.

The period post-1994 in South African urban spaces, with which this study is concerned, is characterised by a heterogeneous society; therefore, the study intends engaging with these kinds of storytellers. Since 1994, South Africa has seen some storytellers emerging who have made it to arts festivals and other national and international stages. Storytelling NGOs continue to be established, equipping storytellers with necessary skills. Due to all these achievements in the South African storytelling industry, Freedom Park Museum has made history by employing full-time storytellers. Freedom Park is mandated by the government to implement strategies that will enable freedom of the African voice and promotion of social cohesion. Storytellers at this museum come with varying styles of telling children, adults, foreign visitors, ambassadors and the like, using the different South African languages.

The site of storytelling has therefore transformed from being homogeneous to becoming a multicultural and multidisciplinary art space. The fluidity of the art is visible in project theatre, as purported by Kerr (1995). Furthermore, modern storytellers in their organisations and as independent storytellers, forge engagements with different racial groups. New styles and genres have emerged to serve this contemporary society. Electronic media, such as the internet, television and radio, have also generated their material from and implemented traditional folktales for content. The transformation experienced by storytelling reflects the continuity of tradition and the existence of an archive from which African people find reassurance of cultural identity, creative energy and ancient knowledge, which were previously denied. Okpewho (1992: 360) states that “cherished traditions are subjected to continual reconstruction and recreation and thus increased by new material.”

Undeniably, the emergence of modern technology coupled with modernisation, which forced families to migrate and separate, caused a decrease in live performances in societies and homes. As such, rather than studying tales as historical artefacts that contributed to the perception that storytelling has been wiped out, there is a need to analyse narration in its contemporary form and its establishment in a post-1994 South African popular culture setting.

It is evident than that, even after a move from a concentration on the written to studies of storytelling as a performative art, it is still studied as a historical artefact. There is, therefore, a need to analyse storytelling in its contemporary form and its establishment in the post-1994 South African popular culture setting. Both text and performative aspects are of concern here and this analysis investigates stylisation, emerging genres within the post-apartheid setting, audience types and reception and the numerous platforms on which it is presented. The study will further take into consideration storytelling organisations that have been formed over the years as a new space for the development of the art and determine how each has contributed to stylisation and the creation of new genres.

By researching what innovations have transpired in storytelling post-1994, and critically engaging with individuals' storytelling stylisation and genres, this study intends to contribute to the existing body of knowledge on storytelling scholarship in South Africa and inspire critical discourse in the field.

1.5 Theoretical framework

The analysis of data presented in this study is informed by theoretical insights drawn from Barber's (1997; 2000) popular culture and Baumann's (1974; 1983) performance theories. Barber (1997), in her discussion of popular culture and various elements of performance, such as the contexts, practices and the way materials for performances are generated by the performers, maintains that popular culture includes everything people do that has a meaning or is the outcome of choice rather than genetics, and that incorporates many cultural forms and activities. The concept of generative materialism that Barber explores, as pertains to performers' material, relates to some aspect of this study. Accordingly, the material is not necessarily traditional but has a hybrid of both modern and cultural ambience.

1.5.1 *Popular culture theory*

Barber provides a key point of entry into the discussion in her illustration of narration, mode of characterisation and the lessons learnt during the presentation are generated from the daily experience of both the performers and audiences. In respect of this perspective, both the audience and performers eventually contribute to creating new ways of socialisation, and a new form of public arena. Barber (2000), characters assume real personalities, not to explore actuality in and of itself but to make them more useful as bearers of appropriable moral lessons. This approach is particularly useful in explaining why and how material generated by storytellers influences the storytellers' styles which in turn accommodates and resonates with audiences from all walks of life. The popular culture theory assumes the presence of traditional African elements such as narratives, idioms, indigenous languages merging with modern settings, like multiracial and multicultural audiences in paid theatres, modern musical instruments, economic viability and the like.

According to Scheub (2000), audiences identify with the oral text because every story embodies an entire tradition and, as a result, a form of self and community identity comes to the fore. However, Scheub points out that without contemporary framework old images would be of historical value but no immediate benefit to the member of the audience. Barber (2000) contends that oral tradition has found a way of incorporating modern components and this has resulted in a new culture of popular sentiment. She affirms popular culture as the fusion of traditional and contemporary cultures and presents an essential framework for the study of this new culture created by different classes of a democratic South Africa. Based on this understanding, it is necessary to recognise the link between a change in the South African political landscape and the establishment of storytelling NGOs.

This study parallels the transformation of storytelling with the South African societal evolution, in the same manner as Coplan (1994) who affirms that Black popular culture was produced and organised around markets of transforming social identity and the display of cultural capital necessary for the establishment of claims to an urbanised status and class mobility. Likewise, Kerr (1995) describes African popular culture as the aspects of African pre-colonial culture that have been integrated into the urban lifestyle and are used to deal with matters affecting the modern population. Barber's exposition clearly explains a link between the past and present, and acknowledges the ever-changing nature of culture and tradition, which gives value to this study by bringing awareness to the continuous

development of the art of storytelling regarding stylisation and genres. Barber (2000) maintains that, since performance is a contract between the performer and the audience, the personality of the audience contributes significantly to the quality of the performance. She maintains that narratives give people experience so that when they go back home, they think about the story and plan their lives accordingly.

1.5.2 *Performance theory*

In articulating the performance theory, Bauman (1974; 1983) discusses a relationship between oral literature and social life in a narrative performance context of human events. He explains how interpretation comes forth during an oral performance so that it provides meaning to the community.

Bauman looks at verbal art as a way of speaking, a mode of verbal communication, and perceives performance as a responsibility of a storyteller/performer(s) to communicate skillfully to their audiences. In other words, a storyteller must satisfy his or her viewers, and the way storytellers deliver their messages determines the success or failure of their endeavours to come across to their audiences. She recognises the interrelations that can hardly be separable between people, conditions that produce experiences and the way these experiences are manifested and transmitted further in the society using oral performance as a vehicle.

According to Benjamin (1969: 87), “the storyteller takes what he tells from experience – his own or that reported by others. Moreover, he, in turn, makes it the experience of those who are listening to his tale.” Perceiving performance as a unique method of communication, and possibly a dominant one in the hierarchy of multiple functions served by speech, for Bauman, is tantamount to placing performance in the influential realm of communication. The audience is, therefore, in a place to identify and define what resonates within them, owing to the manner of delivery, styles and genres of the stories presented.

Ndebele (1991) attests that performance should enable audiences to see themselves and to reflect on what they see. Sekoni (1990) concurs and states that oral narrative performance, like all other speech acts, is a communication system in which a social discourse takes place principally between a narrator/performer and the audience.

Within this context, a certain relationship is built between the storyteller and his or her audience. In response to Bauman's deliberation, Ndebele (1991) states that culture as a social process is an entire internally structured system, and as a concept, it embodies both the material and spiritual culture. Also, Ndebele maintains that a performance must be a representation and interpretation of popular experiences within a society. Ndebele further perceives performance not only as a socio-culturally defined space but also as a space endowed with spirituality. This point of view suggests spirituality as a bridge that links a performer and his or her audience. Even though Ndebele refrains from further explaining inferences to spirituality, the construct is significant in understanding and explaining the spiritual content in a story or performance and how it is interpreted in stylisation.

Based on Ndebele's assertion, spirituality determines resonance within the audience, and Scheub (2002) expounds the discourse by referring to emotionality. Undoubtedly, emotionality plays an important role in the audiences' ability to encode messages from oral narratives. Scheub (2002) notes that musicality is created when elements of metaphor, irony, ambiguity and the like - are wittingly integrated into producing emotions. If a story lacks this core, then it lacks power and will not resonate. This aspect is what Bauman (1986) calls the configuration of the enactment of the poetic function, that is, the essence of spoken artistry.

In his performance theory, Bauman (1992) also discusses the integrative tradition in the verbal arts sphere, where he views oral tradition from an ethnographic perspective. This integrative approach connects oral literature with social life, asserting that the individual, society and culture are intertwined, and together provide structure and meaning in the social lives of people. Bauman (1992) stresses the need for performance-based approaches to oral literature, as opposed to a text-based approach pioneered by the earlier folklorists and anthropologists. He is of the view that the texts available and presented as the raw materials of oral literature are merely the thin and partial record of deeply situated human behaviour. Here, Bauman brings to attention how the uniqueness of oral narrative has its foothold in human events. Performance is valued as a means through which social meanings are enacted in the story and characters and breathe life into the texts.

Scheub (2002) affirms that the result occurs as the story develops and so our real experience is given a new form. That is how our real-life experience is given meaning. This argument is

crucial as it enables the study to affect the dynamism of performance within social settings, in that performances usually take various forms regarding stylisation and genres. Understandably, each performance is different and dynamic as Bauman (1992) purports that performance is a frame that exhibits intrinsic qualities of the process of communication. Borowski and Sugiera (2010) articulate the same view and add that these qualities reveal some of the ethical dimensions of both performance and audience. The Performance Theory is paramount in explaining storytelling as an aspect of popular culture since it forwards performance as a reflection of the real-life experiences of the audience who can connect with it due to the spirituality and musicality evoked within the performance.

Another significant aspect of Bauman's (1992) Performance Theory (1992) focuses on is how performance is a specialised stylistic mode of communication, and she refers to this conceptualisation as the aesthetic dimension. The aesthetic aspect in Bauman's viewpoint has to do with the creative linguistic usage in social and cultural life in human communities. Bauman states that one ordinary usage performance is the actual execution of action as opposed to capacities, models or other factors. Here Bauman contrasts the daily use of language and the language put into action, employed in a skilful manner aimed at impressing an audience. The critical issue in Bauman's aesthetic approach is that of stylisation because it communicates directly with the aim of the study.

Bauman's approach is crucial for the study since it embodies creativity, performance skill, quality performance and other elements. It calls attention to and involves self-conscious manipulation of the formal communication features such as physical movement, intonation and music. This discourse allows a better understanding as to how storytellers creatively combine performance elements and techniques, for stylisation purposes. That being the case, this study deliberates on the aesthetic dimension as what the audience experiences and what appeals to them while witnessing a storytelling performance.

Okpewho (1983) explains techniques, among other things, as possession of a good charming voice by a narrator, an ability to use one's voice and gestures, and spatial relations (creative use of space at hand). In the unfolding of styles, Bauman (1999) expresses that performance makes one commutatively accountable; it calls for listeners' evaluation of the relative skill and effectiveness of the performer's accomplishment. He points out that in the process of stylisation the performer exposes himself or herself for judgment from the audience. The

audience evaluates artistic skill and effectiveness of the performer's exhibition. As Bauman (1999) puts it, the audience appreciates the intrinsic qualities of the act of expression itself.

The advancement of storytelling by, among other groups, the non-governmental storytelling organizations could be noted on different levels. The first is that stories can be told with the aim of expressing cultural reclamation, which, according to Bateson (1972), is effective using culturally conventionalized meta communication. Advancement also comes in the form of job creation, and Barber (2000) highlights that popular culture is a socio-economic vehicle for upward economic mobility and higher social status for people who, under normal circumstances, would have struggled to attain such status. Thirdly, these storytelling NGOs utilize the art to serve as a bridge for a transition from the past to present, post-1994 context. By providing possibilities for performance opportunities, storytelling NGOs engage with up-coming storytellers in the promotion of storytelling in the performing art industry. The increase in the number of storytellers influences the popularity of the art, provides economic improvement for individual storytellers and contributes to storytelling grounding itself as an independent art form.

As an established independent art form, storytelling will have to find itself, its definition, and justification in the new contemporary context, attract new audiences and consequently call for some innovative strategies. Stylisation and development of new genres are vital for this process. Barber (1997) expresses that popular theatre can draw audiences from various backgrounds and links audiences, genres and delivery style. Bauman (1974) looks at storytelling as a natural way of speaking. This view of reiterated by Wilson (2006: 62) who points out that "Storytelling is the art form of social interaction, something that everybody does and participates in every day at some level." In this case, storytelling is constructed within the boundaries of authenticity and natural phenomenon. The popularity of storytelling is because it emanates from a cultural sphere, that is, from what is natural for people to do. Storytelling is an art that constitutes specific techniques and characterisation of special knowledge that is embedded in a natural way of speaking.

When South Africa transformed into a democratic country in 1994, the society became more heterogeneous than before. The different nature of the community presented a new stage to performers and a new type of audience, which was multicultural, multilingual and multiracial. Coplan (1995) sees this as a call for a new popular culture that would inaugurate

the end of apartheid. Storytelling NGOs, thus, came into being in response to this new context of cultural freedom. Responding to the new environment, new styles of telling stories arose due to the nature of emerging audiences that were of multifaceted makeup. Storytelling performances consequently added to existing platforms for articulating experiences and new issues affecting the society. These developments justify Bauman's (1974) idea of performance as an organising principle. The various styles and genres that have emerged have contributed to the understanding and interpretation of the current social constructs. The following section presents an examination of the history of storytelling from the pre-colonial to the colonial period.

1.6 Literature review: brief history of storytelling from pre-colonial to colonial period

It was mentioned above that in their arrival in South Africa or Africa, the missionaries diminished the value of storytelling in their endeavours to civilise and liberate Africans because they found people still telling the stories. They disregarded the importance and efficacy of the content. Instead, they cleaned up all elements in stories that they perceived to counteract missionary or Christian moralistic values (see Hofmeyr, 1991). As Mhlambi (2001: 7) affirms, "During colonial times, when it gradually dawned on missionaries that they should preserve African culture, they, together with anthropologists and philanthropists, collected and edited folklore materials such as songs, poetry, folktales, proverbs and riddles and cultural practices and recorded the history that pertained to each society they worked in." She also says that the texts formed the major part of the initial materials collected about African oral literature and other traditional cultures worldwide.

In the last fifty decades, the revival of storytelling in America and Europe began. This era saw a rise of new professional storytelling with more attention turned into the performative mode of folktales as opposed to the textuality of the tale before then. As a result, the recognition of storytelling as a performance art increased in these regions. The Jonesborough storytelling festival, which began in the 1970s in America, was the result of this initiative. During this festival, storytellers come from all around the world to render storytelling performances. They each, in pairs or in groups, brought a variety of styles to the festival. Since then scholarly literature on storytelling, although not specifically on styles, has been produced by scholars such as Ben-Amos, Scheub (1975, 1978, 1992, 1996, 2000), Du Toit

(1976), Okpewho (1977, 1990, 1992), Sobol (1999), Hofmeyr (2001), Wilson (1997, 2006), Groenewald (1990), Wilson (1990, 2006), Rananga (2008) and others.

Groenewald (1990) stresses a presence of orality in African literature rather than the earlier perspective on the treatment of tale, where the textual aspect of tale was the only focus as is observed in Jolles (1930). Jolles's focus is structuralism of tale, attempting to figure out primary forms and actual physicality of folk narrative. According to Bauman (1977) studies of Folklore in the 17th century in Europe focused on the analysis of tales. The tale was treated as text outside performance. According to Dorson (1972), in colonial Africa, folktale materials were collected from various communities on the continent and were published by missionaries. These folktales and other cultural fangs from around the world became academic texts in folklore studies in Europe and America (see Dorson 1972; Scheub 1994; Bauman 1974). Drawing insights from Dorson's observations, this thesis argues that since the interest in storytelling was focused on the physical nature of a tale and excluded the performance component, aspects related to performance were not integrated into the discipline. As Rananga (1994) states, this exclusion contributed to the devaluation of storytelling that started with the missionaries and others.

Although Rananga (2000) points out that such developments, as well as the radio storytelling on the main, eradicated the true nature of storytelling since they excluded the performance aspect of story. According to Ben-Amos, "Attention given to the physical form of story by degrees led to the obliteration of an equally significant aspect of storytelling, which is the performance aspect," (Ben-Amos, 1975: 11). However, is important to note that performance is central to the study of folklore as communication.

This study, however, argues that, although radio storytelling lacked the visible performance aspect, dramatic voice with which stories were narrated captured the spirit of performance and echoed people's inspirations. Likewise, images were portrayed almost in the same manner as in a live performance. Hence, Wilson (1997, 2006,) focuses primarily on storytelling manifestation in modern sites or technologies, like Television, theatre, internet and the like. Wilson explains how well documented traditional narratives have been modernised and adapted for a contemporary context. Canonici (1990) attributes the seeming death of storytelling to the advent and sedimentation of industrialization and urbanization.

Modern developments have psychologically expunged the tradition from modernised African society, and reinforced the perception that storytelling is no longer considered important.

Views espoused by scholars such as Rananga and Canonici are undergirded by Folk-culture theories. They question the survival of folk culture during the rapid development of mass technology. Their views contended that the art of storytelling cannot survive in a world where high technological art brings out quick and elaborate forms of communication and entertainment. This thesis, however, argues that folk-culture theory ignores two aspects relating to the use of technology in South Africa, namely, people and culture. High technological art cannot operate in a vacuum, it requires content produced by people, and people's behaviors are often influenced by their experiences, arts and culture, among others. It is not surprising that modern technologies like radio and television, in their content development, incorporate cultural approaches in a way that allows tradition and technology to feed into each other.

Drawing from that argument, the thesis introduces a perspective that tradition dies or survives because there are people, not because there is no technology. While Wilson states that culture and technology cannot be seen as very distinct phenomenon, Ben-Amos (1972) argues against the assumption of the folk-culture theory that the emergence of modern urban life or the increase of mass communication may affect oral literature but does not eradicate it. Furniss and Gunner (1995) affirm that oral literature is not merely a static and domestic entertainment tool, but a domain through which various social roles can manifest.

Furthermore, scholars in the study of oral art forms in Africa including Hofmeyr (1994) often point to the mutability of oral forms and argue for the migration tendencies of the oral form to other artistic sites. Groenewald (1990), for example, points some new directions to the life of art, especially the performative aspect of it. And herein lies the new direction of storytelling, the study has broadly explored the establishment of non-governmental storytelling organizations (NGOs) in the post 1994 period and their role in inspiring new styles of telling a story.

The practice of looking at the tale as a separate component from performance did not coagulate with the tradition of African storytelling where both elements are intertwined. Bauman (1992) observes that African oral traditions are studied as folk literature, imposing

European literary hermeneutic principles on them. Discursive practices like these are providing evidence on how oral narratives have been turned into literary texts, which were not originally conceptualized within those traditions. Groenewald (1990) affirms that storytelling was not so much practiced as before, but that did not mean it was dying but that it simply meant that storytelling moved to other venues as in literature.

While the folk-culture argues that storytelling will hardly survive high technology, there are three schools of thought that approached folktales from a textual point of view, and those were structuralism developed by Levi-Strauss (1973), functionalism and oral formulaic. Structuralism focuses on the construction of the tale with intentions to explain its make-up or form. Structuralism was responding to the argument that folktales structure was perceived to be non-existent (Dorson, 1972). Structuralism dissected folktales into units to highlight all binary oppositions within a tale, creating an distinction between good and evil, villain and hero or the ugly one and the beautiful.

Without a doubt, the structural analysis contributed in explaining the physical make up of folktales, a similar approach of exclusion was adopted by the functionalism school of thought; scholars of this approach concentrated on the functionality of folktales by analysing the role of folk stories in a given community, examining how stories work to sustain social institutions. While this approach is commendable and relevant, it is limited in its view due to disregarding the influence of performance and style in bringing out meanings. Meaning in a story is communicated not only by using words but comes through performance and delivery style as well. As such, text alone does not fully expose the meaning embedded in a story. This study takes it that structuralism and functionalism account for the extensive work in the theorisation of folktales and these two approaches; however, give attention only to the theoretical component, treating storytelling as a transmission vehicle.

It is ideas and approaches such as these that dominated much of folklore studies until the mid-sixties, after which there was a paradigm shift in the understanding of traditional folklore material. Ben-Amos (1972), Bascom (1992), and Bauman (1969), among others, underscored the importance of performance in the study of a folktale. In Europe and America, storytelling scholars such as Sobol (1999), Zipes (1999), Wilson (1997; 2006), Lipman (1999), Denning (2000), and Birch (1996) have produced a substantial corpus in this field, along with African scholars such as Okpewho (1973), and Adedeji (1977). In consideration of the discussions

above, rather than studying tale as a historical artefact which contributes to the perception that storytelling has been wiped out; the study emphasizes the need to analyse storytelling in its contemporary form, especially its establishment in the post-1994 South African popular cultural setting.

1.7 Methodology

The data for this study was collected through observing, participating and recording storytelling performances and interviewing different storytellers.

The method is suitable to provide answers to the questions on the establishment and the role of storytelling NGOs. By the data collected for this study, we identified new storytelling features that have entered or have been introduced in the field of storytelling. This includes storytelling styles, genres, audience response in modern storytelling and the relevancy of the storytelling NGOs in South Africa after the 1994 period. The research process involved interviewing storytellers, directors of storytelling NGOs and audiences in any areas where storytelling takes place within South Africa.

The methodological framework of this study is based mainly on fieldwork research of the ethnographic tradition. Ethnographic fieldwork has been carried out in places where storytelling performances were conducted live such as art festivals, theatres, libraries, institutions and corporate functions. These places are regarded as natural contexts for storytelling. Neuman (1997) states that fieldwork studies require that the research be context specific since it is within specific contexts that subjects behave naturally. Neuman (1997: 344) further argues that "field research can be used to study amorphous social experiences that are not fixed in place, but where intensive interviewing and observation are the only way to gain access to the experiences." NGOs directors were interviewed in their offices. Both interviews and observation methods have been central in sourcing out information from the interviewees. In addition to conducting in-depth individual interviews, group interviews were conducted as well. The Wits Writing Centre is one of the places which I used to conduct group interviews and audience interviews.

I adopted two types of data collection techniques: observation and active participation. The observation technique assisted me to have a critical insight into certain specifics of storytelling such as stylisation, sourcing of performance material and the generation of new

stories or genres. Through watching storytelling performances and observing how storytellers put together performances enabled me to unpack elements that make stylisation, new genres, audience reaction and the relevance of storytelling and stories to the South African society today.

The population of the study is storytellers in NGOs which were formed between 1990 and 2010 in South Africa as well as independent storytellers who once belonged to an NGO. These are many. As a result, not all storytelling NGOs or independent storytellers were used for the study. Out of all storytelling organizations that exist[1] in the country and of which the majority are in the Gauteng province, the study randomly selected three of them for the purposes of this study, namely, Zanendaba storytelling organization (Zanendaba), Sibikwa Cultural Organization (Sibikwa) and Kwesukela Storytelling Academy (KSA).

Except for Sibikwa, which was formed in the 1987 but introduced the storytelling component after 1994, Zanendaba and KSA were established post 1994. These three organizations are independent of government control; they however do receive funding from the State, and other donors. The selection of the organisations was based on their visible role in working with storytelling and storytellers.

Appointments were set for interviews and performance recordings. Face-to-face interviews were done with directors of selected NGOs as well as individual storytellers, and group interviews were conducted with storytellers affiliated with NGOs. Group interviews aimed at creating conversations that would bring out wider points of view into the discussion topic. Questionnaires have also be drafted with both structured and open-ended questions. With regard to performances, I watched and observed performances of a total of ten storytellers that was selected, and identified types of genres used in these performances. The researcher compared and contrasted stylisation that emanates from personality and creative use of techniques. Research units comprise of both men and women storytellers whose performances were observed for this study.

In the process of capturing the interviews, a video camera, tape-recorder, as well as note taking methods were used. I recorded different individual storytellers as they performed, and

[1] Among others are not in the boardroom; Lucabantu; storytelling.co.za, isivivane and more.

close contacts were kept with the storytellers that were followed to know when and where their performances were taking place. Observing different performances of a single storyteller was important for establishing consistence regarding performance patterns. Furthermore, following storytelling and getting to know them better provided an opportunity to gain access to more information about a storyteller that I would not necessarily know about, had I not established that relationship. For instance, anecdotes came alive during this time and important questions that were not in questionnaires answered. They spoke of difficult and easy audiences and how at times they cannot handle some situations.

Automatically, such spontaneous narrations enabled a broad and in-depth analysis of the relationship between storytellers and their audiences. This gave me an insight into the one influence audiences have on performers. Moreover, it is sometimes out of these anecdotal narrations that one understands a disadvantage brought about by the absence of formal and further training in storytelling. In view of this, one understands reasons why, in most cases, storytellers are unable to explain their work satisfactorily. Their focus as artists is on the talent and aesthetics of the art rather than on the theory, hence some battle to account for their knowledge when the skill is off a high standard. That is, they have the artistic skill but cannot specify the genres and styles that they use in their performance.

1.8 Chapter outline

This thesis is composed of seven chapters. First chapter is an introduction, which consists of the aims, research questions, and rationale of the study, literature review, theoretical framework and methodology. The second chapter analyzes the work and the role-played by NGOs in storytelling and their relationship with the South African Government. Chapter three takes an in-depth look at various storytelling delivery styles- where styles of the different storytellers are analyzed and compared. It also looks at where and how storytellers generate and produce new performance material. Chapter four ventures into new genres of storytelling, here genres are explored by determining factors that account to their emergence. The impact of popular material in society is dealt with in Chapter five. Elements such as contexts, environments and people's knowledge is considered as basis for explaining popular culture material. Chapter six investigates audience behaviour during and after the performance. The aim is to explain audience's reaction to styles in storytelling perforyrmances. Chapter seven on the other hand concludes the study, identifies gaps in

knowledge that this thesis attempts to fill and provides recommendations that relevant to storytelling in South Africa.

CHAPTER 2 : EMERGENCE OF STORYTELLING IN NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS (NGOS) IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the history of storytelling NGOs and their relationship with the broader post-1994 nation-building imperatives. The chapter investigates the role of storytelling organisations that arose between 1990 and 2010 following the post-apartheid dispensation in South Africa. In these organisations, individuals' cultural and political aspirations, and government interests compete for a space for articulation. The founders formed these storytelling organisations informed by their own passion for developing the art and articulate social concerns through storytelling. However, for them to realise their goals, financial resources remain a primary concern. And it is predominantly through government funding that storytelling NGOs and the wider executive industry are financed in South Africa.

This chapter neither provides overarching interpretations, and full historical analysis of state funding, the state nor does it question why some projects receive funding while others do not. Rather, this chapter attempts to point out how broader, significant historical events and political moments define and shape current moments and how the top-down approach that manifests through state funding influences certain decisions in the use of cultural material, such as storytelling. Political agendas include nationalisation being promoted through systems of nation-building and social cohesion; hence these two concepts are defined.

2.2 Understanding key concepts

2.2.1 Social cohesion

The Department of Arts and Culture[2] defines social cohesion as the degree of social integration and inclusion in communities and society at large, and the extent to which mutual solidarity finds expression among individuals and communities. In terms of this definition, a community or society is cohesive to the extent that the inequalities, exclusions and disparities based on ethnicity, gender, class, nationality, age, disability or any other distinctions which engender divisions, distrust and conflict, are reduced and/or eliminated in a planned and sustained manner. This with community members and citizens as active participants, working

[2] http://www.dac.gov.za/sites/default/files/WHAT%20IS%20SOCIAL%20COHESION%20AND%20NATION%20(3).pdf

together to attain shared goals, designed and agreed-upon to improve the living conditions of all.

2.2.2 Defining nation-building[3]

Nation-building is the process whereby a society with diverse origins, histories, languages, cultures and religions comes together within the boundaries of a sovereign state with a unified constitutional and legal dispensation, a national public education system, an integrated national economy, shared symbols and values, as equals, to work towards eradicating the divisions and injustices of the past; to foster unity; and promote a countrywide conscious sense of being, in the case of South Africa, proudly South African, committed to the country and open to the continent and the world.

Nation-building in this sense, and in the context of South Africa, cannot be the perpetuation of hierarchies of the past, based on pre-given or ethnically engineered and imposed divisions of people rooted in prejudice, discrimination and exclusion. It calls for something else; that is, a rethinking, in South African terms, of what social cohesion, linked to nation-building - should be. It should be directed towards the practical actualisation of democracy in South Africa. Various government strategies have therefore been put in place to ensure that nationalistic ideology prevails. It is therefore not a surprise to notice that stories have changed with regards to their content and now focus more on messages of social cohesion.

Moreover, the objective of the chapter is to trace the continuities and changes in patterns of stories and storytelling and telling styles. This will enable comprehension of the process of transformation in stories and the generation of new genres in the field of storytelling and how state funding affects this process. To that effect, the chapter provides an opening to a discussion, analysing and explaining the context that played a role in storytelling development and transformation; as Okpewho (1992: 360) states, “cherished traditions” are subjected to continual reconstruction and recreation and thus increased by new material.

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3 http://www.dac.gov.za/sites/default/files/WHAT%20IS%20SOCIAL%20COHESION%20AND%20NATION%20(3).pdf

This chapter, therefore, questions the autonomous status of the NGOs with regards to accomplishing their own set goals while managing those of their donors. The study argues that although individuals established the organisations to advance storytelling, primarily by encouraging new styles of telling, to promote and advance storytelling culture and storytellers in the field etc, their sustainability depends on government funding, which has national agendas rather than micro- responsibilities. With regard to this, Granqvist (1993) maintains that creative communities do participate in government programs even though their goals are less about nationalism than about making a living. Analysed in this chapter are the type of stories that are told in these organisations; the circumstances under which they are developed or created, and their transformation as determined by availability or non-availability of funding. This analysis has assisted in exploring the extent to which storytelling NGOs have managed to accomplish their own prescribed objectives while competing with the state's interests.

In order to achieve this goal, the work of the first storytelling NGO that emerged in South Africa after democracy is critically analysed and contrasted with the work of two other storytelling NGOs that were established thereafter. The three organisations are namely, Zanendaba Storytelling Organisation[4]; Sibikwa Cultural Organisation and Kwesukela Storytelling Academy. In the analysis, attempts were made to broaden the essential role of these NGOs in the South African democracy era, as well as to foreground the manner in which their affiliates, storytellers, benefit from these NGOs.

The South African NGO Coalition (Sangoco), an umbrella body of NGOs in Southern Africa, defines a non-governmental organisation (NGO) as any non-profit, voluntary citizens' group which is organised on a local, national or international level, task-oriented and driven by people with a common interest. According to Sangoco, NGOs perform a variety of services and humanitarian functions, bring citizens' concerns to governments, advocate and monitor policies, and encourage political participation through the provision of open-access

[4]Zanendaba Storytelling Organization (Zanendaba) emerged in South Africa and was legally registered in 1992. The year 1990 can be remembered as one in which South Africa began to experience significant political changes. Political organisations were unbanned in the country; the late Dr. Nelson Mandela, together with other political prisoners, was released from political imprisonment. In that year, repressive and racist legislation such as the Group Areas Act, Native Act; and Bantu education were lifted. The year 1990 began the road to freedom. In this thesis, that time will therefore be referred to as the eve of democracy.
At this juncture in the country's political history, individuals in the storytelling business initiated art projects, such as that of Zanendaba, forming government-recognised, structured NGOs. The aim was to bring together like-minded individuals who would further the interests of the storytelling art for skills development purposes.

information. For Lewis (2009), NGOs are now recognised as one of the pioneering sectors in the area of development, humanitarian action and the like. Accordingly, they are best known for two different, but often interrelated, types of activity – the delivery of services to people in need, and the organisation of policy advocacy, including public campaigns in pursuit of social transformation. Lewis (2009: 1) maintains that "NGOs are also active in a wide range of other specialised roles, such as democracy building, conflict resolution, human rights work, cultural preservation, environmental activism, policy analysis, research and information provision." The discussion in this chapter is, however, mainly focused on the three NGOs' pursuit of cultural preservation, and how this goal is affected by the receipt of state funding.

The first part of the chapter provides accounts of state political discourses that point towards certain state priority goals. It illustrates the subtle influences exerted by the state through government political speeches, funding agencies and other policies. The second part of the chapter discusses the development of NGOs in South Africa and how they were formed during the transition from apartheid to democracy. In the third section, the three storytelling NGOs are explored. Their objective statements are of interest to this research; the section determines whether these objectives or missions are achieved or not and provides the reasons underlying these objectives. In this section, the stories told by storytellers from each organisation are analysed to find meanings pertaining to the teller, the audience or funders. These meanings again assist in ascertaining congruence or incongruence, especially in relation to the state and organisational interests. For the fourth section of the chapter, the policy document of arts, culture and heritage is analysed to understand the mandate and main goals of the department and how these link with the objectives of the creative arts organisations they serve; these include storytelling NGOs.

Next is the conclusion section, where findings on the role of these NGOs are presented. These findings are grounded in the developments in South Africa, from the demise of apartheid to the present situation, with a focus on how large-scale political and economic transformation has affected the cultural sector and its material generally. Also, how these NGOs have contributed or not contributed to cultural transformation discourses.

To unpack the argument regarding the influence of the state on NGOs, the aims and objectives of each NGO were compared with those of the state; content in the stories told

during performances was analysed to ascertain whether the content or message prioritises the state's goals or the mission and vision of the NGO. Story content, therefore, can open a window through which to gaze into the autonomy of NGOs and their relationship with the state. In cases where state interests were considered before those of the organisation, questions to be asked were how these NGOs arose in the first place. Were political agendas negatively or positively affected when it came to the development of the arts, freedom of expression, or even the sustainability of the NGO in question? In this instance, the type of stories storytellers presented to their audiences at the inception of democracy was examined; this was the period when the NGOs received no funding from the state but had to rely on bookings from the public. Subsidies too, from international donors sustained the organisations during these years. Most of this funding was terminated within five years of the advent of democracy, as in the case of Zanendaba. This chapter, therefore, shows how the NGOs prioritise the state's goals and missions over their own. Further, the chapter assesses how such stories highlight the relationship between the NGOs and the state generally. The next section deals with the context from which NGOs emerged in South Africa. While uncovering this process, the first question posed above will consequently be answered. The question is, what are the reasons behind the formation of storytelling NGOs, and what are their primary roles in modern society?

2.3 The development of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in South Africa

Notwithstanding the emergence of storytelling NGOs in South Africa, it is important to understand the NGO concept in its use worldwide. The following section discusses a historical background of NGOs as they emerged from the West and came to Africa. According to Hall-Jones (2006), an NGO is a legally constituted, voluntary association of individuals or groups that is neither a governmental agency nor a for-profit enterprise. The organisation may and often does receive both government and corporate funding. Regardless of funding sources, an NGO maintains its status only to the extent that it excludes government representatives from membership or participation. Business representatives, however, may participate, either as staff or directors.

The term 'nongovernmental organisation' itself – entered common usage via the United Nations (UN) Charter at the end of World War II. On the whole, the idea of NGOs began in

the West and spread widely across continents with groups and individuals pursuing a public interest agenda, rather than commercial interests. NGOs were essentially developmental agencies within states; this is according to the UN Charter[5]. However, a discussion on the Western types of NGOs in Africa must be located within the premise that they came to the continent packaged in a colonial mentality. According to Gcina Mhlophe, the founder of Zanendaba, preserving African culture is important, and an NGO like Zanendaba is one vehicle that can be used to achieve the goal of educating about cultures.

This thesis, on the main, presents two views regarding the establishment of NGOs, both necessary for explaining the rise of NGOs in South Africa. One view is espoused by Hilhorst (2003), and the other by King (1990). On the one hand, Hilhorst points out that the primary objective of NGOs initially was to connect government to the rest of the people of that country, as well as outside, and subsequently, further the objectives of the government. He further says that at the same time, NGOs would promote their own goals using state resources, such as finance and venues. On the other hand, King maintains that a number of NGOs, in general, originate from particular localities and have particular needs. Both views are applicable to the nature and function of storytelling NGOs in South Africa in that Hilhorst's viewpoint places government as the main player in the functioning of NGOs by providing finances, which subsequently enable NGOs to implement their own projects. King's stance, however, incorporates the actions of ordinary persons, and emphasizes circumstances and requirements or wants as the prime movers for starting an NGO.

His viewpoint can be followed by analysing the locality of the storytelling NGOs, as well as the need to initiate such NGOs. As mentioned in this chapter, the first storytelling NGO was formed in the wake of democracy after Black people, in particular Africans had been denied space to practice their culture freely, which according to Ngugi (1994) that resulted in psychological and emotional distress. For that reason, immediately an opportunity arose in 1994, cultural activities also emerged and were practiced freely. Storytelling NGO directors interviewed attest to King's point of view, saying that forming these NGOs enabled them to accomplish their goals to use their traditional arts and culture, in this case, storytelling, to communicate social requirements, and establish identity, knowledge-sharing and other things.

[5] https://www.uia.org/archive/role-ngos-unesco

In accordance with King's argument, this particular political context, coupled with certain needs, gave rise to these NGOs.

The relationship between NGOs and the state, as Hilhorst maintains, can hardly be denied. It stems from a general agreement that the state is set to work for the people and deliver to their needs. At the same time, the state relies on the community to pass on its messages. In the case of arts, culture and heritage, the state relies, but not solely, on NGOs to balance the social imbalances of the past and accordingly reposition storytelling in the country. To a large extent, NGOs bridge a gap between the state and society by initiating community-based programs that are along the lines of the state's goals. In return, the state contributes financial and other resources to these organisations. What remains though is the question of autonomy in these storytelling NGOs, because being on the payroll of the government would imply that NGOs automatically accept furthering the interests of the state, King (1990) argues.

Nonetheless, by the 1980s, NGOs were popular in the area of social development; they had spread all over the world, including Africa. South Africa also acquired its share of them, as has been mentioned. When South Africa gained independence in 1994, African communities, particularly, woke up to the idea of NGOs. Many were formed during that time; for instance, there arose NGOs for welfare, gender equality, cultural ones, storytelling and many others. The functioning of these NGOs was however localised, as in the case of the storytelling NGOs. In some of these, the aim, instead of linking the government with the people, was to link people with each other and their culture while receiving financial support from the state. Ifalethu is one of them; it assists families and government to bring back South Africans who have died internationally. In general, NGOs assist with practicalising government's priorities, such as gender equality, poverty alleviation and human rights, among others. Nonetheless, NGO status in South Africa is guided by the Non-Profit Organisations Act 71 of 1997. Likewise, storytelling NGOs also abide by this regulation, as discussed in the next section. Here the researcher looks at the formation of storytelling NGOs in South Africa.

2.4 Storytelling NGOs in South Africa

In establishing an NGO in South Africa, certain processes need to be followed. The departments of Labour or Social Development administer registration process and maintenance. For a storytelling NGO to be legally recognised, it should have gone through

these procedures. The mission and vision statements of the organisation must be developed. These two documents often define organisations and their scope of work and are a basis for other necessary documents, such as a constitution. The actions of these practicalities can be explained through Hilhorst's assertion that people are social actors. "They reflect upon their experiences and what happens around them and use their knowledge and capabilities to interpret and respond to development," Hilhorst (2003:5).

Many storytelling organisations were established, including Not-in-the Boardroom Storytelling Organisation (1998); the internet-based Storytelling.co.za (1999); Sibikwa Arts Centre (1998); Johannesburg Storytelling Circle (1995); Lucabantu (1995); and Kwesukela Storytelling Academy (1995). The state, in this case, the Department of Arts, Culture and Recreation, through funding, strives to fulfil its mandate to promote, protect and preserve the arts, culture and heritage of the people of the country. At the same time, it is mandated by Parliament to deal with matters of social cohesion, nation-building and reconciliation within South African society. It is clearly spelt out in the 1996 Arts, Culture and Heritage (ACH) policy that the ACH holds the key to nation-building.

The inception of NGOs was inspired by the need to deal with matters of development using artistic skills and cultural motives, or for business development purposes. For instance, while some of them used storytelling as a methodology or strategy in their various occupations, others concentrated on promoting storytelling as an art form and therefore placed more emphasis on performance art. Okpewho (1992) points out that the transformation experienced by storytelling organisations reverberates continuity of tradition and the existence of an archive from which African people find reassurance of their cultural identity, creative energy, and indigenous knowledge, which were otherwise previously denied them. This thesis observes that, with the devaluing of cultural practices during colonialisation, the introduction of the Western system of NGOs seemed necessary for people to collectively express themselves and the needs of their community.

In this study, three storytelling organisations are discussed, as mentioned above, Zanendaba Storytelling Organisation, Sibikwa Arts Academy and Kwesukela Storytelling Academy. The selection of these organisations was informed by activities and programs undertaken by each of them. They are all performance-based; they comply with the South African regulatory standard practice for non-governmental organisations and source their funding from the state

and state agencies, as well as private and other donors. Sibikwa uses different storytellers for its projects, but Zanendaba and Kwesukela house selected storytellers who regard the organisations as their place of work, although they are in fact freelances. In an attempt to argue the point that government financial support limits development in storytelling and promotes state goals and priorities, the aims and objectives of each NGO have been analysed and contrasted with the priority goals of the state. Furthermore, the state's goals, aims and objectives have then been analysed and compared with the type of stories that storytellers from these organisations present to the public. The intention is to determine the extent to which state funding affords these NGOs the opportunity to achieve their goals.

2.5 The influence of the state's arts, culture and heritage (ACH) policy

This section looks at how the 1996 ACH policy may have had an influence on the further establishment of NGOs or on the maintenance of the storytelling NGOs, such as Zanendaba. The government policy for ACH before the democratic government mainly benefited the minority group; this is articulated in the revised ACH policy of 1996, which states that, "The arts and cultural state policy during the colonialism and apartheid years, like all other policies of that time, was discriminatory and exclusive. Urban places, which were Whites only residences, enjoyed the benefits and opportunities in all spheres of the arts." The policy continues to describe the various forms these opportunities came in, including financial resources; access to information; culture and heritage institutions being built mainly in those surroundings where those people had easy access; as well as art-related jobs largely being available for these communities. That left people in these cities capacitated and empowered, and with a controlling environment for art development when compared with rural settings and black townships, with little access to ACH opportunities and activities. In order to bring equal recognition for all its citizens in the creative industry, the democratic post-1994 state provides equal opportunities to ACH practitioners and has improved working conditions in the sector. The policy states:

> Culture is an integral component of the process of development, in that it contributes to such processes, but also that it can play a facilitative or destructive role in the unfolding of the developmental process. Culture also seeks to inform and contribute to nation-building efforts. These two processes are of the highest priority in our country at present and culture has a central role in the successful unfolding of these" (ACH policy, 1996).

In analysing this policy, one gains an understanding of some of the reasons behind the general NGOs' financial dependency on the state. One may argue that the arts, such as storytelling, are intangible products whose consumption occurs in a collective domain, and once consumed can only be emotionally experienced and not tangibly identified. Only on a personal level can one attest to it, and even there, mainly emotionally. Similarly, the results of this consumption are neither visible nor immediate. Logically, as much as storytelling, like any other oral art, is required for the psychological wellness of society, on a personal level it is not a basic need - it is not a priority for survival, such as food and shelter. Ngugi (1997) affirms that, in many discussions about development, the cultural aspect is left out or else admitted through the back door, and yet, if people are the centre of development, if they are both the object and subject of development, then the quality of their cultural life should be the most important indicator of development. He further says, "Many agencies will easily fund any economic and social program for which the results can be quantified but recoil in horror or benign amusement or embarrassment at the notion of funding of quality feature films for the cinema and television or of funding actual cultural centres and theatre performance companies in the third world" Ngugi (1997: 131).

ACH policy works towards maximizing developmental socioeconomic opportunities that exist within the cultural and creative industries. Significant elements of ACH within society are also pointed out in the policy. On juxtaposing this policy with social cohesion, the intention is to equate and equally afford arts and social gains among all persons in the creative industry, with the belief in the true possibility of progress towards social cohesion. The benefits the arts bring to a community or society are also spelt out in the Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity, UNESCO, 2001. The declaration states that humans are holistic beings; they not only need improved material conditions to have a better quality of life. Individuals have a psychological, emotional, spiritual, and intellectual expression, all of which require nurturing and development, for them to realise their full potential and act as responsible and creative citizens.

The argument put forward here is not intended to imply that storytelling NGO founders were all motivated by this policy, but rather, by presenting opportunities such as financial, infrastructural and other state support systems to the creative industry, the ACH policy of 1996 directly or indirectly contributed to the emergence of NGOs. In this policy, it is clearly stated that the State is responsible for maintaining the arts. One of its tasks is to make

funding structures available to art organisations; as well as providing infrastructure for developing the arts.

The next chapter deals with the different styles of telling a story. The relationship between state funding and the advancement of storytelling is further explored as to how NGOs, storytellers and the state interconnect. Oral performance is considered a heightened kind of communication; it involves body language - meaning that dramatic messages are communicated through the body, words and soul. Bauman (1974) states that the State's most important goal is to reach out to society as effectively as possible. Therefore, communication strategies to achieve this goal are critical to getting its messages across.

The arts and artists provide the state with the resources and skills found in the arts, culture and heritage. That is to say; the ACH sector possesses something that the state needs, hence the state support for the arts. Because an ACH practitioner is often an ordinary man or woman in the street, who emerged from a community, she or he knows and understands the dynamics of her or his community. The practitioner becomes a possible link between the community and outsiders. The strength of the ACH is therefore in its popular cultural dimension According to Barber (1997), these practitioners are about things that matter to the people. For the state to succeed in its goal of nationalisation, the instrument used should resonate with people in that it speaks the language of the masses and resides within the popular consciousness. Thus, the oral perspective offers explanation to these possibilities.

Storytelling has always been known for its ability to foster community-building (see Sobol 1996, Scheub 2006). Although storytellers use contemporary material and resources, in popular culture performances, as Barber (1997) observes, the methods they apply are informed by their traditional-cultural epistemology, which knowledge and understanding is generally shared by its community. Bauman (1974: 295) agrees that "all framing, including performance, is accomplished through the employment of culturally conventionalised metacommunication" (see also Scheub, 2006). It is, however, imperative to consider Barber's (1997: 3) statement that, "Popular culture in many discourses occupies a self-evident positive position," while the responsibility would be to differentiate between "what is truly popular and what is contaminated by hegemonic ideological infiltrations from above." Here, a distinction is made between modes of "popular culture – which truly serve the interest of the people by opening their eyes to the historical conditions of their existence – and 'people's'

culture, that which emanates from the people, but which is a form of false consciousness, working against their true interest by fostering acceptance of the status quo (see Etherton 1982:361).

A question was asked previously and is now repeated, picking it up from Barber's statement: Do these NGOs practice a culture that genuinely serves the interest of the people or they exist to affirm the status quo since they are financially dependent on the state? The same state that, through storytelling, storytellers are expected to question on behalf of the society. Paradoxically, this, of the state supporting the arts, is supported by Fanon (1963) who states that it is in the interest and the responsibility of the government to fund the ACH. He further says that it is not a government's wish to see the arts die because arts and culture are the aspiration of any society, that a society without the arts and culture is a society without a soul. He, however, stresses that an African storyteller should tell stories of national importance, not important only in his or her own country but for Africa and in that way nation or continent identity or nationalization will be achieved. He stresses that notwithstanding the state's funding of the arts, the storyteller still has a duty to be on the side of the society.

2.6 Disintegration of the whole and mending the future

2.6.1 *People, ach and nationalisation*

Like all nations, South Africa is not immune to the realities of history. Various countries have engaged with nationalism strategies after their independence. In the South African context, the ACH policy of the ANC, which mirrors that of the state, reiterates that the priorities of nation-building and development require that the energies of the culture of resistance be rechanneled to promote and sustain a culture of democratic development and human rights, based on the fulfilment of the entire range of socioeconomic aspirations of the country's people.[6]

Accordingly, to achieve the nation-building priority, imbalances of the past needed to be corrected by lending people a platform to express themselves, develop their artistic skill and gain economic emancipation through the arts. The National Arts Council (NAC) points out

[6] www.anc.org.za).

that colonisation and apartheid gained an upper hand by simply making arts and cultures either the target or a central place to begin dissecting and disintegrating communities (see Rananga 2008). As the arts, culture and heritage of the majority of the people were destroyed, it follows that other related aspects, such as respect for one's language, self-identity, self-confidence, self-realisation, self-sustenance, creativity and the like automatically followed suit. The 1996 ACH policy recognises that apartheid had a negative effect on its ACH and creative industries policy in that, to a large extent, institutions operating within the ACH value chain were, in the hands of the white minority. Due to their previous advantage positioning, they still are after democracy. The white minority control, own, manages and is at the operational levels of many organisations. Many people were severely disadvantaged as a result.

> The policy moreover states that the institutionalisation of aspects of civil society echoes the legitimisation of formal rights (speech, assembly, and association). On the other hand, Gramsci (1921-1935/1971) introduces a functionalistic, tripartite model differentiating civil society from both the economy and the state. By sketching a civil society in terms of this twofold "declaration of independence", Gramsci identifies the association and cultural dimension of civil society (Vatikiotis ed. Howley, 2010: 32).

Emerging from a long history of racial division, discrimination and inequality, the democratic South African government strives to harmonise society. Based on the Pan African South African Language Board (PanSALB), there are nine indigenous languages, two official European languages and over ten non-official languages[7]. This means that South Africa is characterised by more than twenty different cultures. As expected of diverse individuals, they approach situations with the mindset compatible with their own prescribed cultural codes of conducts. Such situations would, therefore, be fertile ground for misunderstanding, conflict and consequently, hatred.

To reconcile the nation, the state used various approaches, including the implementation of projects, speeches, and public forums for debates. In the process of deliberating on political discourses, nationalistic agendas come to the fore; nationalism ideology forges and encourages some form of national consciousness. As a communication tool used to realise the state's national goals of social cohesion, reconciliation and nation-building, ACH rests at the centermost of these approaches. For instance, from the 'Rainbow Nation' time of Dr

[7] http://www.pansalb.org/pansalbhistory.html

Mandela, the first president of democratic South Africa, the state intended to promote collectivism in order for the people of South Africa to regard themselves as one nation, not divided into race or culture, as before. This thesis argues that the state's plan was to instill nationalism in society's consciousness. Spirivak (1993) describes nationalism as primarily a cultural phenomenon that often takes a political form. "Nationalism depends upon the acceptance of a common set of standards by which the state of development of particular national culture is measured," Spirivak (1993: 1). During the process of nationalising a society, from the point of view of Spirivak, the state is engaged in the task of re-equipping and transforming the nation culturally while guarding against inheriting foreign cultures to the extent of losing its identity.

While nationalism is being implemented, local culture takes precedence. Spirivak states: "The search therefore was for a regeneration of the national culture adapted to the requirements of progress but retaining at the same time its distinctiveness" (1993: 2). The use of arts, culture and heritage by the state to bring about common nationality among South Africans, therefore, accords with Spirivak's explanation that, for different states to forge patriotism, local cultures need strengthening and upliftment. Through its natural ability to influence, it is not surprising that storytelling has occupied a prominent space in this endeavor by the state, as we saw in the theme of 20 years of democracy: "Tell your story that moves South Africa forward."

Barber (2009) proposes that nationalism is perceived and understood through synergy, not with self-consciousness as defined by political ideologies but through broader cultural systems from which politics emerged. An example of the arts being used as a nationalisation tool occurred during the Chimurenga War of Liberation in Zimbabwe. According to Pongweni (1997), music was the heart and soul of the liberation movement and the binding force of a people and culture under siege. Chimurenga music adapted from the Zimbabwean culture and history articulated issues more efficiently than any political speeches or historical discourses. It required and facilitated the participation of all. "Songs themselves owed their authenticity and popular appeal to tradition" Pongweni (1997: 64). Vambe (2004) states that the African cultural nationalism in the 1950s brought among them a sense of nationhood based on common ancestral roots, history, cultural values and shared ideals for African independence.

Furthermore, “It also meant to enable Africans to imagine themselves as potential heroic actors with the political capacity for the creation of an anti-colonial sensibility” (Vambe 2004: 237). Ranger (2004) points out that Zimbabwe was committed to preserving its heritage. He mentions that the determination to engage with heritage matters occurred after the Zimbabwean land reform program. Through the agrarian reform program, people of Zimbabwe found joy because their greatest heritage, land – had been returned to them. “Now that land has returned to the people, they were able once more, to enjoy the non-physical or intangible heritage as an equally strong expression of a people, manifesting itself through oral traditions, language, social practices and traditional craftsmanship (Ranger 2004: 228). Ranger, however, argues against former president Robert Mugabe’s unbalanced approach of focusing on heritage while the country’s economy was in crisis. Ranger’s argument, which assumes that economic success can be achieved by ignoring heritage factors or that it can happen outside the ACH, is contradicted by a report from the Culture Fund, a Zimbabwean organisation that funds and promotes sustainability in the cultural industry in that country. According Muvezwa of the Culture Fund, arts, culture and heritage generate millions of US dollars for Zimbabwe. A number of artists have jobs due to the support they get from the government[8].

Granqvist (1993: 256) argues that, “most African state-owned publishing companies have capitalised on the nationalistic self-presentation scheme associated with the discourse of the traditional tale. As demonstrated in the political discourses section, the perpetuation of the oral story is motivated by the pursuit of national homogenisation (Granqvist, 1993). This means that storytelling NGOs reintroduced storytelling to the public and appropriated it to allow new meanings to unfold in the post-apartheid context, as stated by Granqvist (1993: 254 -257), “Oral literature is not frozen but provides allowance for self-expression, renewal, innovation and creativity.” Therefore, such stories are appropriated to reaffirm contiguity with the past and dramatise the present. And lastly, the art of storytelling and traditional stories enables effective communication and speech that is essential to the existence of the people.

Simon Gikandi (cited in Vambe 2004: 238), observes that in other parts of Africa, the processes of consolidating the ideas of nation, national consciousness and narration, work

[8] http://en.unesco.org/creativity/ifcd/stories/zimbabwe-arts-and-culture-claim-stake-national-economy

hand in hand. Matters of social cohesion, reconciliation and nation-building occur naturally in traditional African stories, as well as those from across the world. Many NGO storytellers have fitted modern stories into the framework of the traditional narrative. In this way, modern stories have influence issues of community-building and the like. According to Herwitz (2012), heritage remains critical in the attempts to forge the national imagination. Heritage allows the previously oppressed to reconstruct their past and identity and to craft a way forward. "Heritage bonds a people together, legitimates their struggle, points their way to the future. Without heritage it is hard to work out how they could conceptualise themselves as a nation" (Herwitz, 2012: 10). Herwitz further points out that in the postcolonial period, heritage emerged as a window into the relationship of aesthetics to politics.

> South Africans of every colour, creed, linguistic affiliation and geographical location are meanable hard at work turning their sometimes formerly dispossessed or devalued past into heritage and this for the purpose of acknowledgment, identity, politics and / or commercialisation and tourism. The heritage turn was therefore part of the logic construction by which many late colonial societies were able to formulate their terms of identity and origin and found their national beginning, Herwitz (2012: 5).

Herwitz's assertion can hardly be contested, such has happened in South African indigenous cultures as manifested in the formation of cultural organizations. Nevertheless when two different cultures come into contact there is inevitably some conflict as well as possibilities that are created, for growth and development. New attitudes and patterns of tradition also come through. It has constantly been the case that, in times of major social, economic, and political change, people look inward for safety and security. It is not uncommon that they instinctively look to culture – and to unchanging values embodied in cultural belief and practice – for stability in the midst of uncertainty. Such periods have almost always provided great cultural revolutions and revivals in societies. This was certainly the case in sixth-century India, as it was in China during the same period. Dance (2002) states that diaspora societies have engaged with traditional tales to communicate and respond to their difficult past and foster unity among themselves. Stories about Brer Rabbit by African Americans are examples, as well as the West African Anansi stories in the West Indies and the Caribbean. Kabira and Mutahi (1988) affirm that oral literature offers ample opportunities to understand the values of a community; it is on these values that our nation can cultivate and enhance unity and nationhood. In the case of South Africa, Vambe (2004) states that mythic figures provide Africans with political empowerment, which affords them a place to contradict hegemonic views and at the same time remind themselves of their responsibility to free

themselves from the shackles of colonialism and apartheid.

2.7 Nationalist approach

Hechter (2000) says that nationalism attempts to assimilate or incorporate culturally distinctive territories into a given state and, is the result of conscious efforts by rulers to make a multicultural population culturally homogenous. In essence, South African political transformation strategies and approaches imitated those that occurred in other postcolonial societies that intended to renew their societies. Political transformation in those countries was accompanied by sudden calls for a cultural renaissance, which in other circumstances could be interpreted as a return to African traditions by cultural brokers sympathetic to national imperatives. Art and culture were then used by the state as a reconciliation technique, as in the case of Kenya, where tradition was earmarked to be a tool for nation-building. Nevertheless, Mhlambi (2001) argues that in African written literature: "The thematic repertoires of these art forms reflect the life-experiences and consciousness of the masses." And further says that "these repertoires, focusing on African nationalism, firmly ground these literatures within popular discourses" (2001:3).

Ogot and Ochieng (1995) maintain that independence had meant Kenya would turn towards its local cultures to nurture its growth as part of its wider nationalistic goals. During the Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution, between 1966 and 1976, dance and music were used to communicate messages of unity for communism and against capitalism. During this Cultural Revolution, millions of educated youths were sent to rural areas to work in the countryside and learn from the peasantry. According to Ogot and Ochieng, Mao Zedong, who pioneered this Chinese Cultural Revolution believed this would ultimately create a new society where there was no gap between urban and rural, labourers and intellectuals. Here, nationalism was being fostered and cultural productions remained instrumental throughout. Now the discussion will turn to the storytellers' mind shift and the revolution inherent in their stories.

2.8 Transformation in stories

On analysing the content and messages in these stories, it was observed that stories of success, overcoming challenges, trickery, finding treasure and the like were predominant in the repertoire of storytellers. The story of *Tselani* and that of *Nanana Boselesele* were

popular among the first-time storytellers in the early years of Zanendaba. Both stories expose listeners to issues around freedom. Tselani is rescued by her mother from being caught by an ogre after it pretended to sing like her mother. Nanana Boselesele, on the other hand, freed her children after having been swallowed by an elephant; the story also explains why elephants do not eat meat. Fanon (1963) asserts that, if a tale flourished in the heart of folklore, it was because in one way or another it expressed an aspect of the 'spirit of the group.' The stories below were told by storytellers at Zanendaba at the beginning of their careers. Since they were not taped or video-recorded, the versions below were recreated by the researcher taking from explanations provided by the storytellers themselves. The stories include:

- The Tiger and Rabbit,
- Singing Dog
- Lion and Hare
- Voter Education
- Apple and Pear
- Grandmother; and
- We are One story

2.8.1 The Tiger and Rabbit story by Gcina Mhlophe

Once there was drought in the land. That was the most terrible year that people, animals, trees, river and everything else had ever seen. It was the time when people still loved one another; they never fought and were never bad towards one another. Even the animals were still very good friends with one another. When the rain season came, the rain did not fall. People thought it had just delayed. And were sure it was going to come soon, but weeks came by and passed. A month came and passed, two months, three months, a year, two years, still there was no rain. By the time they thought of doing something about the situation, three years had gone by without rain. By then rivers had started drying out. Animals were beginning to walk long distances to find water and even food. As for the people, with the little energy they still had, they were digging deep and deeper into the ground to get water. That is how people survived, although they were also getting sicker.

The animals were not so lucky because they could not dig; the little water from leaves had also dried up. In the morning the dew was not there or there was not much for all of them. Like the people, the animals held their own meeting to decide what to do. At the end of it, all agreed that Elephant – because he could stand drought more than other animals – was to go across and find water from the far places. Elephant agreed because the decision came from the king, Lion, and of course the other animals supported him. Elephant asked that he be accompanied by Giraffe so that they can advise each other on the way. So Elephant and Giraffe began their long search for water. They walked days and nights without seeing or finding any water or food. They were very tired but they rested all the time on the way. On the morning of the third day, they spotted a place in the distance. It looked green; they could see tall trees there with hanging fruit but did not believe their eyes because the weather had been really bad.

When they came closer, indeed there was a garden with trees, green fruit and a huge dam full of crystal water. Again, they did not believe what they were seeing right in front of them. This garden was surrounded by a huge, strong fence made of wood with green thorns. The thorns themselves looked so watery that the two animals tried to eat some. They came closer and were about to touch them when they heard a big, angry voice telling them never to touch anything in this garden.

The voice came from Tiger. Tiger owned that garden and wanted no one else there except himself. The tall, frail, angry Elephant and Giraffe begged Tiger for just a sip of water. They said that they needed only energy to go back to where they came from. But Tiger did not allow them, instead threatened to eat them as well after the two animals did not succeed in begging Tiger for the whole day, they went back to their village to report about their journey. They got there and told other animals about the big, green garden full of food, fruit and water. The animals asked why Elephant and Giraffe did not bring them something, Elephant told them about the greedy Tiger that would not allow them even to come closer to the garden. The other animals were very surprised; in fact they could now taste the food, fruit and water there. Some thought they should all go there and beg Tiger, but Giraffe told them it was going to be a waste of time. “That is the greediest Tiger you ever saw.”

For all this time *Khalulu*, the rabbit was not saying anything but listening to everyone talking. While he was quiet, he was thinking of a plan to get into the garden. He then asked Zebra and monkey to go out and find a strong rope. Although they did not know why *Khalulu* wanted a rope, Zebra and Monkey did as they were told without any questions. When he came back with bits and pieces of short and weak ropes, *Khalulu* told all of them to start joining the pieces to each other and to double others. The animals were so desperate for a solution they did not care where it came from and how, so they all joined in, they tied the pieces together until there was a thick, strong, long rope. After they had finished, *Khalulu* asked Elephant and Giraffe to lead all the animals to the green garden. They had no energy but had to do it. All the animals followed for two days until they came to the garden. All of them were very surprised to see such a fertile place, to see so much food and water; they could not wait to eat it. But *Khalulu* gave each one of them a task. First, all of them were to make as loud noise as possible. Those who could growl like Lion, even dogs growled and barked as strongly as they could. The birds were tweeting on the side, *Khalulu* was announcing as fearfully as possible that the world was coming to an end, and all should run away or he could tie them down on)stones so that they were not swallowed by the earth.

Tiger became very scared when he heard all that noise and shouting. He demanded that *Khalulu* tie him first. “I don’t want to die and leave all this food and my garden here,” he shouted at *Khalulu*. *Khalulu* was happy that his plan was going well. He started tying tiger to a tall mango tree; the others were still making noise and causing havoc. Tiger demanded that he tie him thoroughly and there must not be a mistake so that he gets blown away by the coming storm. He was tied right up to his face just below the eyes. He could not move even a finger. Seeing that Tiger was helpless, *Khalulu* told the animals to do as they please in the garden; he told them to take some for those who could not come because they were too weak to walk. He suggested that they eat but keep the seeds because back at their village not even a seed was available. Tiger could only growl and mumble but could do nothing. They told him these were the results of being greedy. The animals had a feast for three days.

They eventually left the place and arrived at their original place with food for others to eat. People on their part had gone to the mountain to ask *Nomkhubulwane* to give them rain. As soon as the animals came back, the clouds began to gather cloud and it started raining. They were all happy, animals and people – that they had done it themselves. The following year, more rains came. The animals did not know what happened to Tiger; he might have died from starvation while tied up against the tree.

How aids spread in the forest story by Zanendaba storytellers

Once a long time ago, a troupe of monkeys lived happily in a big forest. They looked after their babies; they would swing from branch to branch, eating bananas, peanuts vegetables, you name it. They were really happy those monkeys. The monkey's lives in the forest went on like that until Scruffy the big snake felt jealous, he was only but also vicious.

They can't be happier than I am." He thought of the plan to spoil their happiness. One day he slithered and wriggled through the tall tress of the dense forest. Scruffy was green in colour like the leaves of the tress; it was not easy to spot him. It was at night when he arrived there , the monkeys were already asleep, and slowly, he approached and attacked on of them. he bit one monkey with his sharp teeth. The monkey screamed and woke the rest. Scruffy was really big and fearsome. Monkeys got scared and they knew there was nothing they could do except to run away. They carried the sick ones with them and disappeared into the night , they were much faster than Scruffy and that is how they survived. When they found a safe place they quickly mixed herbs to heal the world and clear the poison out his body.

Scruffy went back to his home in a tall gum tree on the other side of the forest. He was happy that he had disturbed the monkeys. "Ha, Ha, haaa, those monkeys are panicking wherever they are." Scruffy was a very cruel snake; not only did he attack the monkeys but he attacked other animals who had a good time in the forest.

Little did Scruffy know that that monkey was infested with a certain incurable disease. So he got the disease but was not aware. This was a really cunning disease because it would not show itself until the damage had been done.

A few years later Scruffy had rash all over his body, and his lymph glands were swollen now and then. He decided to go and seek advice from his cousin Cobra. He told Cobra that it was hard to fall asleep at night because of the rash, swollen glands, heavy sweating and tiredness. Cobra could see that his cousin was really sick. He suggested he went to see Giraffe, the medicine man.

Scruffy went to see Giraffe who told him that his body was infected with the virus called Monkey Infectious Virus (MIV) that leads to a disease called Monkey Deadly Disease (MDD) carried by monkeys in their bodies. Giraffe gave Scruffy something to cure night sweat and other pains. "Those are actually the signs and symptoms for MIV," Scruffy was told. He was also told that it was impossible to cure (MIV) and that he could only cure the signs and symptoms. "Never attack others anymore, because that will spread the disease further," warned Giraffe. Scruffy promised and left. At home he started using the medicine given to him. A few days later he felt much better; he got about his promise. Instead he started attacking other animals again, left and right, saying, "I am fit and strong, no one will tell me anything."

One day he heard that Buffalo was sick. Buffalo was one of the animals he attacked. Jackal and Antelope suddenly had sores in their bodies. Scruffy had also attacked them but survived the attack. When Scruffy heard the news, he said, "No it cannot be me who gave them all those things. I did not have sores, burning urine, no they are just mad."

King Lion was very worried when he heard about the disease. He immediately called a meeting for animals to find a solution. Giraffe stood up and said, "The only thing I can say is that let us stop eating other animals because they might be infected." Other animals did not agree to this idea, "he is talking nonsense, it is because he does not eat meet anyway, "said crocodile. Scruffy stood up and said, "Dr Giraffe is right, we must all live on vegetable because meet has blood and our disease, MIV, lives on blood." Scruffy told all of them that, they, monkeys live with the virus but does not kill them because their bodies were made to deal with the virus. "Like the humans, they live with a flu virus in their bodies but it does not kill them since their bodies can control it automatically,"

Well, the life of the animals continued and more and more animals got MIV. Some finally had MDD and died. It is also said that even though the best researchers like Leopard, Tortoise, Eagle and others are still busy in the jungle laboratory trying to find a cure for Monkey Deadly Disease (MDD), animals should avoid an open wound contact with blood of any other animals; They are still advice not to eat meat of others.

In 2003, the Department of Health awarded extra money to Zanendaba to implement any other project that had to do with the health issues. This was after the NGO had worked with the department for two years doing aids awareness campaign in schools, men's hostels, in communities and in companies. Apparently, the department had leftover finances from that current year budget and not willing to bring it back to the treasury it distributed the funding to organisations that had done projects for the department before. Selected organisations for this special funding had to have reported satisfactory progress in the previous funding circle. That was how Zanendaba, among others, were given funding to implement any project that focused on health matters. The amount was R25.000.00; it was a decent amount.

Zanendaba storytellers got together and came up with a theme, project plan and a project titled: "Healthy- living lifestyle." As a plan it was decided that schools would be the best places to implement the project. Eventually it took place at Johannesburg Art Gallery where three different schools came at the same time for three months. A total of nine schools were covered using that funding. Mkhizwane, one of the storytellers says, "Although, we are not saying that we created the "Healthy Living Lifestyle" we noticed its popularity in the department after we had worked with them in that project.

2.8.2 Vitamin story: Sweetie girl and Fatty boy story by Zanendaba storytellers

Once upon a time, in a big home, there lived a family of nutrients, with their mother, Nature. They were many children in that family. There was calcium, protein, Zinc, Carbohydrates, Iron, and a number of twins. All the girls were called vitamins; there was vitamin a, b, c, d, and e. They called themselves VA, VB, VC VD, and VE. The children liked eating vegetable and fruit and so they were healthy and strong

Vitamin A had beautiful skin, looked strong and enjoyed eating fish at lunch time. Vitamin B had big bright eyes and very intelligent, for her breakfast, she wanted nothing but cereals and bread, she preferred to play with her brother carbohydrate. Carbohydrate boasted about his everlasting energy. "My sister VB, you are my life wean, you know you give me so much energy when you are next to me. I can jump around; swim as long as I want. You are the best and you are so intelligent." "Ha, ha, ha, beans and maize is my favourite and no one knows my secret." Said Carbo.

Well, BC was healthy too, active and playful, she just never got sick easily. She like oranges with a passion, she could work and play the whole day. As for VD and Calcium were twins and good friends. Whatever one wanted the other would want too. Even with food they both

enjoyed eating dairy products like cheese, milk, nokunye, nokunye, (and so on and on). Their brothers and sisters all praised their white healthy teeth and strong bones. “You won’t suffer from arthritis and osteoporosis when you grow up” said some of their siblings.
Protein enjoyed her eggs in the morning, Zinc loved eating green leaves, and everyone relied on him when there was an enemy around. He was known to be a hero and a protector. When protein and Zinc were together there made a good team. No one or team would beat them in an game. One day all the nutrients were playing their favorite game, izingedo. Stone game. They were still having a good time when suddenly a big wind come rushing with dust all over the place. They tried to run away but they were weak and the wind was strong. He could not breathe and run at the same time, he was gasping for air, her brothers and sisters ran for their lives. Iron noticed that his brother was in trouble, “what’s wrong my mother, let me help you. Iron carried him into the house. He felt better and was able to breath; he could feel the oxygen flowing into his body as normal.
There was also sweetie in the family. She was the most attractive, wore colourful beads, you wouldn’t take your eyes of her. She boasted about her beauty, “look at me, I’m attractive and beautiful, and you all love me, why?” “Because I am not like you eating stupid food such as vegetables and fruits, you must stop doing that, if you want to be beautiful like me.” Her siblings liked to be around her. “But she is such a snake and bossy,” they would sometime gossip about her. They said all that because Sweetie girl was a naughty one, she gossiped about others to others. But she had a sweet tongue, not all of the Vitamins, calcium, protein etc. were aware. But soon, the children were not talking to one another. There was also fatty, that one was very greedy, he liked eating food with lot of oil. He would eat all of it alone. When his brothers and sisters came looking for food, he would laugh at them and say what are you looking for? “I ate it all, look at me I am fat and round *nginezindawo zokubambelela, ama-hips*.” And you, you are so thin and boring. The sister would just cry because they were scared of him too. He would say to them. “Don’t even think that you will tell mother this, *ngizoniphula lemiconjwana yenu, le,* (I will break those thin legs of yours).”
Because Fatty use to eat all the food alone without leaving anything for others or even thinking about them, all of them started behaving like that. Whoever came first in the house, eat all the food. Mother Nature’s children, all of them started to become sick from all sort of sickness but *kakhulu* (more), from over eating. They suffered constipation, heartburn, loss of energy, gaining of weight. That Mother Nature opened her eyes. “My children do not only hate one another, they are sick too,” she thought.
So Mother Nature called all of them to come and talk. She asked, “Why you all are seek, why you not talk to one another anymore. Since you have grown up, the house had become dull because no one is happy any more, why?” she asked again. One by one the children each answered and mentioned their problem. Most complained that Fatty and Sweetie were harassing, insulting and laughing at them. Others said that Fatty boy and Sweetie girl told them to stop eating vegetables and vitamins because they were bad for us. “When we try to eat them, Fatty takes them and through them away,” one said. Another one said, “Fatty says, when we eat good food we become thin like hungry fools and Sweetie says that vegetables and fruit make us look like monkeys and rabbits.
Fatty boy and Sweetie girl denied all that. But by that time Fatty and Sweetie were the two who were worst affected by sickness. Mother nature then said, “ I don’t have to tell you , who was right or wrong, my own parents, the bigger nature is showing you that eating too much fat and sweet will kill you, as you see your brother and sister, they are lying there. They can hardly speak, let alone walking.” Mother Nature also said, “Avoid eating too much fat and sweet if you want to live longer.”
As they said together around the fire that night for the first time in a long time they felt the spirt of togetherness binding them tighter than before. Soon they all realized that they were

the strongest family in the whole world and that without each other they were like waling zombies, most of all, they became aware that fatty and Sweetie were part of and parcel of their lives. So from that day, they nursed them, taught them how to eat vegetable. And finally Fatty Boy and Sweetie girl were back on their feet. They now loved and respected their siblings and they took care of themselves too, they ate lots and lots of vegetables and vitamins. The End

2.8.3 *Discussion*

To that effect, while the Zanendaba waited for funding for the HIV/AIDS to come through, storytellers worked on implementing the Healthy-living lifestyle project. At that point in time, it was no longer the promotion of folktales or morals that the organisation was worried about. These opportunities, as they presented themselves to the organisation, according to one respondent, in many ways empowered storytellers. She says the new developments consequently deepened the understanding of storytelling among the storytellers. Storytellers began to imagine storytelling beyond folktales. They now perceived storytelling in broader terms, not only as a performance art form but also as a methodology to advance various socio-cultural and political matters.

This advancement and recognition of the uses of storytelling inspired the establishment of other storytelling NGOs such as, the Kwesukela Storytelling Academy which was formed by an ex-Zanendaba member in 2005. By then, storytelling was fully integrated into the Basic Education system as a teaching and learning tool. Libraries as well had recognized storytelling as a method for encouraging reading, learning and the visit to the library.

Rananga (2008) asserts that by 2005 there were indications in various scenarios that storytelling was starting to occupy a bigger space in the society as a communication tool as well as being an independent art form. According to Rananga, the National Department of Arts and Culture established Language Research and Development Centres in institutions of higher learning to cater to the needs of languages. The centres had focus areas, and one of these focus areas is the promotion of literature and oral literature in the form of storytelling. He again states, “The inclusion of storytelling by the South African Government in their major celebrations such as Heritage Day reveals that a culture of storytelling is emerging in the country. In Limpopo Province, for instance, Heritage Day is often celebrated with the Mapungubwe Arts Festival. Storytelling is one of the cultural art forms performed here” (Rananga, 2008: 276).

2.9 Stories on social cohesion

It should be noted that in terms of current trends, the State does not necessarily have direct communication with storytellers or artists. However, through speeches, media interviews by the State's representatives and by word of mouth, storytellers get cues or ideas as to the direction the State is taking for that particular period. By 2007, the HIV/AIDS campaign was losing momentum; the funding was no longer easily available. The State focus had shifted to another strategic goal, that of social cohesion; although this goal had been with the State from the inception of democracy as indicated before, it had never been emphasised as much.

As a result of this awareness themes of stories that were told once more began to transform. Nevertheless, the State's call had been entrenched in the storytellers' minds. Storytellers followed the trend, started creating stories that reflected peace and unity among societal members. This was observed in different storytelling festivals including the Kwesukela storytelling festival, Alexandra storytelling festival, University of Johannesburg, Sibikwa storytelling festival and Women in arts festival, among others.

All these festivals incorporated storytellers from different storytelling organisations and independent storytellers, as well as international ones. However, the focus is on local storytellers and the type of stories they presented. Presented below are three examples of stories that bared explicit social cohesion messages that were not explicit in earlier stories. The later ones were without doubt very reconciliatory. The stories have been transcribed word for word as they were narrated by storytellers. These are the "Apple and Pear, the Grandmother and We are one" story presented as follows:

2.9.1 Apple and Pear story by Kwesukela storytellers

This was the time of old, the time when apples and pears all grew on the same tree. Back then there was no reason not to; there were no reasons to grow on separate trees, they were all fruit. How great it was they said to be a green apple. How unfortunate to be a pear. It was so beautiful to see one grow alongside another.
But suddenly apples began to grow bold, while the pears, the pears were unaware. The green apples grew proud, while the pears were unaware. The green apples grew evil thoughts, while the pears were unaware. It was only after a lot of growing had happened that the pears finally awoke to realize what was happening, but by then it was too late. The green apples started grabbing the pears off the tree and smashing them to the ground- rupturing their flesh and bruising their skin. It was a bad sight. What was a worse sight though, were the pears that did

not bruise at all. They had been so young that their flesh had not even ripened yet. But are they all not fruit you might ask, of the same tree even? Ah, but these sadly are the ways of our world!

The day we will all never forget though, is the day a pear, tore off another pear from the tree. It is said that this pear had developed a bit differently from the other pears. It did not have the long neck that was common to the pears, nor the raindrop shaped lower body that was also common to the pears. The day this pear tore off another pear from the tree there was commotion! "What is this?" some of the pears cried. "We're going to find him and kill him!" other pears declared. Sensing danger, the traitor pear quickly ran to the king of the green apples and said "My lord, I am a green apple, born as one and raised by one. I killed that pear so we could be rid of all of them! Please, my lord, protect me." And so it was that the traitor pear became a green apple. But ah, it is the workings of this world that things must grow, and grow, they did. With time the traitor pear grew the long neck that was common to the pears. With more time, the traitor pear grew the long neck that was also common to the pears, while he was unaware.

Then one day, we remember this day because the sun was shining very brightly in the sky. The traitor pear woke up extra early to enjoy the sunshine before the work begun. He walked all the way to the top of the tree and laid himself out in the sun. Neck grown long, raindrop shaped lower body, just like any other pear. He had ceased to be careful because he had proven himself numerous times by killing other pears, besides; he had been a green apple for so long he thought the green apples considered him as one of their own. What an unfortunate notion. As he sat out in the sun, the traitor pear did not notice the three green apples that were approaching him slowly from behind. They grabbed him off the tree and smashed him to the ground, just like any other pear. But are they all not fruit you might ask, of the same tree even. Ah, but these sadly are they ways of our world. All the pears gathered to mourn the death of the traitor pear because even though he had betrayed them, he was still one of their own. It was then that they decided they needed to do something about this situation; they were no longer safe in their own home. They decided to leave the green apple and pear tree and plant their own tree. This is how green apples and pears began to grow on separate trees.

2.9.2 *Discussion*

In the "Apple and Pear" story, both the fruits leave together on the same tree without any problem. At some point apples change and become horrible to the pears; they begin killing the pears until the pears leave the tree they shared with the apples. They found their own tree. That is why today we see them growing on separate trees.

Regarding "The Hen, the Rooster and the Hawk," Hen and Rooster lose Hawk's key by mistake. In the end, Hawk tells both Hen and Rooster that he will eat their children from then on until they bring back his key. The family, especially children, end up suffering from always running away from Hawk; otherwise, they get eaten by Hawk.

2.9.3 The Grandmother by Bongiswa Kotta

There was once a grandmother who lived with her three granddaughters because their mother had died. They lived on a small hut. The granddaughters loved and respected their grandmother more than anything in the world. They thought she was the wisest of them all. But there was something strange about this grandmother which the three granddaughters did not understand. She had something in her house, and the story is about that mysterious object. The object was a buddle of sticks, it set there at the corner of the hut, and the granddaughters were not allowed to use it. Every night after supper the grandmother went into the living room, sat down on her traditional mat, *ecansini*, put her hand on her lap, then waited for her granddaughters to come and listen to a story. They also loved their grandmother's stories and thought that they the wisest of them all. On the night when it was chilly, they would want to use the sticks, but the grandmother would refuse. Even when it was too dark outside or raining, they would ask the grandmother if they could use the stick. The grandmother always refused.

When the three granddaughters were grown up as young women, they started fighting among themselves and did not speak to one another for a long time. Eventually, they got married and never visited one another. One day the grandmother called the three of them to her home. For the first time, the grandmother asked them to bring the sticks; they brought them close to the grandmother. She gave each granddaughter a stick to break, they all broke them easily. Then the grandmother got three stick out of the buddle, she made a buddle of those three sticks and asked each one of them to break them, the sticks did not break. The grandmother then said, "Life is a lot like those sticks, if we face it alone we will break but if we stand together we will be strong and not brake easily." From that day they became friends again.

2.9.4 We are one by Majesty Mnyandu

Piet, Jan and Komkyk were three young men from Broederstad that had just completed their matric and were looking at getting jobs. One morning when they were planning where to start in their job seeking mission, Komkyk came up with a brilliant idea that they were all excited about. He reminded them that they were all South Africans, if not Africans after all. He also reminded them that South Africa was a land of opportunities that did not require young people to work hard, but smart. He told them that instead of wasting time at varsity and standing in the jobseeker queue. The solution was to apply for RDP houses and government tenders.

The next morning they began the preparations by going to CIPRO to register a company that they were going to use to apply for tenders. Everything went well their company named 'Working Together We Can Do More' was successfully registered. The next step was to go to the Department of Service Delivery to apply for tenders and RDP houses. However they were met with disappointment as they were told that the services they were applying for were reserved firstly for the (PRED) previously disadvantaged. In disappointment they returned home and had a meeting where they discussed a way forward. In this discussion Piet suggested that they had to immigrate to Australia since there were no more opportunities for their type in South Africa. However Jan interrupted by reminding them of what one of their leaders said in the past 'African solutions for African problems'. This made his peers listen with more attention as he continued to explain that when Africans have problems they go to a *sangoma* or traditional healer.

In the morning all the three boys went to Ntate Kgelane who worked as a petrol attendant in the local garage to ask for directions to the nearest s*angoma*. He directed them to Jeppe hostel. At the hostel they met ubaba *Bhodlamadangatya* [Beast that belches fire] who was also known as Imbodla listened carefully to their problems and told them that he had a solution for them. He gave them herbs to use when bathing, and also burned incense for them. When they were ready to leave, he told them to wait for the main item which was a sachet of ochre known as ibovu to *sangomas*. He gave them a little lecture on the ochre teaching them to respect it because it is one of ancestors' exhibits of scientific knowledge. *Phela ibovu leli* was used to protect skin from the burning sun of Africa. It was also known in the healing practices as people would use it to cleanse internal organs.

Finally Imbodla said, "This ochre had to be mixed with warm water and smeared on the face and hair when they went to the Department of Service Delivery.
Imbodla explained to them more function of ibovu that it was the red soil that was tainted by the blood of the ancestors and all the prehistoric animals that once graced the continent. The healing effect of ibovu was based on the reality that when the ancestors looked below from heaven they easily identify you as they see their blood on your face and thus show favour to you by giving you all the luck that you wish for.

The following day they went to the Department having followed all the instructions that Imbodla had given them. To their surprise they were treated with great respect all the way from the security gate until the office of the Minister. The only challenge that the Minister had was that their hair looked suspicious and she asked if they were gays. Before she could swallow her words, they dipped their hands in their pockets and took out the copies of the constitution. Noticing that she would lose the argument she quickly apologized and offered them the forms for tenders and RDP houses. As they turned away to leave her office she noticed the complexion of their necks which was definitely different from ibovu complexion on their faces. She immediately knew that they were the same three young men who were in her office a few days ago. However, as a mother she forgave them, in fact, was very impressed by their willingness to do things the African way, and solve their African problem using African solutions. She was left thinking of how she would use them for her social cohesion project.

2.9.5 *Discussion*

These stories affirm group membership, fellowship and reveal an elevated state of social construction since they communicate from a cultural assumption of what humanity and living ought to be, for a successful life. They reside on a realm of assuming certain moral codes which accordingly provide a recipe for a strong coherence. They represent a discourse that stands between the social prescriptive norms and the individual conceptualization of those prescriptions.

Collective enactment serves a rhetorical purpose of identification, a body of a person who would be explained and understood to be connected to one another in one way or the other. Narrative is a fundamental structural domain in constructing shared meaning and group

cohesion. It is understandable that storytelling can be used for social cohesion if collective affiliation participants drew out a set of certain narratives, each set of narrative impact upon the emotion of the membership, and each set support the fundamental and strategic goals of the group, which alternatively promote cohesion.

2.10 Storytelling NGOs, ach and the state's quest for social cohesion in post-apartheid South Africa

In 1994, South Africa emerged from a past of deep racial segregation, discrimination and oppression from which apartheid laws had a negative social, political, economic and cultural impact on the lives of Africans, in particular. As said before, the arts and culture suffered hegemony immensely consequently. The democratic dispensation inherited the past problems of division, cultural, racial or linguistic intolerance and more because these problems did not simply disappear from the face of the earth - as a result of democracy. Instead, they remained and manifested in people's interaction.

According to the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA), challenges that come with diversity are the country's biggest problem. One of the major legacies of apartheid is that of intolerance towards 'difference' - be it in terms of race, religion, nationality, ethnicity, sexual orientation or other such factors. Twenty three years after South Africa's first democratic elections, the country is still grappling to find ways to better manage 'difference.'[9]

Undeniably, to strive toward finding strength and power in this diversity, and thereby achieve the goal of a rainbow nation, was and is critically important in a society like South Africa where the population is multiracial, multicultural and multilingual. The arts are, therefore, crucial in this endeavor as the arts are known to effectively communicate matters of the popular construct. Chesaina (1991) attests that oral literature contributes towards the maintenance of healthy social order in the community. Also, CoRMSA maintains that while diversity presents its own challenges, the lack of it is even more devastating, it provides fertile grounds for incidents such as sporadic xenophobic attacks. In the Cape Town Partnership Annual Report, Njabulo Ndebele writes that stories project honesty, and that when we work with honesty we are likely to achieve best results and therefore if used

[9] http://www.cormsa.org.za/wp-content

appropriately they can be a powerful agent for change and that there are as many stories as there are people who tell those stories, we need to learn to tell all stories because a single narrative tends to leave others out.

Since the beginning of democracy in 1994 the State had announced different priorities so as to appropriately respond to discriminatory behaviors of the past as well as current behaviour related to diversity. Strategies such as Voter's Education, HIV/AIDS, women's rights or gender equality campaigns and reconciliation, nation-building and others we put in place in response to this need. Storytelling and ACH were some of the tools that were utilised to promote these strategic priorities. This is because, according to Gramsci & Forgacs (2000: 57), "culture is something quite different. It is an organisation, the discipline of one's inner self, a coming to terms with one's own personality; it is the attainment of higher awareness, with the aid of which one succeeds in understanding one's own historical value, one's own function in life, one's own rights and obligations." Moreover, storytelling, as a cultural tool, remains relevant in matters of nation-building even in modern democratic societies, as indicated by Zipes (2004), Sobol (1999), Wa Kituku (1997), Chesaina (1991), Egan (1955) and Brook (1994). These scholars explore the role played by the storytelling in facilitation harmony, community-building and promotion of social cohesion.

Among the State's current priority goals are the promotion of social-cohesion, nation-building and reconciliation. Political discussions and engagements on social cohesion are deliberated in public spaces; discourses were or are meant to inform the public and direct focus towards the State's goals. As expected, discourses on reconciliation and social-cohesion embody messages of unity; they call for a form of a united nation. Examples of such discourses include the ones listed below:

1. On the freedom day celebration, 27 April 1999 in Mthatha, ex-President Mandela delivered on the recommendation of the TRC that South Africa must build a place called Freedom Park. In 2000, Freedom Park Museum was established as a project that would be a symbol for reconciliation, social-cohesion, nation-building and the emancipation of the African voice. For the past couple of years on reconciliation day, December 16, the Head of State, has come to Freedom Park to deliver a reconciliation message. Of importance with this museum is their use of oral stories and storytelling in delivering messages to the public of South Africa. The museum has also employed

fulltime storytellers to contribute in the telling of the story of the world creation; storytellers here create and develop stories that are reconciliatory in form and shape. To also affirm its mandate for nation-building and reconciliation, the road named Reconciliation Road was constructed to link Freedom Park and Voortrekker Monument, as a sign of merging the past to the present.

2. The first edition of Migration & Social Cohesion was established. This publication was produced by the Institute for democracy in South Africa (IDASA) and focuses on migration and social cohesion, particularly, but not exclusively, in South Africa. .. The IDASA publication came in the wake of the 2008 horrific attacks on foreigners in South Africa. This presented significant challenges regarding relationships, citizenship, identity, inclusion and exclusion, migration, social cohesion and democracy.
   http://anyflip.com/kxch/qqcp

3. Included in the examples is the video- taped message played at the National Youth Day Festival in Cape Town in 2008 where ex-President Mandela, the first democratic president in South Africa, called for a rainbow nation and urged the youth of South Africa to work for social cohesion in the country. “As future leaders of this country, your challenge is to foster a nation in which all people, irrespective of race, colour, sex, religion or creed, can assert social cohesion fully,” says Mandela. As he was already sick, the message had been video-taped and was played on the day of this festival.
   http://www.mandela.gov.za/mandela_speeches/2008/080625_youth.htm

4. Another instance occurred on 10 June 2009 where the Minister of Higher Education and Training, Dr Blade Nzimande, announced the official release of the report by the ministerial committee on transformation and social cohesion in higher education. He emphasized social cohesion in this report. Although the department of education established this committee in 2008 for the purpose of investigating discrimination within higher learning institutions, it was also responsible for finding strategies for promoting social cohesion.

http://www.gov.za/report-ministerial-committee-transformation-and-social-cohesion-and-elimination-discrimination

5. Mr Musiou Lekota on one of his party's meetings asked South Africans to strengthen a cohesive society that celebrates diversity and upholds fundamental values of respect, integrity, Ubuntu, compassion, openness and solidarity. He said that we are a diverse society and we are a good nation, because of this diversity we believe we can be great, the foundation of our society is based on the premise that we are united in our diversity," the Congress of the People (2009). Here the COPE again affirmed the State goals social-cohesion, reconciliation and national-building.
   http://www.congressofthepeople.org.za/uploads/files/Final_COPE_MANI.pdf

6. At the Social Cohesion summit held in Kliptown 2012, the State President, Mr J. G. Zuma affirmed that the existence of such a summit proves the significance of these subject matters within the State. He states that, as a government, they are responsible for achieving these goals and to steer South Africans towards a national, democratic society. In the strive to bring about social-cohesion, nation-building and national identity, among other strategies, arts, culture and heritage have been some of the primary methods of implementing these programs. Subsequently, the mandate to see to the achievement of these lies within this department of arts and culture.
   http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/1f558b004bda64799f0dffdcfc8ee867/Zuma-delivers-opening-speech-at-Social-Cohesion-Summit-20120704

These extracts serve to highlight the NGOs' precarious position, on whether they are able to ignore the "call" of the state, their financial provider and instead pursue their own interests as stated in their own constitutions. The intention to influence thinking towards social-cohesion can be detected from the early use of the jargon of "Rainbow Nation" which Rev. D. Tutu pronounced on and which became popular at the beginning of democracy during the presidential tenure of the ex-President Mandela. Also within that time period the use of the word, "the Parliament of National Unity" was popular.

Secondly, despite political engagements, for the State to carry out and realise its mission of a cohesive society, in 1996 it set up funding bodies[10] that would service and represent an inclusive South African citizenship. In that way, the previously oppressed communities could also now access State's financial resources. These funding bodies disburse funds for artistic, culture and heritage related programs, with the main mandate to promote social cohesion. Although this agenda was pursed since the early years of democracy, it was only around 2000 that messages with strong content on social cohesion began to show in stories told by NGOs storytellers. This was also the time when these organisations became aware of government opportunities for funding.

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter analyzed the history of the emergence of storytelling NGOs in the South African context by identifying storytelling NGOs that exist post-1994 and finally selects those that meet the criteria of the intention of the research. It looks at how storytelling has re-settled in the post-apartheid period and their association with NGOs. This chapter also shows a transformation process of stories over the years as they are told by Zanendaba storytellers and their effect on the development of new stories. A relationship between the NGOs and the State is explored and how this relationship is managed by the two. Essentially the chapter draws attention to the struggle experienced by the NGOs in juggling between their interests and those of the funder. It also touches on the State's nationalisation agendas which have a direct impact on the arts, culture and heritage.

The ACH policy of the apartheid period was juxtaposed with the current ACH and differences are identified and discussed. One argument in the chapter pertains to the relationship between the State and storytelling NGOs or ACH in general, that the State and the ACH NGOs are interdependent of each other. This relationship is an organic course of action, as witnessed in other countries, where using arts and culture for nationalization purposes is a historical process for any post-colonialist societies. It has transpired from the discussions given in the chapter that the role of these NGOs is two folds. That is, besides preserving oral tradition, reiterating history, teaching morals and the like, using their arts, they also serve clear goals and plans of the State to the society. This is indicated by the transformation of stories they narrate. The chapter demonstrates how in turn, the NGOs

[10] Funding agencies like the National Arts Council (NAC), National Heritage Council (NHC), National Film and Video Foundation (NFVF), Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) and many more

themselves benefit from the State funding.

In this chapter, it is concluded that to a certain degree, the State has led to the evolution and contextualization of stories and storytelling practice in the post-apartheid period. Essentially, the chapter draws attention to the point that the State through its funding for its projects has unconsciously contributed to the creation of modern stories and influenced a paradigm shift regarding concentration in the creation of new stories. Moreover, it is demonstrated how in the greater scheme of things, modern storytellers moved from their initial intention of telling traditional stories which are at times encode political messages, to stories of social cohesion, reconciliation, nation-building and others as prescribed by the State. Subsequently, NGOs have been able to reposition storytelling to be an independent performance art form, as per one of Zanendaba initial objectives but also as one of the arts in modernity.

Although this might not be evident to a lay person the chapter has shown that the State's nationalistic goal has successfully permeated the psyche and consciousness of storytellers in the NGOs and outside the arts, culture and heritage spaces. Also, this chapter traces the advancement or development of storytelling or the role of NGOs to promote storytelling, new performance venues in South Africa where storytelling now takes place. These spaces include museums, corporate, correctional services centres, restaurants and more. It is pointed out that directors of these NGOs must find jobs for their storytellers and those storytellers themselves contribute equally to identifying potential new gigs, as they sometimes call once-off storytelling engagements. Mention is made to the effect that storytellers, although housed in these NGOs, are still regarded as freelance storytellers because NGOs, for financial reasons, are not able to hire fulltime members beyond a secretary or administrator.

CHAPTER 3 : A MODERN ADAPTATION OF STORYTELLING STYLIZATION

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the relationship between the NGOs and the storytellers they employ. It focuses on to what extent are storytellers conscious of their role as instruments to fulfil the vision and mission of their NGO. The aim is to determine whether a common understanding of the goals of the organisations is equally comprehended by the storytellers and to explain how these storytellers add value to the goals. As mentioned in the previous chapter, NGOs were formed to advance the culture of storytelling. For this goal, NGOs need people who will function as storytellers. However, there is no school for storytellers in South Africa that NGOs can source storytellers from. Nevertheless, through word of mouth, referrals or by association, people get to know about the existence of storytelling NGOs. Consequently, those who are interested eventually join and are trained by their organisations. According to the storytellers interviewed, earning an income is crucial for one's survival but this is not the only reason they do this work, and they try not to let the need to earn money hinder the work. They confirmed that they did not put a special price on their work; instead, situations determine what they are worth at that moment, for example, criteria, budget, time etc.

The storytellers have developed their own styles of telling, which may be perceived as another way of showing development in the oral tradition. Questions then are, who or what encourages them to create new styles; have these styles been developed to advance storytelling or have storytellers come up with styles for their own personal gain; who gives guidance to the creating of styles; and how do NGOs benefit from these seemingly new ways of telling? The researcher argues that there is a subtle competition among storytellers that relates to acquiring performances from within their organisations and therefore an urge to always be recognised. The recognition facilitates in acquiring more jobs, which benefits the storyteller, as those with more exposure and experience get more work and build a name and reputation.

In pursuing this argument, the chapter looks at different performance styles in modern storytelling with the intention of explaining them - the process involved in their development -- and to ascertain how individual storytellers engage with the process so that the style appeals to modern audiences. Essentially, the chapter focuses on the contextual background

and what has inspired and informed the rise of various storytelling styles among NGO storytellers. It's an attempt to determine a link between operating in a group context, striving to be the best and economic benefits. It is anticipated that information obtained from this exploration will help explain some strategies NGOs use in order to sustain themselves and how they motivate for funding as well as whether storytelling as a facilitative tool in national cohesion continues to bring in funding. A number of storytelling festivals, school performances and other sessions of storytelling presented opportunities for observing storytellers exhibiting their different performance styles. A blend of South African storytellers with unique styles performed in these national and private events.

In addition to the analysis of modern storytelling styles advanced by NGOs, these styles are juxtaposed with styles known as traditional storytelling styles. The intention is to identify similarities or differences so as to finally understand and explain the change and progression of the storytelling art within the NGO framework. The researcher observed variables that clearly differentiate traditional from modern storytelling. Some of these differences are settings, places and the environment where storytelling takes place. Traditional storytelling performances happened within homogenous communities where storytellers spoke the same language as the audience. Both storytellers and their audiences were defined, in many ways, by the same culture, including dress code. That similar background determined the way a story was told; for example, the study presumes that if the culture of people involves music, stories of that culture to a larger extent would include music.

In view of the above, cultural awareness, economic aspects and the state of being of individual storytellers have been explored. The chapter, therefore, offers an elaborated account of stylisation by storytellers within NGO settings, which will afford an opportunity to appreciate the interplay between economic benefits, personality and cultural praxis. Three questions to help us move forward have been posed: what motivates one storyteller to be different from others; how does belonging to an NGO affect one's style; and what is the role of funding in developing a style of storytelling? Taking from the narrative accounts given by the storytellers interviewed, the researcher looks at the methods used in the course of the development of particular styles.

In an attempt to gain deeper insight into this commitment, I evaluate prior performance styles of storytelling, as presented by relevant literature and reflect on venues for live storytelling performances. Observing live performances granted a space to observe nuances in a performance that are often not visible when recording using a still or video camera. This includes the energy between the storyteller and the audience. The gathered information on styles will contribute to the existing body of knowledge on the history of storytelling styles.

While the preceding chapter concentrated on the broader political, economic and heritage factors that triggered the formation of NGOs, this chapter focuses on a much narrower space occupied by an individual within an NGO, which Ikeda (1997) calls "A life-size paradigm." In reference to this concept, an individual defines him or herself within his or her own spot. These individuals ask themselves who am I? And how do I matter in the broader scheme of things? or how can I make myself matter within a broader scope of the whole? Thus, the chapter looks at the dynamics and organisational mechanisms associated with belonging to an NGO in an attempt to ascertain the implications associated with such affiliation. This narrow space is often overlooked in the analysis of art organisations, whose main concern is the broad framework of economy, history and politics. Here, attention is given to the way each storyteller presents his or her story to audiences. In pursuing innovative stylisation, the chapter subsequently explores the contribution of style or the lack thereof, and how it affects the advancement of the art of storytelling.

3.2 Social neglect in expertise development

Bruchac (2003) writes on "How our stories remember"; Gersie and King (1997) look at how stories are gatekeepers between our inner and outer world; Brown, Denning, Groh and Prusak (2004) explain why storytelling is transforming 21st century organisations' management and research; and many scholars focus on the theoretical aspect of storytelling. We, therefore, find an extensive body of knowledge available on the significance and function of the story. However, scholarly knowledge in storytelling performance styles lacks the intensity found in academic presentations.

Due to its nature, the development of storytelling should first be understood based on storytellers who practice it. And answer questions such as do storytellers compete for gigs offered by their NGOs? Does the allocation of performances depend on how good a

storyteller is, or it is done in turns? The director of Zanendaba, Khios Mazibuko, says that although she uses all of them all the same time, when a host requires a certain number of storytellers or when time does not allow for more than a certain number to perform, "I randomly decide who can take that performance." Nozi Ngomane of Kwesukela says, "We alternate storytellers; if one or two have taken a gig, the next gig will be allocated to one or more of those who stayed behind before. So, the system is much like an alternating turn one." According to Sibikwa, for their annual festivals, storytellers come for auditions. "We also do special invites for professional storytellers like Nandi Nyembe, Gcina Mhlophe, Buntu Tembani and others," says Phillis Klotz of Sibikwa.

The NGO directors confirm that the financial benefits are important to retain storytellers. Ngomane says, "Once funding runs dry, storytellers do look for other avenues where they will earn money. You can see from their faces that they are demotivated when they are told there is no money. They are very enthusiastic when there is funding; they always do more than they have been asked for. So yes, the money is one of or main inspirations." For this reason, the study regards the economic benefit as one of the primary motivators for the development of styles.

3.3 Storytellers' anecdotes

You will hear artists stating that "It is not about money." What they basically mean is, they do not mind doing their art even if there is no pay. One storyteller said: "There was a time when I noticed that I had more unpaid jobs than paid ones." Another said, "I have been in the art for over ten years, but I have so little to show for it. You know, I sometimes work in nearby construction sites for a day's transport to go to town the following day." He says the R100 for that day helps him to get to a meeting held to discuss performance, but it may not materialise.

Another storyteller added, "It has become a culture for public hosts to ask storytellers to volunteer or donate their talent; that is to say, they will not be paid for that job, but they can pay for other services like catering." A common promise is a free publicity. According to most of the storytellers interviewed, that promise hardly brings any returns. "It is just a cliché for people who don't want to pay for a storytelling performance but do need the service."

These experiences indicate the struggle some practitioners go through. Should we then question whether joining NGOs provides these storytellers with some security? And that it inspires them to be innovative and different? Nonetheless, not all storytellers go through similar struggles. This thesis is also not claiming that storytellers do not leave these organisations when the time comes that they should because they do. Five storytellers interviewed left their organisations; they either went to another organisation or were independent. Several Kwesukela storytellers have come and gone. Some have started their own organisations; again, others went on for better opportunities and joined other organisations.

This brings us to the matter of new storytellers and storytelling organisations. In the previous chapter, it was stated that most of the new storytelling organisations are formed by ex-storytellers of a previous organisation. Based on the responses, the increase in the number of storytellers and storytelling organisations is still made possible by ex-storytellers who leave NGOs to form their own organisations. For that reason, this chapter contends that the diversity of storytelling styles is the result of this movement of storytellers which also inspires attempts to be different.

3.4 Cultural and social formations

The literature that follows will discuss how storytellers develop individualised styles by employing certain skills or techniques relevant to storytelling. Taken into consideration are storytelling techniques as they are explained by Okpewho (1977), Hofmeyr (1992), Scheub (1996, 2006). These techniques include the use of voice in the form of voice variation, projection or intonation and the like; facial expressions; music; the use of gestures; rhythm; emotional portrayal; mastering pauses; body movement; eye contact and more. At times the use of musical instruments was used to accompany the narration. Okpewho (1992) makes mention of storytelling skills that involve incorporating other narratives such as riddles, proverbs, idiophone, chants, songs and the use of different languages. Basing the discussion on the aspect of techniques, the analysis then explores how storytellers exhibit a style by carefully arranging the story content and applying the techniques to produce a uniquely person performance.

The scholarly literature reviewed reveals that different techniques are critical in enabling storytellers to give a creative, aesthetic and meaningful performance. For that reason these techniques primarily differentiate one style from the other among storytellers. Okpewho refers to storytelling techniques or tools as "histrionics" of a performance. Okpewho explains a performance of ILA culture of Zambia by a storyteller, Mungalo, and observes that, every muscle of the face and body spoke, with a swift gesture often supplying the place of a whole sentence. Here, impressive applications of histrionic agility are clearly demonstrated. Okpewho refers to "a body that speaks" when describing authenticity in performance. While Scheub speaks of musical words in the process of delivering enjoyable storytelling, Hofmeyr (1992) finds that stylistic features of oral narrative include traits like minimal scene setting and switching; dramatic dialogue; and use of gestural, performance and phonological resources. She maintains that oral history telling, which was mainly stylised by men, faded during the period of migrant labour, which resulted in courtyard storytelling being eradicated. This expresses that context does not only authenticate a storytelling session but determines styles as well. Hofmeyr's point adds to the understanding of context that enables individual unique stylisation.

Scheub (1996), with his extensive knowledge of South African storytelling performances, discusses what he refers to as "core clinches.' These are basic images that are present in every story. According to Scheub (1996: 28), basic images include the context, historical moments, "the world of experience, the real world and the world that is daily and routinely known to the audience." It, however, takes the storyteller's skill to manipulate these images to his or her advantage because being able to neatly knit events together in a story determines the success of a performance, and requires a special skill. Here, a good storyteller, who can retain the central idea, core-clinches, of a narrative while playing with images, is set apart from a less aesthetic performance or a good storyteller. While analysing various styles of different storytellers, it is important also to remember melody at the time of word articulation, and that body movement is in congruence with the feel or rhythm of the story.

Rhythm and repetition also play an important role in the creation of a style, and melody and fluctuation of voice result in a certain rhythm that is either good or not good. Repetition also contributes to the making of rhythm; this is significant in providing an understanding of the relationship of the technical elements that reveals an intricate link between cultural data and spirituality. In essence, this relationship becomes a symbolic link between the present and the

styles of the past, and of course, people bring into the performance space their unique personalities, strengths and weakness, or even likes and dislikes.

Although the oral-formulaic approach is limited to critical analysis of the formulas related to recalling narratives, it nevertheless brings the similar argument about manipulation of technique. The formulaic approach, on the other hand, affects memory and a storyteller's handling of oral data, which eventually reveals one's style. Spirituality in storytelling can be explained using the understanding of Bettelheim (1975) that a story has nothing to do with the physical appearance of the audience but with the inner world of that listener. By its nature attending to good moral values, it contributes to the spirituality and the inner well-being of both the teller and the listener.

Coupes and Kamansi (1970: 77) differentiate between a novice storyteller and a professional storyteller. They argue that "Unlike the amateur, which makes gestures with the body as well as the voice, the professional reciter adopts an impervious attitude, with a rapid and unaccented style." Reflected in this statement is calmness when it comes to professional storytellers. Calmness is however not always there in the absence of highly dramatic actions; Scheub (1996) purports, "The body is expected to move in harmony with the words, sounds in order to establish smooth movements that perfect a storyteller's actions."

In his study of Xhosa storyteller Nongenile Zenani, Scheub observes that "her art is subtle and her face and body are constantly in harmony with the developing production: a slight grimace, a flash of feat, anger, joy" (1972: 116). What is prominent in the explanation of this style is the emphasis of the elaborative facial expressions, as well as that actions, were in sync with words in the story. According to Scheub's description of the storyteller, among other techniques, there is minimal use of body movement, but more of her face, and she or he chooses words that suit the actions.

Another style observed by Scheub was of a young woman from the Transkei. Depending on the images she intended to evoke, props such as the mat would be placed in front of her home. "Her performances were generally lively ones, involving much use of the body and hands, her face constantly shifting expressions, and during such performances, the audience was also actively engaged in the narrative actions" (Scheub 1996: 30). Scheub places emphasis on the patterning of images, that is, how the storyteller coordinates images into a

particular order which will bring out a certain style and aesthetic and consequently evoke an audience's emotions. The styles of the above two storytellers indicate the use of gestures as one way of beautifying their performances and commanding a positive response from their audiences. This is critical in performance since the incongruence between actions and words is bound to confuse the audience and consequently, fail to effectively put the message across. The message and the meaning of the story seem to have been emphasised by means of facial histrionics but also body movement.

Another traditional storytelling style has been observed by Finnegan (1967), who witnessed a storytelling session taking place under the moonlight in a village. In this instance, the storyteller is accompanied by one individual, an accompanist. Although the accompanist, sometimes called the answerer, was not told as such, he was interjecting during the performance, his involvement added to the whole meaning of the text presented to the audience. Interjection style is interesting in that it reflects innovation and creativity on the part of a narrator. It manifests theatrical storytelling, which is a skill in itself. As Finnegan (1967:65) expresses, "This formal practice of 'replying' often gives an extra impression of speed and intensity to the telling of a story, and, though by no means universal, is one way in which a member of the audience can formally take part in the actual narration" (1967:65). A similar style is found in Scheub's research. In this particular situation, an older storyteller has a young accompanist nearby. As the storyteller proceeded with her storytelling, the accompanist mimed all the action of the storyteller; she anticipated the actions of the storyteller with precision and accuracy. "The audience was entranced as the accompanist abstracted and stylised the storyteller's actions, and herself became a part of the performance," (Scheub, 1996: 30).

Figure 1: A storyteller with an accompanist

Clark's (1977) recording of 'The Ozidi Saga' for the Ijo of the Nigerian delta, reveals another critical component of African storytelling performance, that of paralinguistic resources. Here, shades of meaning are translated through other features of communication, such as tone and pitch of voice, gestures, body posture and the like. In view of this, the researcher finds parallels between African and Western types of storytelling styles. 'Izidi Saga' story is sometimes performed in a group, with music and other resources. According to Okpewho, the story is most likely the best available record so far of an African narrative performance in which various resources and techniques are put to effective use to turn storytelling into theatre. What can be observed from this is how a storytelling group performance resembles the modern theatrical type of performance, which modern storytellers use as a style in a group. Kerr (1995) maintains that storytelling is an African indigenous theatre. And that mostly, protest theatre in South Africa drew its techniques from African storytelling. He makes an example of Mutwa and Manaka, who were explained in the first chapter. All the styles discussed above are compared with new styles that have emerged during the data collection of this research.

3.5 Defining sociocultural fabric: *The historical precursory*

Watching storytelling performances and conducting one-on-one interviews with storytellers allowed the researcher to observe and highlight the prominent features of each storytelling style, as well as the sociocultural frameworks that define these styles. According to this thesis, there is a relationship between current contexts within which stories are told - which include audiences for whom these stories are narrated, personalities of storytellers which

range from quiet and humorous to hyper, and which also add to the expression of the life experience of each storyteller - and selected stories themselves. Life experiences involve cultural or contemporary life experiences, education, the language of storytellers and other skills that a storyteller has accumulated over the years as a performer. From this standpoint, the formulation of styles is determined by all these elements combined together. Buntu maintains: “A style is actually a representation of self.” He says that this is because a style agrees with whom you are. “Some of the actions that I exhibit on stage are the same as those that are normal to me when I am off stage,” the storyteller confides.

Styles would, therefore, be decided on based on what is familiar to the storyteller as much as it will be to the audience. Alternatively, the style would be organised in a way that will show off one’s particular skill learnt from one’s environment. If, for instance, a style operates on the realm of African storytelling which therefore informs what is considered “us” versus ‘them’, when designing a style each storyteller must have observed or have been socialised within the premises that define that society. In that case, the style can evoke shared values or ways of knowing as it will be popular in the audience’s imagination. As a result, the chosen style would resonate with members of that society. In this, Barber (1997) looks at 'popular' being used within a moral, political category. Ngugi (1997) holds the same view as he points out that “popular is that which function in the interest of the masses by opening their eyes to their objective historical situations, the actual conditions of their existence,” (Ngugi, 1997: 5).

Storytellers grew to define themselves within the new space of entertainment, arts and culture to show how storytelling has evolved from its known structure in rural villages and that storytellers themselves are part of the masses. Storytellers created these styles on the basis of wide consciousness of self and community. In turn, this cultural material proves to be of critical importance in their development as storytellers or the storytelling industry. Also, audiences identify with the styles since their real life has been put on stage through storytelling styles, Scheub (1994).

Barber (2004) points out that popular culture impacts on collective consciousness on what practices inform what understanding. This collective consciousness functions as a template for how things are done. Accordingly, a feeling of connection begins with an action that automatically activates and consequently fit that the framework of the template. The situation in Mexico where Afro-diaspora’s presence is believed to vanish, politically, as explained by

(Gonzales; 2012) affirms Barber's popular culture essence. Gonzales observes that, while Afro-Mexicans are socially invisible and have been swallowed by the political construction of *mestizaje* (mixed-race identity), the Afro-Mexican expressive culture refuses to be muzzled. Instead, it "provides multiple examples of how blackness itself is still a living imaginary in Mexico." She provides examples of dances that are based on archetypal images of blackness such as the *Negritos* or the *danzadel diablo* (devil dance) witness at theater and dance festivals throughout the country," (Gonzales 2012: 2). In the Mexican case, a human face in the said Afro culture is silenced and shadowed and therefore does not exist. Congruent with Barber's popular culture, consciousness proves the existence of the body in the mist of this purported absents. As stated by Gonzalez, "Performance has the capacity to stand in for an elusive entity that it is not, but that it must vainly aspire both to embody and to replace. Afro-Mexican dance dramas function in this way; they reveal an African presence in Mexico that social systems have disguised," (Gonzalez 2012). In the same manner, Roach (cited from Gonzalez, 2012) asserts that theatre and dance performances are valuable contexts for archival of history and memorisation processes.

Furthermore, context, experience and personality guide the manner in which a storyteller plans his or her rendition. There are artistic prescribed codes of conducts that storytellers are expected to abide by. One of those is the entertainment element that audiences await or expect from the storyteller. Hence stylising one's performance is critical. Styles are primarily developed in order to impress one's audience; that is, the audience is entertained, educated or gets value for money spent. Therefore, in response to the changing nature of audiences, but all the same, striving to sell one's oral cultural material, knowledge and experience - storytellers design ways to achieve both self and audience satisfaction. Language plays a critical role in storytelling and thus in formulating a style. In the case where ordinary language cannot assist a storyteller to achieve his or her goal of entertaining, informing or educating, music, chanting or poetry is utilised.

Music, chanting and poetry come with unique rhythms that enable entertaining, emotional fulfilment and education. As such, these styles bring out a certain dimension in storytelling; they distribute vocal rhythms common in a language or culture. In reference to African languages, Stone (1987) observes that since African languages are mostly tonal, musicality come through easily in them. Majesty Mnyandu says that this allows audiences who do not understand the language to be entertained and educated nevertheless. In the process of style

development there is seemingly a causal relationship between what a teller knows and what is available; a situation where traditional concepts find outlets in modern mediums (Jegede 1987). Below is a discussion of various styles recorded during sessions.

3.6 From old to new: similarities in differences

This section analyses various styles of presenting storytelling. And these they were displayed by individual storytellers recorded during storytelling performances. Since there has been scanty information on types of storytelling styles, for the purpose of driving the discussion forward, unfamiliar concepts have been introduced. In the study, the concepts hold particular places but do not substitute any other concept; but are purely for the purpose of clarifying discussions and arguments already established. They are therefore not meant to be populated in anyway. While storytellers that took part in the research came from diverse ethnic groups, stories from the Zulu culture dominate in this study. In that similar light, concepts for a storyteller or storytelling styles could not be found by the researcher, not even in rural communities. Therefore, in order to distinctly explain the argument presented in the chapter, the concept ‘umxoxi’ is used here to mean a storyteller in the isiZulu language. Other concepts for particular styles will emanate from this concept ‘umxoxi.’

3.7 *Diversification of Styles*

With a view to determining new storytelling styles in modernity, Nongenile Masithathu Zenani’s and Mrs Sodidi’s performances are presented as examples of traditional storytelling. These two storytellers were interviewed and introduced by Scheub (1992, 1999, and 2000). Scheub refers to these storytellers as traditional storytellers, and that their storytelling performance is marked by their own artistry. The notion of ‘own artistry’ is compatible with the manner in which modern storytellers design their styles; their styles are abreast to their own artistry. Likewise, in this thesis, traditional storytelling is defined as storytelling performances that took place before 1994 in rural places of South Africa, that is, the time that marked by a racially segregated society.

Zenani told stories in the sixties. Scheub followed her for years recording her telling and observing her style. According to Scheub, she is highly dramatic in her performance style. She used hand gestures and body movements elaborately, integrating music and singing. Mrs Sodidi’s performance, on the other hand, differs from Zenani. Scheub refers to the mood

which the storyteller first creates before beginning her telling. He says, “The moment of wonder now is, making of a moment, witnessing the unfolding of the situation, the unplanned creation of style, tandem stylization.” First, Sodidi’s performance is a tandem type of performance. She has Matshezi who accompanies her and assists in the performance. According to Scheub, Sodidi composed images using words, an act that gives a unique framework of rhythm, intonation, gesture, and body movement. Matshezi, on the other hand, adds aesthetics by using tactics of agreeing with Sodidi. She ululates, hums or interjects in different ways. All this is left to the storyteller’s creativity to intelligently manipulate these storytelling elements which consequently bring about style.

When looking back at the development of modern storytelling in the last twenty years of South Africa’s democracy and comparing it with what has become to be known as traditional styles, there is a wide variety of new styles that have developed and are witnessed on storytelling stage performances. Zanendaba, as the first acknowledged storytelling NGO in South Africa, has been assumed to have introduced professional storytelling and consequently paved the way forward into storytelling as a career choice. Performances of Zanendaba storytellers were then made first on the line of analyses, representing modern styles and comparing them with traditional styles of Zenani, Sodidi and Matshezi.

The first group of contemporary professional storytellers emerged after the formation of Zanendaba storytelling organization in the 1990s. These storytellers showed styles that were highly dramatic with elaborate body movements, facial expression, gestures, noticeable use of idiophones and the like. Almost every verbal action was accompanied by some physical action or facial expression or a combination of both.

Although very little obvious intended rhythm characterised the actual telling, music and chanting in the folktale narrative were almost all the time used in separate stories. Notably, highly dramatic performance was, all the same, observed in the traditional storytelling by Zenani in particular. What then is modern about the performance styles of the Zanendaba storytellers? Could it be said that although these storytellers performed much later than Zenani and Sodidi, they are also traditional storytellers? How do their styles differ from what is referred to by Scheub (1974) as ‘traditional techniques? And at what point would we say these pioneer storytellers furthered the styles of telling a story? As an attempt to answer

these questions, the styles of Mhlophe the founder of Zanendaba, a contemporary storyteller and Zenani a traditional storyteller, are compared.

There are approximately forty years in between Mhlophe and the two traditional storytellers, Zenani and Sodidi. Although Mhlophe grew up in a family that told stories regularly, she began her storytelling career in democratic South Africa. For that reason, Mhlophe presented her stories for a modern heterogeneous society. Her storytelling is witnessed through live performances as well as in videos. Like Zenani and Sodidi there are cultural similarities among these three storytellers. Mhlophe herself spent her childhood in the country side within an isiXhosa culture, much the same way as the two other storytellers. The main difference between them is the age gap and the time period of their existences.

Although Mhlophe and the two traditional storytellers lived in different times, Mhlophe still ascribes to the traditional type of telling, similar to the one describe by Scheub (1992). Scheub asserts that storytellers who have moved the tradition into new areas, they always do that within contexts inherited that remained constant through the centuries (Scheub, 1992: 3). With this argument Scheub is nonetheless, not saying that tradition does not change, rather that there are elements that define specific traditions. And those element work as a bridge that connects the past to the present; they, the elements, therefore remain unchanged or change is invisible, hence, some familiarities between some of modern and past storytellers' styles.

Figure 2: Dramatic performance of a story with intense facial expressions, gestures, poise and attire for effect.

Among these three storytellers, language is the first point of contact that set their styles apart. Although Mhlophe's style is said to be similar to Zenani's, Mhlophe's use of different languages and the manner in which she carefully choses her words to put across a message - distinguishes her from Zenani's way of telling. Despite the fact that Mhlophe's stories are predominantly in English, she, in addition, employs her fluent linguistic ability of isiXhosa and, isiZulu in her English storytelling performances. This combination of languages in one story distinguishes her unique style from Zenani. Nevertheless that her style still conforms to traditional outlook, the use of different languages confines her style to modernity. Mhlophe's performance style had a great influence on the storytellers that trained under her, females storytellers in particular.

One example is that of Thoko Nkomo,[11] who was affiliated with Zanendaba between 2002 and 2006. Nkomo tells the stories using images that are made visible through gestures, where a story involves beatings, the storyteller practically acts that scene out with full facial expressions, lips squeezed and bent inside the mouth; hands miming a stick fly up and down as the beating goes on, as though imitating a horse-riding movement, Scheub (2002) and Okpewho (1977) call those actions emerging images. Okpewho adds that painting mental pictures in the audiences' minds, the storyteller appeals to their feeling and understanding. "To make the narration more vivid and convincing the performer must accompany the words in the tale with the appropriate face and body movements to illustrate such things as fear, anxiety, delight, and the behaviors of various characters in the tale," (Okpewho, 1977: 45).

The intensity of dramatisation differentiates one storyteller from another in this group. The study does not, however, imply that all storytellers at the time of Zanendaba made use of different languages to build their styles. Instead, the majority of them told in one language, mostly English. The continuation of the dramatic style as seen in Zenani, Mhlophe and these first storytellers can be understood within the context and repositioning and continuity of cultural practices in a multicultural society.

[11] Was a storyteller at Zanendaba.

3.8 Modern styles

In an interview with one storyteller, it transpired that among the known storytelling techniques that storytellers exhibit in their performances is the use of language in a manner that can define a storyteller's style. Without a form of language, there is hardly an oral performance. Language involves the incorporation of sign language, and this is a critical element in a storytelling performance or any oral narrative. That the use of it may provide a window through which one gains access to some internal processes going on in producing storytelling styles.

While the storyteller states that manipulation of language assists in the building up of stylisation, Lipman (1993) is of the opinion that language in storytelling includes the use of two different languages in one story which requires a special skill from the storyteller; and that it influences the way the story is told eventually. Mhlophe's performance showed how language establishes uniqueness in ones' delivery style.

Language becomes important in separating traditional and modern styles as seen with other modern storytellers. Storytellers themselves are mostly either bilingual or multilingual. One respondent says, "I feel that languages have different forms of energy." Subsequently, the arrangement of words and phrases in the story determines a response from the audience, aesthetic of the story and consequently a style. The majority of storytellers indicated that they generally use more than one language in their presentations. They do this in two ways, either through code-switching or code-mixing merely throwing in words from the other language.
These two methods produce two different outcomes. In code-switching, the technique brings about a balanced conveyance of information, especially if audience members do not speak the same language as the storyteller. Code-switching style, to a certain extent, accommodates bilingual groups. Intervals within which the storyteller switches from one language to the other and the smoothness of the transition are managed by the creativity and expertise of the storyteller. "I even change the accent to fully give respect to the linguistic codes of that language," one storyteller says. Language proficiency in both languages is necessary and critical. By trying to fit into the linguistic codes of the listeners, storytellers impact on identification where the storyteller identifies with his or her audience.

Although all styles eventually communicate to the imperatives of social cohesion and the like, code-switching specifically achieves this by means of identifying with the audience's language. An example of a story in two different languages is performed by Bongi Kotta who works for Freedom Park as a storyteller there. Kotta's style resembles that of a traditional storyteller; she displays heavy dramatic body and facial movements. Bongi is the youngest storytellers coming from Zanendaba; she has adopted the same style as most Zanendaba storytellers, in particular, pioneer storytellers such as Nkomo and Mhlophe. Her style is that of the storytellers like Mhlophe, Nkomo and others. She does storytelling for the museum visitors. Ndibizwe Ngabadala is one of her personal stories that she performs.

Figure 3: Performance of a story to an audience

3.9 Ndibizwe ngabadala story by Bongiswa Kotta

Looking into an old small suitcase filled with memories, she pulled out a picture, stared at it "*Ingabe kwakhala nyonini ngoNoma*. I wonder what happened to Noma." Said my grandmother is talking to her daughter, my mother. I was only five years old when I heard them talking about aunt Noma. The next morning my grandmother prepared for our journey. "Don't take her with you this time please Ma," said my mother with a soft voice. With wisdom running through her veins, Makhulu said, "*Kuzomkhulisa lokhu*, this will be beneficiary for her in the future."

The next thing *Makhulu* and I were on the road, it was still dark outside, but we walked, and walked, and walked for kilometres. I was not aware of where we were going, but I followed. From a distance, we heard sounds of different drums and people singing, "*Wethongo lam" ndilamlele, 'wethongo lam.*" "*Khawuleza Mzukulu, khawuleza bengekasuki,* walk fast my granddaughter, walk fast," said my grandmother in desperation. We finally arrived; we heard

the sound "*Iyehhh, iyehhh, Vumani Bo*!" That was uMaNdlovu the well-known traditional healer in the family. "*Siyavuma*!" Responded the crowed that was standing by the kraal. "iyehhh, iyhoo!" Pointing at a white cow, then at the gate of the kraal. I could not understand what she was saying; she was shaking her head heavily, the next thing she fainted. That's what I thought; only to find out that, no, she did not faint! She went into a trance. The song continued as the drums were beating, then she came out of the trance. "This is the cow that Noma drank milk from before her disappearance, we will dedicate it," She said, "*Camagu*!" the crowd agreed. We had also joined the crowd, singing and dancing but now moving forward following uMaNdlovu.

We arrived at the river before the sun came out, suddenly the weather changed, it became colder, the grass withered, and the stones looked like they wanted to talk. After a long session of deep spiritual singing I saw uMaNdlovu taking out the African tobacco (BB) and snuff, placed it on a traditional plate, made of grass; it floated. I saw the plate floating through to the mid centre of the river; it twisted itself as if it was dancing! My eyes were wild opened, but it suddenly disappeared into the water. There was a little bit of excitement as a miracle had happened in front of my eyes. I was amazed at what I had just seen; I kept on pulling my grandmother's dress, *"Makhulu! Makhulu!"* I was calling her softly. I wanted to ask many questions. She looked at me with that eye and she said ….. "*Thula Mzukulu ubuza yonke into le, thula"* with her finger on her mouth; I knew I had to keep quiet. People looked without a blink; they could not explain to themselves or understand what they were seeing. The junior traditional healers were there too watching, looking as if they were on a high spiritual realm, in a trance of some sort.

Thereafter, uMaNdlovu commanded for the cow to be brought forward. The cow was led into the river, it entered the water, the cycling water took the cow to the middle, and suddenly the water shaped up in the air and twisted around the cow, from head to the body down to its legs. The cow was dead quiet, not even a small sound; it really understood what was happening. My jaws dropped, other people too were confused. But by then the excitement had increased because it all felt like I was watching a movie. From the very centre where the plate of BB snuff, *Umqombothi*, *impepho* and the big cow had disappeared into; "Wow…There came out my Aunt *UNomathamsanqa*." But first there was a big movement in the water, it started from underneath, the movement moved up and up twisting upwards. Months after her disappearance my aunt appeared out of that hectic water movement. With so much beauty, without any blemish or a mere scar on her face, wearing a white traditional Xhosa attire and a lot of beads, without any word, she walked on water, *wena owabona uJesu ehamba phezu kwamanzi,* exactly like we hear the story of Jesus walking on water. Other traditional healers could not stop groaning, calling her with her clan names, others were falling. No one was allowed to cry. To my surprise even to this day, my aunt was dry, dry, only her feet were wet as she walked on water coming to us. I had never seen such fine-made beads, one could not look at her in the eyes, and although I was a child, I could feel a presence of a highly spiritual being. Her eyes looked extremely peaceful. People sang and ululated even more as we took her back home.

"Makhulu where is aunty coming from; are there people under the water, *Makhulu* is there plates, chickens or many cows under the water, can I go there too? I asked these many questions with amazement. My grandmother went, "whaaaaaa hahahaha," laughing. "One day *mzukulu* you will understand; you see the things of the spirit belongs to the spirit until then you will never understand them unless one day *nawe uyobizwa ngabadala,"* she said. I did not understand, but I just nodded my head.

As I grew up, I understood exactly what all that meant, maybe my grandmother knew, maybe she felt it, maybe she pronounced the gift when she said: "*Kuzomkhulisa lokhu*, this will be beneficial for her in the future." Today I am into the things of the spirit. I never went missing,

but I got lost along the way and I made mistakes trying to find my way. Well, sure, I have never appeared from the water either, but I can see, I can hear, I have been given powers to heal; I understand and feel the higher power with every inch of my being. I'm different, I'm called, and I'm chosen by God. And today I'm grateful to my Grandmother, my aunt for preparing me to accept my calling, although not directly from my ancestors but from God. Well, people's experiences always differ because of *andibizwanga ngabadala kodwa Nam Ndibizwe Ngophezulu!* The end.

3.9.1 *Discussion*

Of interest in the discussion is the language as a means of style rather than a means of communication. Another storyteller says that she uses two languages when telling a story, "Because different languages add a particular look and feel in the story. It creates color in the performance, which I don't feel when I use one language. That's my style." The storyteller utilises rhythmic patterns since languages possess distinct rhythms and how storytellers play around those depends on each one of the storytellers' creativity. On the contrary, one of the storytellers says, "Although I sometime mix languages, I prefer to use one language from start to finish, but in between throw in one or two words from another language, especially when I want to make people laugh." For him, telling in one language produces a smooth progression in the story, and the feeling is not the same when he interchanges languages. Although sometime he tells in two or three different languages, he maintains, "But, it's like the flow is braking."

Another method of language use involves throwing in words of a different language, employing code-mixing because codes that mixed strive to reach out to audiences that possess a language other than the one spoken by the storyteller. In this case, the audience understands either one or both languages. Words that are within socio-cultural boundaries, such as those taken from idiophone, for example, an expression to describe a troublesome person, Kotta would say, *'azithi triiiiii'*; meaning the character was known to be problematic. These words are usually thrown into the story; they are usually intended for humor, which can be interpreted and comprehended culturally. For Lipman (1999), systems of different language applications by storytellers are determined by storytellers' conflict that arises between the need to staying true to one's linguistic boundaries and the urge to teach others about one's cultural demeanor. Therein, creative application of two or more languages can partially solve a potential conflict that arises from wishing to affirm one's indigenous language, while still ensuring that your audience, to a greater extent, understands the stories being told.

Undoubtedly, language impacts on all levels of storytelling, but other styles emanate from cultural oral narratives like chanting, poetry and singing, which due to their intense various rhythmic patterns and audience involvement create certain stylisations. Storytellers are different, and so is the way they coordinate their techniques to produce a style. However, Malefu Mahloane, from Kwesukela,[12] emphasises that a form of training is needed for one to develop a style; that means mastering one's storytelling skill. Despite the fact that the NGOs offer a space for interaction among their storytellers, that there is no proper, consistent storytelling education remains a major drawback to the storytelling field. This sentiment was shared by many storytellers. The following subsections discuss some of the styles that were observed during performances.

3.10 Chanting

Chanting is similar to call and response songs. In the Chanting style, the story is chanted out in a rhythm that lies between singing and talking soliciting a response from the audience. There must be a phrase that an audience is taught by the storyteller with which to respond. The storyteller then tells a story in between these vocalized phrases by the audience; the audience gets involved in the story from the beginning to the end.

Okpewho (1994) underscores the utility of language use and says that because of the rich rhythms embedded in story chanting, the application of a relevant language is very important. A storyteller who engages in this style enhances the aesthetics of the story by adding rhythms, especially because storytelling in this form is usually done in an African language, if that is the storyteller's first language, even for audiences of different language groups.

Traditional chanting was utilised mostly for larger audiences to keep the audience's attention. For storytellers, chanting brings about aesthetic in performance and is effective in activating emotional responses from audiences. Chanting storytelling style emerges from the knowledge of traditional call and response practices. According to two storytellers, Majesty Mnyandu and Sanelisiwe Ntuli,[13] that have coined this style, because of strong rhythm patterns in chanting, it appeals to audiences regardless of language knowledge.

[12] She joined Kwesukela Storytelling Academy in 2012 having graduated with Linguistic Technology from Wits
[13] They were trained at Kwesukela as storytellers. Mnyandu is from Gauteng and Ntuli from KZN.

Ntuli chants tell her stories in isiZulu. Through chanting, she tells the story of a "Grandmother and Pig, *UGogo neNgulube*." It is an old folktale that had always been told in a narrative form, a type that falls under the category of cumulative stories. In cumulative stories, different characters work together to fulfil a certain task. There is always an initiator of the task, in this case, the grandmother needs help and asks various animals and things to help her.

3.10.1 The Grandmother and the Pig by Sanelisiwe Ntuli

Once upon a time, there was a grandmother who had a pig. One afternoon, the grandmother wanted her Pig to get into the coop because it was getting dark. "Pig, pig, get into the coop it is going to be dark soon" called the grandmother.
The pig was still enjoying himself outside, so he refused, "no, I don't want to," he told the grandmother. The grandmother called the stick and told it to hit the pig so that he went into the coop. The stick refused. The old grandmother called the fire and told it to burn the stick, the fire refused. She called the water and told her to put out the fire, the water refused. She called the cow and asked him to drink the water, and the water will put out the fire, the fire will burn the stick, the stick will hit the pig, and the pig will get into the coop. "No, I don't want to," said Cow.
The grandmother thought she should try the rope, she knew Cow was scared of being tied up, she asked the rope to tie the cow up, but the rope refused. The grandmother saw the mouse, and said: "Mouse, bite this rope, so it will do what I tell it to do." "No, I don't want to," said the Mouse. A cat passed by, she was very hungry and looking for food. The grandmother promised the cat some milk if she would agree to bite the mouse, so that the mouse bites the rope, the rope ties up the cow, the cow drinks the water, the water puts out the fire, the fire burns the stick, the stick hits the pig so that the Pig gets into the kraal.
Since the cat was very thirsty, she did not ask many questions, but immediately ran to catch the mouse, the mouse started biting the rope, the rope jumped up to tie up the cow, the cow began drinking the water, the water began putting out the fire, the fire began burning the stick, the stick began biting the pig, the pig ran into the coop. The food for the pig was already waiting in there. The grandmother was happy; she thanked the cat and gave her a lot of milk. From there on, the three of them, the pig, the grandmother, and the cat lived together happily as one family. The End.
Ntuli tells the story in this chanting form

3.10.2 *Ugogo nengulube by Sanelisiwe Ntuli*

Ntuli: Kwak'khona ugog' ogugile

Audience: Two Sheleni

Ntuli: Ugogo eneNgulube.

Audience: Two Sheleni

Ntuli: Way' tshel' ukuth' ingen'ehhokweni

Audience: Two Sheleni
Ntuli: Ingulube yath' ayifun'

Audience: Two Sheleni
Ntuli: Ugogo wabiza induku

Audience: Two
Ntuli: Ukuthi ishay' iNgulub'
Audience: Two Sheleni

3.10.3 *Discussion*

The story continues until the grandmother calls a cat which agreed to help the grandmother. The chain starts again but now in reverse. In the end, the stick beat the Pig which then went into the coop. This story has not changed since it was told a long time ago.

Sane told it in 2010, using the same animals and the sequence similar to the old version. She only changed the method or the style of telling it. She has found new ways of narrating the story. Chanting style is a fusion of music, narration, chanting, and talking and audience involvement. Timeous interjection from both sides of the narrator and the responder is critical otherwise the rhythm is compromised; thus the purpose gets defeated. Correct rhythms and voice intonation are key in the chanting style which in turn counts to challenges encountered by first time users of this style. Thus, the crafting of style and its implementation require a skilled storyteller.

Figure 4: Telling a story and imitating an old woman with a walking stick

Kotta-Ramushwana of Freedom Park tells a story of the Frog with a Problem using a chanting style as well, the style which was copied from Ntuli. One of the disadvantages of the chanting storytelling style relates to familiarity. The musicality of chanting is. However, culture bound. Thus, it works well with an audience familiar with the sounds. The storyteller receives positive responses from audiences familiar with the rhythm.

Secondly, because of the rigidity of the sound, teaching unfamiliar audience the response consumes time and slows the energy down. Yet, its prominent advantage is the ability to accommodate multicultural audiences due to its pleasing rhythmic effect if the storyteller has the skill to get them involved. Even the audience who cannot understand the language, by merely listening to the rhythm as the storyteller delivers the narrative the audience is introduced into a new cultural sphere. While engaging in chanting style, words are chosen carefully to fit within the narrative and response so that the rhythm is not disturbed.

3.11 Conversational style

We are told that grandmothers in the past sat around the fire with the whole family present, they told stories. These women presented their stories without much movement, but made use of hand gestures and voice for characterisation, and mostly sang in the middle of the story. Generally, dramatisation exists in various forms including the use of voice and hand

movements. However, for the Conversational style, the concentration is given to the entire body movement rather than gestures only.

Within the family storytelling setup, the storyteller usually assumed to be a mother or a grandmother, narrated stories sitting down on a traditional mat. Rural adult storytellers interviewed demonstrated this sitting style as well. The study does not, however, imply that sitting down is a conversational style. In essence conversational style is the opposite of the highly dramatic style observed in traditional storytelling.

Although modern storytellers, in general, rarely tell stories sitting down, Sane, on the contrary, has adopted a behaviour of telling sitting down on a mat on the stage. For her, this serves to give respect and appreciation to women storytellers that came long before her. That style resembles that of an almost motionless grandmother who is found exhibited by modern storytellers. However, there are some noticeable similarities concerning their movement. Although these storytellers do not sit down while telling their stories, they do not move much. Just like the sitting grandmother, they use their hands and voices and no other body movements.

In the like-manner there are reasons behind the employment of this style. Some new storytellers join storytelling with reasonable academic training in various fields; not necessarily in the performing arts. They come from the fields of Education, Psychology, African Languages, Law, Journalism, Religion and the like. They enter the field of storytelling with no relevant experience but a passion for the art. Given this background, it becomes important to look at how this group of new storytellers applies the same techniques which, at the same time, can be influenced by their academic experiences.

To understand the styles of these new storytellers, I observed and analysed the performances of two storytellers, Wazi Kunene and Malefu Mahloane. These are two young women storytellers whose performance attires do not match the popular dress code of traditional attire that is preferred within the storytelling fraternity. Both of them are graduates. Mahloane is a graduate student of Wits African languages and relatively new in storytelling. According to her, the way one dresses does tell a story. Although that Mahloane narrates her stories standing, she moves minimally during rendition. She constantly varies hand gestures and voice to employ characterisation, to invite the audience to listen and be attentive when

incorporating whispering tactics and use utilizes gestures when imitating township gossips. Consequently, actions of a gossiper or informer are infused in her performance. She informs the audience and makes them aware of what is or what happened; and engages the audience by asking questions without expecting an answer. Sometimes the questions are directed from one character to another. The story is structured in a manner that brings out specific interpretations or meanings different from the one guessed by audience members. This makes the plot of her stories complicated, and the suspense becomes interesting. She has developed a style that Lipman (1999) has called an "Aha", whereby it is only at the end of the story that the intrigue is revealed According to Sobol (1994), this style is known as the conversational storytelling.

She tells stories about problems that the general society of the African community in South Africa experiences. She maintains originality through and through, by using her normal voice. The effect of this style on the audience makes her storytelling intellectually participatory. Although there may be no overt participation observed during her performances, there is participation at the intellectual level as the audience works with her in knitting together the story and navigating through the meaning. The participation is made possible by questions she throws in while the story progresses.

Mahloane's performances are dominated by quiet delivery, humor, intrigue and intellectuality. All these elements impact on psychology and emotions as opposed to external physical aspects inspired by, for example, dress codes, body movements and the like. This also enhances the performance and meaning of the story differently. Mahloane displays typically constitute a conversational style.

There are striking similarities between Mahloane and Kunene. Kunene is known for employing the conversational style too. Kunene's narration is also dominated by less drama regarding body movement and calm voice variation. What then is the difference between the two storytellers? The difference is traced back to their artistic skills. While they both write and perform their own stories, Kunene is a poet, a storyteller, and a jazz musician. She employs some of these skills in her telling. Her storytelling performance is dominantly colored with poetry. This hybridisation of artistic disciplines makes her a performer whose style is yet to be defined.

Three concepts are prominent in Kunene's storytelling style, and these are poetry, literacy and narration. She is efficient with words; the beauty of language comes out in her telling due to how she mixes words together. The literacy that she brings in the telling involves the fusion of poetry and storytelling. In this thesis, Kunene's style is defined and termed '*umxoximbo,* from the words *Umxoxi* and *imbongi*. Poetic storyteller blends poetry and storytelling.

The above storytellers use the most popular technique in storytelling which is an animated presentation. Probably this is the style that people associate mostly with storytelling. By far, to some people, it has become the definition of storytelling. The conversational style is in congruent with how grandmothers told stories around the fire. They sat down telling stories with minimal body and hand movements. Nozi of Kwesukela tells the story of the killing of cattle commissioned by the apartheid government to limit the possession of wealth by Africans. The story is titled uBaba Madela.

3.12 Baba Madela story by Freedompark storytellers

This happened in the West, in the South, in the North and the East in all corners of the country of South Africa. Shaka, the King had long come and gone. It was that year, the year of darkness; the year of dust. It was the year of screams and pains. At *KwaNomdiya village,* on the Eastern part of the country where the sun rises - Madela's family was not spared from this calamity. One day two men came to Madela's household just before the sun went down. Children were still playing outside on the dusty ground; mothers were coming back from the fields for other house chores, but especially for their supper of *isijingi*, pap mixed with pumpkin. Madela's wife, *uMaMthemb*u was home as usual and baba Madela too. Let me tell you a little bit about Madela's wife *uMaMthembu*; this woman was a particular type of woman, she never went out, unless for some specific errands. She was known to be one of the wisest women in the village because she had a special gift of seeing in The future, she was known as *"ugog' uMaMthemb'othandazayo*. However, this time, I can tell you, gogo MaMthembu did not see it coming. The two strange men that came to her home that day were not ordinary men; they were of a different race than that the villagers knew but not used to. They were white skinned, talking of really *Boers*, farmers. You should have seen them with their long rifles, chest out, walking in long strides. A smile on their faces? No, not at all; there was no reason for a smile; it was a war at its best.

You see, that year was the year of cattle reduction, to put it mildly. It was called Cattle Culling. A law had been passed that no family or man was allowed to own over a certain number of cows. Moreover, animals were not allowed to eat on land which was suddenly reserved for Whites only communities. If you had over and above the rationed number, there was one solution, *imbumbulu*, the gun unto those animals. Villagers would hear loud screams of women, and suddenly knew only one thing; that *imbumbulu* had arrived in so and so's household, true, each family waited for its turn. This time around it was Madela's turn that his over and above a number of cattle would be chopped, *kliii!*

The two white men came stood next to the kraal with their rifles facing the cows, greeting? Nope, there was no need. As if the cows were sensing some danger, they mowed deeply in mourning voices with their head looking down. Madela and some family members stood outside watched the two white men preparing their action; the family wondered which cow would lead the fall. First, the two Boers counted the cattle. As expected a lot more were over and above. So the first *imbumbulu* went off, in a loud noise *Qhu*!, one cow went down, *gilikidi!* The second imbumbulu followed, it went off, *Qhu* one cow went down, *gilikidi*! Each time *imbumbulu* went off the next cow went down. The action was so precise as if it had been rehearsed longer than normal, even for the whole month. The gun went qhu! The cow went *gilikidi! Qhu! Gilikidi, Qhu! Gilikidi*. The sound went on without stopping because baba Madela was not a small man by the standard of treasure, he had many cows. However, he had no gun; he only had a spear which was no match for the gun, *imbumbulu*.
Each time a sound went *Qhu! Gilikidi*, a pain pierced in his heart even deeper. The only time that *baba* Madela could not hold himself was when imbumbulu went *Qhu* and his most favourite cow, uFakude, went *gilikid*i. At that and without thinking twice, *baba* Madela ran into the house, grab his *umkhonto*, spear; went straight to the guys with guns, he was about to pierce his *umkhonto* to the first Boer, the white man jumped to the side dogging the spear, baba Madela missed. The other one forgot about the cows but faced the *imbumbulu* to baba Madela. *Baba* Madela did not care, as long as his favourite cow was dead, he was as good as dead too. He charged forward with his spear; the two men went on shooting at him. At that moment, *Baba* Madela's wife, ugog' *uMaMthembu*, who for all this time was pacing up and down the dusty yard with a cow's tail switch calling on *Umvelinqang*i, calling on the family ancestors, pleading for messy – could not hear the rhythm of the falling cows but suddenly heard screams of women and children when her husband was being shot. She did not stop what she was doing; she continued praying pacing up and down her yard. Only after the noise and screams subsided did *gogo MaMthembu* stopped and looked. She hoped that the last man standing would be her husband. It is said that baba Madela managed to stab one of the white men who then ran away as fast as his legs could carry him. He was followed by his colleague.
Now the story tells us that of all the incidences of cattle killing of that time in that village or anywhere nearby, nothing like that had ever happened. *Baba* Madela with all those bullets shot at him not even a single one of them touched his skin, but the coat that he was wearing was flooded with bullet holes. Moreover, those bullet holes in the coats could still be seen long after his death, many years after the incident. The coat was kept for many generations to see it. People in that village always said the coat continued to tell the story of brave *baba* Madela who saved few of his cows. But together with others, his favourite cow also went *Gilikidi*.

The phrase '*Gilikidi*' gives an impression that at some point the audience or listener will have to respond. This, however, turns out not to be the case; instead, the story would move still with more interjections like, "You remember in the beginning I told you about this or that." That is how the storytellers involve their audiences in the story. In this style, there is much less body movement, but more hand gestures and voice variations. They both apply special precision in their articulation of words; they emphasise some of these words. They emphasise either through a certain way of articulating the word, facial expression or by hand. They both lean forward as they stress parts of the story.

The main difference between Mahloane and Kunene is in the content of their stories. Mahloane's stories are straight narrative, and she sustains the style until the end. For example, in this story:

Figure 5: A story on Ways of learning

3.12.1 Ways of learning story by Malefu Mahloane

They say there was once a widowed Old Man popularly known as *Motho wa Batho* because of his humanity, Ubuntu. He lived in the village of Thaba Phatswa with his seven children. The Old Man and his sons and daughter worked together daily as a unit; planning, organizing, and directing their household and its affairs. Every member of the family had a role they played. One was responsible for handling cattle, another family portion of the village fields, others the trading of the family produce such as milk, eggs, vegetables and so on. Even though everyone would be immersed in their duties during the day - theirs was a five to five working day - in the evening, they had a tradition whereby they would all come together at the fire place outside to discuss the events of the day. Here they would eat, drink, and sometimes they would sit watching the stars and the moon and listening to the sounds of night life.

That being so, there was one thing that was constant with these evening gatherings, the Old Man would always remind his children about the reasons why they had to all gather around the fire place in the evening; it was a reminder that they were each a part of a whole.

'Ke a kgolwa le lemohile hore ha esale le tswalwa ha hona mohlang re sa tleng mona tjhebeleng mantsiboa amang le amang. Ntle le ha e le mariha. The children laughed together with their father at his last statement in agreement that it was only during winter that the family did not gather around the fire place in the evenings because in winter they took the fire inside carried in old aluminium tanks that had holes in them to allow the fire to breath. 'Do

you ever wonder why I never allowed you to sit outside this circle?' he asked with a calm grin.' This circle represents unity, interdependence, a continuing link of support and thus ensures our stability. Our family circle represents the very nature of humanity and how life should be on earth; none of us is without the other,' said the Old Man, slowly looking across the circle and maintaining eye contact with each of his children. He had eyes so full of passion and warmth that they glittered against the moonlight.

It was a natural heritage of the people of Thaba Phatswa to create social meaning from the things that surrounded them, *Motho wa Batho* was no exception, he liked telling his children about the philosophies of round structures. 'Look at the moon, the sun, the dam, even our kraals and our huts themselves; you see how they all take a round form. The sun, for instance, it rises as a beautiful calm whole that travels through the sky in the same circular form, and although the sun spreads its rays into different directions during the day, the rays shrink back in, and the sun resumes the form it took when it rose in the morning. ‘We are like the sunrays; we rise together, spread to our different chores, but return to the centre in the evening.'

This family tradition went on for years and the principle behind it, which the Old Man made it a point to remind his children of every night, kept this family strong for years. Even though some of the sons married, they did not leave their father's yard; they lived in close proximity to their father’s hut and continued to lead their lives as they had been doing over the years. With time, things were changing around the world, and there came the period of industrialization which saw a lot of young men and women from small villages migrating to urban areas. Amid these changes the Old Man did not for once think that any of his children would be attracted to the idea of leaving their own fields and livestock to go and work under the thumb of another. Until one night his youngest daughter, Mmabatho approached him saying that she would soon leave for the urban area to seek for even for greater treasures of the world.

The Old man was disappointed and tried to convince his daughter that there was nothing for her away from her 'herd'. He said she would not receive the support she needed there and would forever feel in isolation no matter how crowded the place was because everyone there was looking out for themselves. He tried to convince the daughter further saying that, she was approaching marriage age and would soon find a great man to marry and take care of her. The Old man's words did not penetrate the skull of the daughter because her decision had been long premeditated so, she rejected advice. In this village the people had a saying for such situation, that is, when a child did not take to heart the advice of elders that, O tla utlwa ka letlalo, 'if the ear won't perceive, it is the flash that will suffer.'

There came the day when the young woman would take off to the City of Lights. A few days before then she took to the nearby town where she bought a new suitcase and new clothes with all that she had accumulated from working the asparagus fields - this was big money, and she bought a small brown envelop to store the rest of her cash money. You see, before this period of industrialization, people of Thaba Phatswa battered goods for goods and services for services or goods for services and vice versa, in this way no one ran out of anything, and if you did, you could always get it from a neighbour in exchange for a thing that they needed from you. Trade was a circular phenomenon. Even though they did make money from selling from an outsider, they barely had a need for it because their earth fed them, and this is how Mmabatho had a lot of savings from her hard work.

On the day of her departure, the young woman rose before the sun and went to meet her peers who had already established dwellings in the industrial areas, most of which were mining areas and factories. These other young women and men lived in hostels and always stuck together in the city because they understood the importance of being a part of a group, and Mmabatho was expected to stick with them as one of theirs. She would now have a new

circle to rely on for support, away from home. This gave her father some hope. The young people of Thaba Phatswa arrived in the city after long hours on the train. On arrival, Mmabatho could not help but think a fool of her peers who had chosen to stay in overpopulated untidy hostels while just across the bridge there were neater, tall buildings, with 'houses on top of houses' as she thought. In the village she had a respectable family and led a respectable life, she was not going to stay in filth. 'No!' Out of anger, she left her home girls and boys and was disappointed that they did not aspire for the better. This was ridiculous according to her.

As she wandered the long streets amidst the tall buildings, the young woman came across a well-presented man- neater than those she had seen at the hostel- who appeared to be a hawker, he had in front of him nibbles and cigarettes that were sold to passers-by. He also had a little baby wrapped in blankets besides him. The man seemed to be in distress, and he called out to the young woman, "Sister, sister could you please spare me a minute?" plead the man. "I am stuck here, and it is getting late. I was supposed to go to the bank office to send money to my child who is in another town to come to the city; the Chinese factories are hiring, and he needs to be here before the end of the day. However, I cannot go to the bank office because they do not allow small children inside," he said pointing to the baby wrapped beside him. "Would you please take this envelope, it has 2 Pounds in it to send it to his bank office account? The address is here." Being the compassionate person that she was at heart, the young woman did not hesitate to help. "Oh, but wait," said the man. "How do I know that I can trust you...? Is there anything of yours that I can hold on to as assurance that you will return?" The man's proposition sounded in order, and Mmabatho thought, to assure the gentleman that she was transparent and honest; she would leave all her belongings with the man.

She went on as directed by the man, looking for the bank office until she reached a deadlock. Seeing as she was not finding the bank office, the young woman then saw it better to return and perhaps offer to look after the man's baby while he goes on to the bank office himself. However, on her way back, she found that the man had vanished into the thick, cold air of the city space. Her bags including the one with her 1000 pounds 60 pence! For a moment the young woman thought that because the little one wrapped was still there, that the man would come back, but as she looked closely, she realized that it was not even a baby at all. Later, someone would inform her that there was no way the bank would be open on that day as it was a Sunday. Because of her little knowledge of the city regulations, the young woman wandered the streets of the city past the time restriction that black people were allowed to walk around that part of the city. This led to her arrest and short imprisonment at the Woman's Jail called City of Lights Correctional Services, Johannesburg.

Although she had led herself into isolation, she met other women in the jail who told her stories of their struggles and national struggles. This became her new circle. She drew inspiration from these other women, realizing the work that needed to be done and this sprout in her a new hope for her life; that she was not lost, after all, believing that her subconscious had led her to her new purpose - to be a part of a community of women who after their imprisonment, continued to fight the powers that subordinated their rights as women and those of their communities at large. After her jail time, Mmabatho found shelter with one of her mates from the prison who owned a four-roomed house. She lived and ran a night school in the house. She introduced Mmabatho to the concept of comradeship. In the long run, Mmabatho came to make Johannesburg her new home, much aware of the tricksters who posed as gentlemen; she would not be deceived ever again. With the first money she received from helping the friend to clean and prepare for the classes in the evening, her first thought was to go home.

On the following weekend, she took the train back to Thaba Phatswa carrying gifts for her brothers and sisters as well as her father. She determined that she would always go back to her father’s house, to visit her living family and those who have passed; to visit their graveyards and sprinkle snuff over their graves and ask them to guide her and her fellow freedom fighters in Johannesburg. When she left for Johannesburg again, Mmabatho's father gave her herbs and organic vegetables from the mountains surrounding their area. The herbs were mainly for sale, and she sold them at her mate's school and at meetings with other comrades, "To make you strong and healthy comrades. Moreover, to make you immune to this Western magic that has turned some of us into co-marauders and sell-outs." She said, and the whole bunch laughed.
The End

Figure 6: Telling a story with emphasis

3.12.2 Why do we tell stories by Wazi Kunene

We tell stories to build shields around us. Protect the histories embedded in our lingual veins. With stories, we not only soak ink in papers, speak ideas but we are sharpening our listening skills, transcribing the tales of yesterday, knitting with wisdom the dreams thought impossible. We converse with winds, we challenge trends, and we rewire pages to stones, milestones as reminders of our journeys.
These were the words of Mama Ndaba at Entabeni village. She said these words to Lethiwe; she would be the first from Entabeni Village to leave for University in the coming months. Mama Ndaba told these words to Lethiwe as a message to the King of Entabeni village. However, Mama Ndaba was the fastest speaker in this village; Lethiwe couldn't remember the first words of Mama Ndaba. Hesitant to ask for Mama Ndaba to repeat, Lethiwe walked

backwards, slowly until Mama asked, do you remember what I said Lethiwe? Lethiwe was so nervous but responded “please repeat Mama Ndaba. Just once more and I will remember every word.”

Mama Ndaba repeated her message for the King**.** We tell stories to build shields around us. Protect the histories embedded in our lingual veins. With stories, we not only soak ink in papers, speak ideas but we are sharpening our listening skills, transcribing the tales of yesterday, knitting with wisdom the dreams thought impossible. We converse with winds, we challenge trends, and we rewire pages to stones, milestones as reminders of our journeys.

Now go, she said clapping her hands fast so that Lethiwe would know how urgent this message had to get to the King. Lethiwe ran off as fast as she could, going over the message, chanting words she thought would make it easy for her to remember.

“Milestones, Yesterday, Stories. Hawe ma! Will I remeee…., *Yoo*?”

This was an important and urgent message. A message that could save the community! You see, what had happened is that the King of Entabeni Village had ordered all families to sacrifice three members who would chop off their tongues. The King had decided that there was too much noise pollution and there was a tendency of people interrupting him when he spoke, *shwishwishwi.* “Always talking, these people must be quite and listen to me!” The King would cry out, he decided no more, he was tired! He called for the chopping of the tongues. Two family members in each home!

This devastated people of the village, they were in so much distress. They didn't know whom to sacrifice from their families; some were eager to have other people's tongues chopped off. Like those, they believed to be village tabloids and known to be spreading around everybody’s secrets. Some people started acting like they did not have tongues, *uhmuhmuhm*, like they could not speak. So many people even stopped talking, hoping that the King would change his mind or have mercy on them. It was a mess! In the past, the village had gone through draught, fires that burnt people's homes and even plagues but this was the worst!

That is why Mama Ndaba sent Lethiwe to the King, with the message against chopping people’s tongues off, “chopping people's tongues will be an awful thing because, in this village, people tell stories.” These words were in Lethiwe’s mind as she kept running; she knew that this message could save her village from sacrificing their family members. However, as in the village, you could never pass people without greeting or them stopping you to find out how life was and where you are headed to. So, people asked her why she was running, and though she exchanged a few words, she knew she had an urgent message to get to the King. She continued running, even dogs started chasing her, one moment she fell into a shallow hole and snapped her flip-flops, she had a bump on her forehead, but she continued to run. Still chanting, milestones, yesterday, stories and now running barefoot.

Running faster as if the wind was pushing her forward, Lethiwe ran on and faster; she still remembered Mama Ndaba who is a short, intelligent woman, always had a blanket wrapped around her waist. She has a welcoming, happy face and always told stories to children. What many don’t know is that Mama Ndaba was not formally schooled but all she knew was what her Grandmother taught her through stories and life in the village. So Lethiwe ran with conviction, knowing the power of the tongue in Entabeni village.

When she got to the entrance of the King's palace, the guards wouldn't let her in. They said, “The King is still busy talking to his children, and he cannot be disturbed.” Lethiwe was very disappointed, but with that disappointment and also out of breath, she relayed the message and said. "Please tell the King, Mama Ndaba said, chopping people's tongues would be an awful thing because here we tell stories'

We tell stories to build shields around us. Protect the histories embedded in our lingual veins. With stories, we not only soak ink in papers, speak ideas but we are sharpening our listening

skills, transcribing the tales of yesterday, knitting with wisdom the dreams thought impossible. We converse with winds, we challenge trends, and we rewire pages to stones, milestones as reminders of our journeys.

She then walked back to Mama Ndaba and told her what had happened. That the guards wouldn't let her in to speak to the King, but "Mama Ndaba, I left the message with the guards" she said.

However, days later the King sent out his guards to give the village people five days to give out the names of three family members who would sacrifice their tongues. With his deep, loud voice the King said: "Tell them, if they don't choose whom they are scarifying, I will choose them myself!"

Days leading to the five days when the chopping would begin were hard for the people of Entabeni. No one could choose who would be sacrificed, and everybody was hoping the King would change his mind. However, the five days added up, guards had come to every house chopping tongues as the King had ordered, "Chop! Chop! Chop!" the sound of the knife went. Hhha hhha hhha! The victims cried out as the soil turned red with all the blood flooding!

From the young to the old, the knife went on, "Chop! Chop! Chop!" That was the saddest day for everyone at Entabeni village. For weeks nobody would speak or tell stories. Those with tongues were also speechless, they could not believe how cruel their King had become, and they couldn't continue their lives as nothing happened. The village was filled with silence. Quiet and in pain! However, if you were to come near the King's palace, you could hear him sing and laugh with his family. When other people heard of this, you would see tears falling and glistering their faces but without a sound.

A few months past and the village was still covered in silence, people spoke when they needed to, and most decided to act like they did not have tongues anymore in fear of the King deciding on another tongue chopping festival! The time came for Lethiwe to leave for University. She was always worried about her people back home, wondering if they would ever heal. She at times thought of ways to help them, but nothing came to her mind. This is because unlike her, two of her family members had their tongues chopped off on that fearful day.

However, little did she know that the Entabeni village women had a plan. Other villages had heard of what happened to the people of Entabeni and feared that their Kings would also decide to chop their tongues off. The women at Entabeni village noticed that they used their hands a lot when they talk and describe things. With that, they decided to create hand signs that had meanings for everything. So did begin the creation, schooling and use of a new language. A hand language!

People of Entabeni, with or without tongues used their hands to talk, and other villages came to Entabeni to learn using their hands to talk. Lethiwe too, when she was visiting home for holidays, learnt the language of the hands.

Laughter and stories were back at Entabeni village; it was like the spring season had begun and would not end, people were overcoming their loss. They understood that their minds were not chopped off but they could find other ways to tell stories, the tongue was just one of them.

People of Entabeni village continued protecting their custom of telling stories using their hands. As time passed, the people of Entabeni village gathered and decided it was time to remove the horrible King from his throne and elect a new leader. They stood together and protested till the King had no more power and was dethroned and ran away with his family. The people remembered Mama Ndaba, whose tongue was also chopped off but never the wealth of her mind and her selflessness. She had also tried to stop the horrible King from chopping people's tongues off. The people, without hesitation, elected Mama Ndaba to be the

new Queen of Entabeni village. Everybody was happy to have a leader that was wise and could relate to the people of Entabeni and preserving their way of life.
People of Entabeni village continued to tell stories to build shields around them. Protect the histories embedded in their lingual veins. With stories, they not only soak ink in papers, speak ideas but they are sharpening their listening skills, transcribing the tales of yesterday, knitting with wisdom the dreams thought impossible. They converse with winds, they challenge trends, and they rewire pages to stones, milestones as reminders of their journeys.

3.12.3 Discussion

Kunene, has also adopted a conversational style of storytelling performance. Having come from poetry and singing background, she does not sing much during performance but fuses her narration with poetic rhythms. Immediately when she transforms into poetic mode the feel of the story also changes. As a listener, your mind is moved to a realm of beauty rather than information seeking. In that, you no longer expect to know how it will all end but the mind starts to appreciate the aesthetic features of the art. She writes her stories as the one above, why we tell stories.

3.13 *Musical storytelling style*

There are many storytellers who have grasped control of this style. Within the musical storytelling, three storytellers' styles were analysed and variations compared with one another. The first presentation is that of a young woman storyteller, Zanele Ndlovu[14], whose performances were observed on three different occasions. Her articulation of words is concentrated on the front part of the mouth and ultimately gives a childish pronunciation of words.

Regarding dress code, she wears traditional African attire and beaded jewelry. Her African appearance is apparent in her facial cosmetic and hairstyle, dreadlocked hairdo. Another important feature that sets the storyteller apart from the rest of the other storytellers is her use of "*umakhweyane*" an African traditional musical instrument. Her possessing and playing this instrument for her storytelling performances put her in a different category of styles. She begins her performances with the sound of *umakhweyane*. Immediately, *umakhweyane* defines her as a storyteller with a particular style of performance. This is reflected in the way her audiences refer to her.

[14] Ndlovu is an independent storytelling working closely with Mhlophe.

Figure 7: Performing as well as playing her makhweyane for the audience

3.13.1 Discussion

Associating the use and display of musical instruments with a storytelling performance style of a performer can be based on the observation that styling of any kind is based on the desire to be unique, different, quintessential, rare and aesthetically outstanding. By using umakhweyana, Ndlovu's speciality is concretized in a particular manner. To affirm the importance of *umakhweyana* to this storyteller, as soon as she enters the stage she begins by explaining the meaning of the instrument within an African cultural context. Nevertheless, that Ndlovu is a young woman in her late twenties; her youthful voice still epitomizes ancient wisdom.

Ndlovu's performance style, as implied before, is musical. Rhythmic patterns emerge in her interlude, alternating singing and talking, as well as telling while playing and pausing. In her performances, she does not physically involve an audience that much, but agelessness messages in her stories make her storytelling appealing to both children and adult audiences alike. By and large, the application of varied techniques that are associated with the style of this storyteller's performance together requires a special definition and naming. The style is applied with a unique personal connection. Ndlovu has grounded herself into indigenous systems; attempts to stay within musical parameters. Okpewho (1977) points out that the stability of performance depends on a proper fit between the pace of the music and that of the words. Since there is no word that specifically describes this style, the research, in order to

further the discussion, the researcher calls this style, "*Umxoxedlala*" to mean that the storyteller is narrating while playing music at the same time. According to Okpewho nevertheless that learning to play an instrument is not easy, sounds of these instruments have a place in various facets of the social life of the communities they are found.

Ndlovu is not the only storyteller who uses this style. Mtumbateka Mamatsharaga is a male independent storyteller from Venda. He is not affiliated with any storytelling organization. He plays *Udende*, a Tshivenda version of *umakhweyana*. Mtumba is a highly dramatic performer; humorous with stories endowed with morals and values, wisdom and some mportant old teachings. He has acquired a reputation of being a "township clever" from his storytelling colleagues. This comes out clearly in his creative use of language, which is the township lingua franc that dominates his performances. He tells his stories while he plays his *udende*. This style here is also called 'Umxoxedla' storyteller.

Figure 8: Performing a story while playing an instrument

Figure 9: Performing together and explaining their instrument to audience

Moreover, like the majority of storytellers, they both strive to represent their cultures. Moreover, the traditional dress code has become one-way storytellers use to reflect their cultural backgrounds; the same applies to this storyteller, Mtumba from Tshivenda culture. Although Mtumba engages with contemporary stories, some of his stories are set in rural areas though they reflect modern experiences. A Scheub (2002) introduces a different kind of music and says that in a story music can be created through various means. “At the heart of the story is a device that evokes emotion. If the story lacks that inner spark, it is not really a story and has no power,” (Scheub, 2002: xiii). Herein, Scheub stresses a point that whatever device a storyteller uses to narrate a story, it should allow real life experiences are meaning; listeners should be part of the story, and those are possible, and the story has achieved its main purpose as it would have evoked the listeners’ emotions.

Although these three storytellers use indigenous musical instruments, they demonstrate different styles. Unlike Ndlovu and Mtumba, Mpho Molikeng is a percussionist; he plays and teaches how to play these music instruments. In addition to his indigenous musical instrument, for a performance, Mpho puts on his full Sesotho regalia that includes the hat and blanket, confirming adherence to his culture. Moreover, unlike most other storytellers who perform with one music instruments, Mpho plays other different kinds of these musical instruments, such as a drum, shakers, imbira and more.

Mpho employs slow pace tempo when telling, each word is emphasized, and sometimes his voice sounds like that of a wise old man in a village. He is not in a hurry to finish talking. He is, therefore, a patient storyteller, and his patience is reflected in his slow pace style of telling; not much body movements but hand gestures. He tells historical stories from his Moshoeshoe land of Lesotho; historical wars that his late kings fought with other African kings. He shows extensive knowledge of his community, culture and history. With his eyes wide open during 'high moments' of the story, the storyteller hooks his audience by implying that the next set of information is privileged information. Like Mahloane, Malikeng, sometimes presents information in the story in the form of gossip. Breneis (1992) considers gossiping a complex communicative phenomenon, serving a range of functions, both intended and not," (Brenneis, 1992: 151). Brenneis further explains that some folklorists maintain that gossip is an aesthetic and expressive act. They believe that gossips possess certain stylistic features and play a role in the expressive repertoires of particular communities.

One observable feature of gossip is whispering. This technique is used by the storyteller in places where he hopes to evoke suspense and sustain the audience's attention. Brenneis, (1992: 152) points out that while gossip "can threaten to disrupt relations with some – those talked about – it also can be an essential way of building and sustaining sociability, of weaving together a social web by weaving words together."

Figure 10: Entertaining learners using an old time instrument made by the performer

Mpho has drawn in some communication skills and stories from his community as they are reflected in their daily conversation. Between the storyteller's observations, natural practices within the community and communally engaging in those practices, the root of the style emerges. The merging of these ways of telling style created by this storyteller requires a distinct naming. Therefore based on the repertoire of his stories as well as the ways in which he delivers them. And due to unavailability of concepts that describes Malikeng's performance style, in this study is referred to as '*Insinsi*' style; the performance style that is grounded in the tradition defined by the type of stories he tells. Malikeng's stories contain historical messages that are infused with cultural insinuations; moreover, he plays what he calls, percussions, which according to him are primarily African indigenous musical instruments, these are, drums, imbira, horn, flute etc.; he plays all of them alternatively, during the performance. Malikeng's representation of his history and culture is congruent with Wilson's assertion that, " What storytelling often represents, to storytellers is, something that, even if it is not always truly traditional, does at least reach out to the past and represents a connection to history and humanity, a sense of continuity, (Wilson, 2006: 45).

3.14 Umxoxibo style

The term 'UMxoxibo' is used specifically for this study and not beyond. Scheub (2002: 122) points out, "The oral tradition is never simply a spoken art; it is an enactment, an event, a ritual, a performance. Patterning of imagery is the most visible artistic actively, involving the blending of the contemporary world and the fanciful fabrication of the tradition." Ritualistic, is how Mnyandu's[15] style can be described. One prominent unique feature his style, which neither of storytellers practiced, is dancing, in particular as he enters the stage. It is rare that storytellers involve dance outside performance, often dance is done through characterization or characterizing a scene. In Mnyandu's case, dance is completely independent of the story. While some storytellers enter the stage singing, reciting a poem or even talking to the audience, Mnyandu does a dance. In other performances, live music was played before he entered dancing; at that point, the performance changes from an ordinary show to a spiritual scene; a form of a ritual.

[15] Mnyandu, a university young male graduate with a degree in drama, like other storytellers, has his own unique style.

Mnyandu has introduced his own style that is unusual in storytelling. His storytelling voice is his normal talking voice, the nuances of voice intonations, variation, pitch, exclamations or idiophones are as natural to his daily talking as to his storytelling. In terms of the voice intonation, Mnyandu has chosen his natural storytelling voice, the same manner Mahloane did. This style draws out appealing aesthetics in his performance. It comes through fusing narration, dance, music, singing and humor and more often than not Mnyandu's performance is characterized by animation.

Mnyandu says that he is attempting to make storytelling as attractive as possible because in democratic South Africa it is not prioritised like most other art forms. He has a hybridized style of performance where he fuses dance and music into storytelling. Mnyandu thinks of this style as a way of catching the attention of his audience." He says, "The hope is that once they have been attracted it would then be easier to make people fall in love with storytelling because they will be watching with anticipation what they love most. That is, music or dance, which they will expect to randomly come during that storytelling performance," explains Mnyandu.

Depending on the level of entertainment that the audience consumes in the performance, one cannot conclude that all storytellers are entertainers, but because of his style, Majesty qualifies to be labeled as such, an *umxoxibo*. He brings in an element that Sobol (1992) calls an 'aha" moment. 'Aha moment is juxtaposed to Haa moment where audience's emotions are put at rest at the end of the story, for the rest of the time, the audience wonders about the end of the story. In Mnyandu performance, the audience gets surprises from the beginning to end. Both moments, 'Aha' and 'Haa' moments can be intriguing.

3.14.1 Discussion

Undeniably, affiliation to NGOs assists in the development of styles. Storytellers within this structure work together and learn from one another; they strive to be the best in the career. In the process, they grow; consequently, the art also grows. However, the desire to be best seems to be further motivated by the reality of the scarcity of gigs. This reality is an unspoken truth that motivates them to improve and consequently find themselves within the narrow space of storytelling. Such a situation was different from the Nigerian situation which according to Barber (2002), the rise of the Nigerian popular theatre was inspired by an oil

economic boom. In that case, actors had relatively enough jobs as the people, in general, could spend for these shows. Barber argues, "If the presence of a crowded, waged, educated, and heterogeneous population, at the hub of Nigeria's commerce, stimulated cultural production in the Logos of the 1940s, it also gave it a specific form. Entertainments…were among the most eagerly awaited imports from Europe in the 1940s. But people did not merely consume what was brought to them in the merchant steamships. Innumerable amateur and a few professional local groups were formed whose activities included the staging of theatrical and musical shows of their own (Barber, 2002: 25). However, in South Africa, as much as there was funding available, Klotz, of Sibikwa, affirms that funding or even gate takings are in no way close to being enough to satisfy job needs of the artists, let alone running costs of the office. For Klotz, doing publicity also needs money. She says, "We do what we can do with the little that we have though it is not easy."

From their responses to questions like "how do you publicize yourself as a storyteller" - although not mentioned, one senses strong desire and hope that each performance done captivates enough interest from the audience to the point of generating additional work. On one occasion Sibikwa could not host its annual storytelling festival because they were unable to secure funding. There have been occasions when the organisation almost closed down, again due to unavailability of funds. The story at Kwesukela is not different from the rest. In 2013 and 2014 it lost some good storytellers for the same reason that there were no fund prospects. Zanendaba has its own financial problems.

When funds are available for projects, storytellers are motivated, dedicated and give more. Giving more sometimes comes in the form of being more creative and impressive, not necessarily only to the director who is often responsible for paying storyteller's fees, as well as who decides who should perform where – but to audiences as well. Audience members include Presidents of the country, Ministers, Ambassadors, Chief Executive Officers of large corporations or other high-profile personalities. Each one of these audience members could change a life of a storyteller at any moment. Storytellers are aware of this fact. They work hard to develop and display their individual skills and possibly outshine one another.

My findings indicate that the context under which NGOs storytellers work and some envisaged financial benefits encourage storytellers to ultimately work toward constantly relooking at their style. Consequently, the art itself progresses. This is not to say that

storytellers remain in the organisation only at the time when there is money. As revealed during interviews, some storytellers stick to their organizations even when there are no funds available at that time. They instead resort to other work not related to storytelling. Okpewho (1977) is of the view that oral artists end up doing work other than the art because governments play leap services when it comes to the arts. He furthermore argues that this state of affairs deprives oral artists' opportunities to work and grow in their art. Rananga (1994) holds similar view when he says that as long as the state does not fund storytelling consistently and efficiently, this art is on its way to the grave.

3.15 Conclusion

In this chapter, an argument was presented pertaining to a link between, a setting, personality and economic gains. Storytellers' experiences regarding their work and hosts were briefly discussed to gain an understanding of their standpoint on financial matters and how that affects them. That called for some creative delivery methods which would enable messages to come across with effect. Hence the relationships among these three elements were explored in the theory section. Assumptions were made to the effect that the styles resonate with audiences because of cultural common understanding of the phenomenon.

Commonly practiced styles of storytelling within traditional context were compared with styles that modern storytellers exhibit during their performances. As new styles were determined, processes from which they were developed were explained.

CHAPTER 4 RECYCLING TRADITIONAL ORAL TEXTS FOR MODERN STORYTELLING PERFORMANCE

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the types of storytelling material available for storytellers to deliver storytelling performances. It explores various ways that enable storytellers to create or find new material for performances purposes. The aim is to identify and name these materials; determine their sources and explain their emergence. The chapter also analyses the link between working under NGOs, being inspired to be better and the development of creativity. Data collected during interviews assisted in bringing out information related to locations where diverse materials for storytelling performance are sourced. Since storytellers are in the business of telling or selling stories, a story is the material resource that is needed by storytellers to present to audiences. As such, the focus of this chapter relates to how stories aimed for performances are developed how storytellers recognise them.

Kotta[16], a storyteller from Zanendaba says, "It is not uncommon for a storyteller to be asked a question as to, where they get stories to tell?" During interviews, storytellers conjointly attested that one of the most difficult tasks of a storyteller is to get stories. According to Kotta this question is further complicated by her Director Mhlophe who consistently advice that one should tell only stories that they like. "Don't tell a story you don't like," Kotta imitates Mhlophe. In addition, there is a popular cliché in the field which says, "a story chooses you rather you choosing the story," Furthermore, it can only be assumed that an increase in the number of storytellers expectedly results in the need for more performance material. Thus, identifying storytelling performance material locales remains relevant in this thesis, not only because this reiterates surge in the oral art, but as Irele (2001) points out that, advancement of orality reflects an idea of imaginative expression that could explain a comprehensive approach to literature.

Therefore the question that this chapter seeks to answer is, "where do storytellers find stories?" In pursuance of this goal, storytelling performances were observed and recorded. Story contents, structures and responses from interviews of recorded storytellers were analyzed; all for the purpose of determining excavation sites for new stories.

[16] She began telling stories at Zanendaba. She now works at Freedom Park as a full-time storyteller

The chapter is outlined as follows: The first part presents details on materials as a key to storytelling performance, and how storytellers incorporate a material in the story delivery. The other part of the chapter looks at the strategies and, methods that storytellers use to find materials; this includes storytellers' emotionality when choosing stories. Thereafter, four types of new storytelling performance material are described and critically analyzed; in addition, examples of stories are presented to support claims made. The conclusion section summarizes findings explored in the entire chapter.

4.2 Discovering new possibilities in primordial art

Even though on face value there is an abundance of stories from which storytellers can select, storytellers seem to be struggling when it comes to finding material for performances. Zodwa Radebe, the director of Kwesukela, thinks that the reason for the scarcity of performance material is caused by storytellers feeling that they have run out of traditional stories. "Although storytellers still want to continue telling these folktales, they also think there is a need to make the stories sound new, and storytellers are particular in choosing stories." Coplan (1997) says that every performance is a process of rearrangement of material already used. For Coplan performance, oral text is not regarded as an object rather presented as examples of imaginative discourse on the nature of self and social reality. Hence storytellers view these classic stories as current instead of being outdated.

The researcher noted a sense of possessing stories among storytellers and an instinctive urge to protect one's culture. As an illustration, while one storyteller cited an example of a storyteller from a certain racial group one requesting to tell an African story, another storyteller expressed dissatisfaction towards those who, in the storyteller's understanding, distort traditional stories from his isiXhosa culture. "Especially if that person does not belong to the culture," he said. Although the dissatisfaction of the storyteller is not interpreted as a reason for the shortage of performance material, it does indicate some level of territorialism when it comes to stories. On this subject, Waterman (1997) is of the view that since the work of authenticating traditions often projects contemporary patterns of identity into the past - all human identities, no matter how deeply felt are from a historical point-of-view mixed, relational, and conjectural.

Clearly from the interviews, the challenge of finding stories is confirmed, and this challenge seemed to be worsened by ethnical boundaries as presented in the anecdote above. Ethnical boundaries should not, however, be interpreted as unique to the South African storytelling. They might be less intense in South Africa when compared to the United States of America, for example. Baba Jamal, an African American storyteller, says that "In the States, one does not just tell any story, especially that which does not belong to his or her culture." He says that, first, Native American storytellers do not allow anyone outside that culture to use traditional stories from this group. He further states that even African Americans storytellers too have a sense of possessiveness about African and African American stories and that, taking stories from other cultures, is a sensitive issue in the country. Thus, finding storytelling performance material is an undisclosed competition and a struggle in the storytelling fraternity. According to Coplan (1997), oral forms are part of the effort to maintain an integrated, positive self-concept despite the social displacement and fragmentation associated with migratory labour systems.

4.3 Oral text, storytellers and development

Scholars such as Okpewho (1990), Rananga (2008), Bauman (1992), Scheub (1996, 2000, and 2006) and Hofmeyr (1992) discuss the performance value of the story and maintain that stories are meant for performances. "Stories are not lived but told, and narrative qualities are transferred from art to life" (Scheub, 1996: xix). Scheub further states that story moves an audience to the essence of human and cultural experience. The story is therefore critical in the work of a storyteller. It is however contradictory that storytellers worry about finding stories while libraries store a variety of books. One would instead assume that stories are easily accessible to modern storytellers, in fact, more so than ever before considering the increased number of population and libraries where books are kept.

Discussions with storytellers reveal the opposite; that, in their view, there is a great shortage of stories or performance material. "You can read about ten books, trying to find a story, often, you leave without a story," says a storyteller. In pursuance of engaging with the problem of finding stories, Barber's generative materialism of her popular culture theory is used to answer the question of how new performance material is generated. Although Barber's research is based on the Nigerian theatre, her popular cultural perspective will assist

in explaining the similar situation as it manifests in the South African storytelling environment.

Barber (2000) affirms generative materialism in her popular culture theory. This is a kind of investigation approach she uses to explore sources of literature. Since storytelling material in this thesis incorporates all that enable storytellers to develop seemingly innovative textual performance resources, Barber states that almost the entire production of the arts, informed by its subject matter, begins from a completed work before it is contextualized. Barber refers to radical contextualizing literature as that process which acknowledges a permanent link between old literature and its background. As it is shown in this study, old stories have been adapted to fit contemporary audiences. The popular culture approach confirms the continuation of an old tradition which manifests differently in the new modern context. As such, popular culture is seen as a culture produced by the so-called urban working class with an intention to customize what they already know into their new space. In that way, new social patterns and structures are invented. Barber maintains that this is the culture that is set to improve the life of people and make them conscious of what is going on around them and in their daily interaction with other variables. Consequently, that consciousness is reflected in the type of literature they produce and which should positively impact their lives.

In congruent with Barber's point of view, stories that were collected for this research, especially newly developed ones came out of peoples' sociological context. To a greater extent, their basic patterns regarding structure, cultural conception, conventions and others resemble those of a traditional tale, specific to that culture.
The 'Donkey that wanted to be a Zebra' story below is used as an illustration of such stories:

4.3.1 *The Donkey that wanted to be a Zebra story by Themba Mabaso*

There was once a village that was bordering the big animal park. In the park were big and beautiful animals. Tourists flocked to the village and the park to appreciate the wild animals. The park, though, was dangerous as there were elephants and lions there. Tourists visited the village and looked over the fence to the park.
"What a magnificent zebra," said one tourist pointing at the zebra grazing not very far.
"I like the black and white stripes," said another tourist pointing a camera and taking a photo of the zebra. The donkey from the village was not far from the tourists. The donkey could hear everything the tourists were saying. The donkey felt jealous that the tourists were not admiring it but focusing on its distance cousin, the zebra. But we look the same, thought the donkey, except for the black and white stripes he has.

The donkey coughed a bit in order to attract the attention of the tourists. The tourists turned around and looked at the donkey. “Oh, what an ugly animal,” one tourist said. The tourists laughed and chased the donkey away. The donkey wanted to be admired just like the zebra. What could make people change their mind and love it. The donkey had to think deep. At last the donkey had an idea. It had to paint itself to look like the zebra.
Luckily, there was an area where the fire has just destroyed the forest. The donkey went there. It found the pile of white ash. The donkey rolled itself in the white ash. When it stood up, it was white as the ghost. The donkey then went to a nearest burnt tree stump. It started to rub parts of its body against the charcoal. By so doing, it was drawing black strips. Finally, the donkey looked just like a clumsy zebra.
The donkey ran to the animal park. It went through the fence and grazed just like the zebra. At that time, there were no zebras around. As tourists were passing by, they saw the donkey that looked like a zebra. “What a lucky break,” said the tourists, “We have found ourselves the zebra. The tourists took out the cameras and started to take photos. “Click, click!” rolled the cameras. The donkey was happy, at last, the donkey was a superstar.
But not for long, there appeared a lion. He roared once, the tourist were excited. “What a lucky break! Today we are going to witness the lion kill!” they said
The donkey was scared and started to run. The lion chased after it. “Help, help! I am a donkey, not a Zebra!” cried the donkey. The lion was hungry and chased hard. The donkey ran for its life.
There was a small river nearby. The donkey ran into the river, the lion followed. The donkey crossed the river, the lion did the same. But alas, the ‘so seemed’ zebra turned into a donkey as the ash and charcoal marks were cleaned by the river water. The lion stood and watch and wondered what had just happened, ‘where is the Zebra now,” he asked himself. The donkey was in front of him and though the lion was hungry, it was not prepared to eat Donkey. The lion turned back and the donkey was safe.
The End.

4.3.2 *Discussion*

Rather than scrutinizing its meaning, the story is presented to illustrate similarities of rhythmic structure and pattern caught on traditional tales. Although the story is newly created, it assumes a look and feel of a traditional tale. This observation affirms Daiwara (1992) on the view that the change of audience demands new text. “Because of the quantity and diversity of patrons, the need for artists to create texts becomes more pressing. They create ad hoc ‘express texts’. That is, they re-use famous melodies and simple texts.” Daiwara further points out that because of the popularity of the texts, they are elevated to the function of recurrent narrative traits par excellence. Barber states, “They can then be re-used for all purposes” (Barber, 1997:44). Daiwara notes that in this context the old norm has lost its significance. Instead it has been changed and adapted. In the story, an imaginary setting of a Zoo speaks to modernity, similar to the concept of tourism.

Ideally, in the olden days of the animal kingdom, as we learn from stories, there was hardly time for animals to worry about beauty. Let alone competing about it because someone was watching. However, there were stories of similar motifs, those that spoke about changing identity, like the story of *Imbulu* that stole the identity of a young woman to enjoy the benefits of a human being. This is not to imply that iMbulu story cannot be narrated to modern audiences. However the point being emphasised here, is that the characters and other elements in the iMbulu story are set in a traditional context as opposed to the 'donkey and zebra story' which is placed in a modern context.

For the purpose of contextualizing the story, certain aspects of the old narrative required change and adaptation, hence elements such as the fence, camera, taking of photos, are included etc. In their process of generating new material, storytellers begin from a place of knowing, from which they advance an old material to suit the current environment. Herein, new contexts and audiences present a wide range of possibility of opportunities to establish new resources for telling. According to Barber (2000:10), the generative approach envisages a productive field of potentialities from which multiple performances emerge. Furthermore, mention was made in the introduction, chapter 1 that relates to the absence storytelling training institutions in South Africa, in spite of unavailability of such institutions, with meagre resources, storytelling NGOs have played a pivotal role in improving and preserving storytelling. In the process, new performance material generated is appearing in the field of storytelling and consequently expanding the course of promoting the oral tradition.
Barber (2000: 422) maintains, "In the absence of written scripts, training schools, or guild traditions, there is a peculiarly direct and immediate channel between the actor's own social experience and the plays they generate. They embody the text and tap into their experience to produce character and dialogue." As such, storytellers, as in other art disciplines, incorporate nuances of oral traditions from their societies. Bauman (1992) adds that incorporating different oral elements from other oral texts depends on their cultural acceptance as historical reality rather than fiction. He goes on to say that this is because they offer sanction to social values, institutions or dynasties.

Barber also points out that "their mode of characterization, and their moral messages – arise from the common experience of the performers and audiences, and at the same time both explore and help to constitute new kinds of social being – new ways of being social," (Barber, 2000: 423). To this effect, Barber points out that modernity does not suggest the

rejection of tradition but the possibility of selectively recuperating it, as demonstrated in the story of the donkey and the zebra. In the production of these stories, characters are made to seem like real people not to explore actuality in and of itself but to make them more effective as bearers of appropriable moral lessons. The story shows binary opposite codes of behavior that may eventually define life and death. The donkey is approaching the end life-term caused by the unacceptance of self but is ultimately saved by the accidental revelation of the true self, this relates to Barber's view that "the entire project of the theatre is moral" (Barber, 2000: 425).

In addition, in this chapter, the ability of storytellers to develop new performance material is explored by explaining textual material functions and how these textual materials provide meaning to listeners. The text here is used based on Barber's (2007) interpretation of the text. She maintains that a definition of a text is not only limited to written word but oral material like songs, spoken language etc. - are all the same, textual. Barber argues that writing is not what qualifies text, "Rather, what does is the quality of being joined together and given a recognizable existence as a form," (Barber, 2007: 1). Barber, therefore, looks at the text as a neutral and more inclusive than an exclusive concept. Similarly, the researcher approaches storytelling materials from textual viewpoint are approached.

Stories, whether written or oral, are primary resources that capacitate storytellers. Storytellers reach out to audiences through texts, which, according to Barber, are social facts and forms of action that are used to do things. She gives an example of a Luba Chief who was not a chief until his status was confirmed by a performance of poetry. She stresses the importance of performance material to affirm important community ramifications. "If you become a chief without someone chanting or singing Kasala for you, you are not a chief at all" (Barber, 2007: 4).

Similarly, various narrative texts that storytellers construct due to the scarcity of alternative performance material have their base, mainly, in traditional and modern verbal, textual genres. In a way, they serve the purpose of making a coherent discourse and narrative connectivity since these texts have their antecedence of familiar social activities and rhythms. One point of departure for reviewing these textual materials could again be drawn from Barber (2007:9) who states that "Texts are the hot spots of language, concentrations of linguistic productivity, forms of language that have been marked out to command heightened

attention – and sometimes to stimulate instant excitement provoke admiration and desire, or be the mainstay of memory."

Okpewho says this is an act of recognizing traditional material as a living rather than a fossilized tradition, even if the material comes from far back for the artist that material symbolises an ever-living potential or an ideal worth keeping alive. Okpewho further describes a traditional African artist as a man with a very extensive sense of real and concrete presence, enjoying the closest intimacy with an environment that is both physical and metaphysical. He says, "such an artist would feel too attached to his metaphysical material to give it a lesser position of importance in his scheme of thought, he would be just as inclined to consider as fact what to us would be merely a mental construct, or fancy," (Okpewho, 1979: 66).

Barber (2007) states that with texts people perform what you might call acts of instauration, that is, institution founding establishment; restoration, renovation and renewal. Essentially, texts are reflexive; they enable one to get a sense of how a society or community understands itself. Accordingly, texts, very often, make people reflect upon themselves. In this way, they offer a unique insight into their operations as acts of cultural instauration. "Dance, ritual and music cannot do this, only linguistic texts, which inhabit the same medium as their own exegesis, can be reflexive in this way" (Barber, 2007: 5). Moreover, she points out that exegesis is part of the process by which the text is established and because it is explicitly analytical and interpretative, it has the capacity to reveal something of the inner processes of instauration. In the conversations with storytellers, common to all as per their understanding of the functionality of storytelling in the society versus their continual development of new material pertains to an urgent need to fix the society. The material, as reflected in some stories below, bear longing for a society that can listen, have self-confidence, communicate, be one and of course, a society that would respect its cultural roots. Such stories, as Barber observes, reveal something pertinent to the beat of that society.

Fanon (1963) asserts that storytellers should ensure that their art contributes to the wellness of their societies. Although storytellers, among another artist, rely on folktales as performance material, Fanon opposes the canonization of folktales and thinks these stories have passed their expiry dates. He is of the view that storytellers should focus on creating new stories, those that talk to urgent political matters. However, Wilson (1996) is of the

opinion that there is a need to differentiate between those stories that seek to promote a genuine value of traditional material versus those that are used as the commodification of stories where tradition is used as a marketing tool, (Wilson 2006: 31). Wilson purports that all stories are important and have different roles they play within society. "The professionalization of storytelling has also led to the commodification of stories, where 'tradition' is used as a marketing tool." According to Denning (2005), stories that transmit values are usually set in some kind of timeless past.

4.4 Locations and identification of storytelling performance material

4.4.1 *Characteristics of story*

Okpewho (1992) maintains that oral literature is literature delivered by word of mouth in front of an audience. And that word of mouth as a communication medium has sound at the centre which carry words that get interpreted by the audience as those words reach their ears. Okpewho's description of a story sounds simple and straight forward, therefore, based on Okpewho's explaination, in this study, a story is taken to mean any narrative devoid of a highly complicated plot but inclusive of a beginning with a simple setting, a middle that establishes a conflict that lead to the climax, and an ending where a problem is solved. According to Clark (2003), the ending must resolve crisis posed in the story so that it brings closure to the all the events discussed.

A story can be a traditional tale with a relevant beginning and end clichés as known in cultures. A story can as well be modern, short story book-based personally created, historical or have any of the above characteristics. To a lay person, it is, however, paradoxical to hear that storytellers run short of stories to tell. Whereas, for storytellers, as it transpired from the interviews, there is quantity and quality to be considered here. For storytellers, a quality story is a story that speaks to the storyteller's intention.

Be that the case, different storytellers state that it is not about any story that one picks up to tell but a good story; one that can assist the storyteller to inspire audiences. Scheub (2010) describes a good and inspiring story as one who can invoke emotion. A good story is, therefore, an important possession to a storyteller; these stories eventually define their tellers. "A good story can differentiate a good from a-not-so good storyteller," says Baba Jamal. For

storytellers, a good story should afford the storyteller an opportunity, not only to inspire but to connect with ones' audience as well.

Questions on the location of storytelling performance material are important, especially in South Africa or Africa where these stories were handed down through word of mouth (through the process of socialisation); as well as where in case they were written down, there are many but not stationed in one place or reservoir. It can neither be argued that some storytelling materials bare song-like structures, have specific rhythms and therefore could not be written down while still retaining their original characteristics. During the time of missionaries and when Western scholars were collecting folktales in the nineteen centuries, no recording of folktales or any traditional oral material took place. This includes the period of the 1960s when Harold Scheub collected some African folktales. Scheub did not however audio-record any of those stories but, like others, he wrote them down.

While Bauman (1992) points out that the work of the German Grimm's Brothers, Jacob (1785 -1863) and Wilhelm (1768 - 1859), marks the first recordings of folktales, and the Grimm also affirm the scholarly-literary goal of an accurate documentation of storytelling, reflecting the vocabulary, and narrative exposition of the oral narrators themselves, the Grimm Brothers' work was not audio-recorded. Audio or video recording would have afforded the research an opportunity to observe with the purpose of comparing live performances of the past with contemporary ones.

4.5 Folktales

Barber (2000, 1997) provides an in-depth analysis on the nature and production of popular theatre play in Nigeria. Her argument takes into consideration the people involved in producing and delivering the plays to the public; their creativity in coming up with something new out of a common material and resources within their reach; the insight that enables these directors and actors to reflect on their own experiences, those of the people they interact with, and find value in them so that they are used for the generation of the plays. Incorporated in the work of the 'generation of plays' is the material from their oral cultural stories.

While original directors and writers of the Nigerian theatre plays developed performance material which is neither traditional nor contemporary as stated by Barber, the type of

material Zanendaba storytellers used for their storytelling performances was evidently traditional folktales with every story bearing the traditional formulae of Kwesukesukela in isiZulu, Kwathi-ke ngantsomi in isiXhosa, Salungano in Xivenda and the like; these folktales were mostly animals stories.

According to some storytellers, some reasons called for the telling of these classical tales of Africa. One of them says that at the beginning, Zanendaba storytellers being new in the field did not develop or write their own stories; instead, they made use of folktales as for their starting point and a means to express their views on stage while at the same time preserving the culture of narration. Kotta recalls, “In fact, there were times when the director literally provided us with stories or suggested stories.” Another one said that storytelling was an unfamiliar art form and more so for those who had no experience in the arts at all. “Using traditional tales was, therefore, a good starting point for beginners in storytelling,” Mkhizwana says.

4.5.1 *Contextualisation of folktales*

Barber’s generative materialism approach is set to clarify African’s behaviour, thought and cultural influences in certain behaviors. The statements articulated by the storytellers demonstrate what Barber explains as a people’s continuation to develop new forms as a way of accepting and adapting to the ever-changing modern life. With the practice of storytelling Donna (2007:9) maintains that “in the popular imagination, the myth continues to be associated with either the past or the fictitious, but the most characteristic feature about myth is its refusals to go away. Dance (2002) purports that it is because African art is both aesthetic and functional; “it is designed for and used in activities of everyday life, religious ceremonies, and social affairs” (Dance, 2002: 209). Dance is of the opinion that modern storytellers, especially African storytellers having emerged from the oppression of various kinds, strived to relive a life that was forbidden. Hence, according to Zanendaba, it was a conscious decision to perform folktales since the primary aim of the organization was to promote and preserve traditional tales and the art of storytelling into performance art.

In line with the constitution of Zanendaba, the use of folktales in modern performance stages was an informed decision by the modern storytellers, to illustrate how traditional material relates to modern resources as well as how the material of the two different timeframes

together produce a new culture, which is urban and heterogeneous in nature. To greater extents, popular culture is people and environment driven; it indicates that through performance strategy, popular culture in its entirety celebrates preservation, continuity and resilience of traditional cultures. From Scheub's perspective, the stories are thus the journalism of the present, the classic of past and future, a means by which thinking storytellers reflect on their worlds within the context of their past histories and experiences (Scheub, 2006).

Also, the continual use of folktales as storytelling performance material and their hybridization with modern material delve into the notion of societal evolution that in turn gives rise to new cultures that infuse different time periods. In this regard, Bauman (1977) states that performance provides an insight into how people function within a new culture to attach meaning to their existences. To this end, traditional folktales remained a primary material that Zanendaba storytellers and those that came after utilized for performance purposes. "We know stories from our culture that one cannot remember how or where one got to know about them. However, sometimes we read, we listen, we create, and actually every situation is an opportunity to find a story," says Tembani1[17]. Kotta maintains that there has been an exchange of stories between people who attend storytelling workshops and storytellers. "People who come to these workshops have lots of stories to tell, and from them, we get new traditional stories we never knew and other new stories from them or old stories that we never knew".

According to Themba Mabaso, a storyteller, illustrator and children's book writer, children stories are short, and the plot is simple so is the structure of a folktale, "For that reason, folktale writing fits well with a child's mind," says Mabaso. On that account, Mabaso and others have published new folktales that bear similar dispositions as traditional tales. The following three stories serve as examples of such stories.

4.5.2 The Frog's dilemma story by Themba Mabaso

A long time ago there was a frog that faced a difficult challenge. In those days there were two strong property owners, the lions and the hippopotamus. The lion was in charge of the forest while the hippopotamus was in charge of the big lake. Both the lion and the Hippo charged taxes to those who resided in their property.

[17] Buntu Tembani is a founding member of Lucabantu. Refer to introduction chapter – address this please

The lion was too important to go around checking for those that were not paying the tax. For that, it had the elephant as an inspector. The hippo, as well, was not keen to do the menial work of policing those who lived in its property. The hippo had the crocodile to help.
Land dwellers, as well as lake dwellers, were forced to pay taxes, but the frog had an issue with this. The frog lived in water and the land. Paying taxes will mean double paying. Worse of all, the frog was a miser. One day when the frog was jumping around the land, it met the elephant. “Have you paid the tax for the Big Lion?” asked the elephant. The frog had a fright but quickly composed itself. “I do not have money anymore since I paid the tax to the Big Hippopotamus. You know that I am a lake dweller.” said the sly frog. The elephant got confused with this, and later let the frog go.
Later in the day, the frog was swimming in the cool water. By chance, the frog met the crocodile. “Have you paid the tax for the Big Hippopotamus?” asked the crocodile. The frog had a fright, but quickly composed itself. “I do not have money anymore since I paid the tax to the Big Lion. You know that I am actually a land dweller.” Said the sly frog. The crocodile got confused with this, and later let the frog to go. Well, the frog did this to the elephant and the crocodile for over a year. But one day the frog met the elephant by the water. The elephant was there for a drink. “Have you paid the tax for the Big Lion?” asked the elephant.
“I do not have money anymore since I paid the tax to the Big Hippopotamus. You know that I am actually a lake dweller.” Said the sly frog. By chance the crocodile was just submerged under the water. The crocodile overhead the frog's and elephant's conversation. The crocodile emerged out of the water and posed the question. . “Have you paid the tax for the Big Hippopotamus?” asked the crocodile.
“I have just paid the tax to the elephant,” said the confused frog. “When?” asked the elephant and the crocodile. The frog, realizing that it was caught on its web of lies, jumped into the nearby hole in the muddy shore. The elephant and the crocodile could not find the frog.
“Croak, crock! I am neither the land nor the lake dweller now,” croaked the frog when it realised that it was safe.

4.5.3 *Yawning is catching story by Thembi Mkhizwana*

Baby Busi lay near the river while her mother worked in the field. A frog appeared from the river and saw baby Busi. He said, ‘a little fat baby all for me.’ The frog opened its mouth wide and gobbled baby Busi. It hopped, hopped and hopped back to the river.
But before it reached the river a snake came and said, ‘ah, a fat little frog all for me,” the snake opened it mouth wide and gobbled the frog. It slithered and slithered down to the river. But before it reached the river a big bird came from above and said, ‘ah slithery little snake all for me.”
The bird opened its mouth wide and gobbled the snake. It flapped, flapped, flapped, down to the river. It got to the river and started drinking water. The crocodile saw the bird and said, “Ah, a juicy little bird all for me. The crocodile opened his mouth and gulped down the bird.
In the water, was a hippo. He was lazing there, enjoying the warmth of the sun. Suddenly the hippo yawned. He yawned a big, wide yawn. As soon as the crocodile saw the hippo yawning, he yawned too. A big, wide yawn, and out flapped the bird. The bird saw the crocodile; he yawned too. Moreover, out slithered the snake. When the snake saw the bird yawning, he yawned too. Moreover, out hopped the frog. When the frog saw the snake yawning, he yawned too. A big, wide yawn. Moreover, out came to baby Busi. She landed right back on her blanket.

The mother came back from the field. As soon as baby Busi saw her mother, she yawned too, a big, wide, happy yawn because yawning is catching.

4.5.4 Why Dogs howl like Jackals at night story by Themba Mabaso

It was a very cold night, long, long time ago. It was cold such that the grass blade was white with frost. In that night the dog was sleeping outside as usual. It was locked out of the warm house by its owners. The dog shivered with cold and could not find a warm spot to sleep.
"Ooouuh! Ooooh!" The dog howled like a jackal looking up in the sky.
"Ooouuh! Ooouuh! I am suffering!" Howled the dog miserably. It shook, and it yawned facing the sky.
There was no way the sleep could visit the dog in the state it was. There was no warm spot as the ground was also cold. Well, the dog had an idea. What if it runs around the yard to warm its blood? That was a good idea. The dog stood up and started to run around the yard. The dog ran from that house to the gate three times. It was a hard exercise. The dog breathed heavily, and the cold air was getting inside its lungs. Things were getting worse.
"Ooouuh! Ooouuh! I am suffering!" howled the dog miserable, "I wish it be in the morning, and the sun is up. In the morning I will set up early to the shops to buy myself a blanket to sleep."
The dog went back to its corner and tried to sleep again. It was not easy but was better than running. "I swear I will buy myself a blanket in the morning," said the dog as it closed its eyes to lure sleep. "I will indeed be the first customer at the door of the shop. There is no way I can save my money and suffer like this."
Well, the dog suffered the whole night, but the sun did come out in the morning to its rescue. The bright sun appeared in the east. It did not only bring hope but also introduced warmth. The dog woke up and stretched itself. The dog walked around and enjoyed the sun. When the dog was warm enough, it said, "Oh, gosh, I nearly wasted my hard earned cash on a foolish blanket. Who needs the blanket when Mother Nature has provided us with the old reliable sun?" The dog, then, went out to hunt rabbits in the neighbourhood. Well, the sun did set, and the cold night came back for a visit accompanied by frost.
"Ooouuh! Ooooh!" The dog howls like a jackal looking up in the sky.
"Ooouuh! Ooouuh! I am suffering!"
Even to this day dogs do howl at night. Maybe, they are still planning to buy the foolish blanket.

One well-known story that can be juxtaposed with this newly created one is the story of Why a Rock Rabbit does not have a Tail. First, this story of the rock rabbit has contributed to IsiZulu language development in that a proverb came out of it. The proverb is "iMbila yaswela umsila ngokuyalezela." Say, the rock rabbit missed having a tail because it sent messages to others to get him a tail. This refers to someone who is lazy and relies on others to do him or her tasks that are supposed to be done by that individual. The story goes like this.

4.5.5 Why Rock Rabbits do not have tails: traditional story

Why Rock Rabbits do not Tails It is said that a long time ago, the creator decided to give all the animals tails. Indeed all the animals got the message that on the following week, each one of them had to go to the creator to get his or her tail. Dog heard the message from the creator; lions got it too, zebras, cows, horses, buffalos, lizards. All of them including iMbila, the rock rabbit.

Each animal prepared themselves to go there the next morning. They all thought that was a very good idea. Some, like Cat, could imagine herself with a tail, "I will climb trees faster than I do now." Lizard though, "I want to tell the creator to make mine replaceable, and other animals will know I am important." "I want mine to be the most beautiful so that other animals know that I am important," said squire. Crocodile said, "I will tell Creator to make my tail thick and long. I want to be able to swim in the strongest river ever." However, tortoise thought, "No, I don't want a tail, my shell is too small, where will I put it." So Tortoise decided he was not going to the creator to get a tail.

One animal that wanted to get a tail with all his heart was iMbila. "Oh I am so excited about the idea of a tail, I wish it was morning so I can run to the creator," he thought to himself. The next morning, all types of animals, those with four legs, two legs like Kangaroo and Bird, no legs like snakes and those with four legs; they made a queue leading to the creator. Early in the morning, iMbila woke up and thought of preparing for the journey to the creator but thought, "Why must I go there myself, so many of the animals are going, surely one of them can bring me a tail, if I ask nicely." So he waited outside his rock house and called out to passing animals. "Friends, Friends, can one of you please bring me back the tail." No one answered. Later in the day those animals that went to fetch their tails, returned but none bought IMbila a tail. IMbila again, in the afternoon waited outside his house, hoping that one of them had brought him a tail. Animals passed iMbila by his house without a word.

IMbila was not impressed by the animals' behaviour of not bringing him a tail. He thought there were inhuman and unkind. "I don't care if they don't want to be neighbourly. Tomorrow morning I will be the first in the line and I know I will get the most beautiful tail of all the animals that got theirs today," iMbila spoke to himself. The next day, instead of going to see the Creator, he went and stood outside. He did the same thing he did the previous day; he called out to passing animals asking them to bring him a tail. Like the previous day those animals, on their way back, greeted him but did not bring him anything.

IMbila repeated the same action over and over and over, he got the same results over and over again. After a week, all the animals that needed tails had been to the Creator and he had given all of them tails. Now it is said that that is why even today the Rock Rabbit, IMbila does not have a tail. Maybe one day he will approach the Creator and ask for a tail.
The End

4.5.6 *Discussion*

The story of the dog, like many traditional stories of Africa, uses animals as characters. There are repetitions in the story as is mostly the case with traditional stories. We have also seen in chapter 3, that repetition is one of the storytelling techniques. Therefore, although, according to the author, the story was created for a project in 2010 - he based it on a traditional narrative structure. Where the audience might find suspense in the story is where the dog procrastinates doing what he promised himself to do. Dog found himself faced with the similar situation the following night. Instead of learning from the experience of the previous night he continued to act in the same manner and the results remain the same.

IMbila story, on the other hand, shows similar elements found in the story of the Dog. IMbila is not postponing action as such but repeats the same behavior of the previous day. As said in the story, no animal is willing to help him; he, however, continues to repeat the same request until all the tails were taken. IMbila gets the same results as we know today that iMbila does not have a tail. And as in most traditional tales, the story explains the reason why iMbila the rock rabbit does not have a tail as we know it today.

Moreover, the three stories, the Frog's dilemma, Why Dogs howl like Jackal at night and yawning is catching, represent the new look and feel-like traditional tales that have been introduced in the storytelling space after post-apartheid. They have been inspired by modern experiences and observations. These stories constitute the performance material that is useful for storytellers, as the story of the Frog with a problem is now told by some storytellers. It comes across as a clear and straight forward moral story that teaches about problems of not attending to matters as they happen but keep procrastinating.

Mabaso affirms that traditional stories are in public domains and can be used by any person. He is of the opinion that written stories like his can be used by storytellers for their performances, only if the storytellers can change some elements in the story. "You see, if we follow the tradition of storytelling as we claim to practice it, we will understand that stories were meant to be performed and spread widely. However, the storyteller should not tell the story verbatim. Otherwise that storyteller can experience copyright challenges." He continues to say that "traditional storytellers shared stories in a similar manner, hence variants of a story."

While folktale narration remains predominant, singing, poetry, chanting before or after a performance enhanced aesthetics of a performance. Chanting was explored in chapter 3 as one method storytellers use to mold their styles. In this chapter, however, chanting is explained as another traditional source of storytelling material that is available to storytellers to use for their performances. Tembani of Lucabantu, a storyteller, says that he learnt about the meaning and importance of chanting when he joined Zanendaba in 2003. And since then he has used chanting as part of his performances. “I now create my own chants that correspond to my session, or sometimes I use them as ice-breakers when I conduct storytelling workshops,” children’s games and Chanting. This illustrates Mhlambi’s (2012) point that these expressive modalities seem to be rooted in the revival and recycling of past themes and narrative structure. She points out similarities in plot structure, lessons and styles of characterisation between new African literary material and traditional format, which are also comparable to Barber’s concept of generative materialism, as shown in the Yoruba’s Generation of Plays (Mhlambi, 2012: 13). Likewise, Barber (2000:9) states, “Real experience is narrativized and circulates in the form of anecdotes while existing stories become the templates by which real experience is apprehended.”

Hofmeyr (1992), on the hand, looks at the young children’s narratives such as lullabies and points out that lullabies are functional stories for babies. However, in accordance with the structure of Lullabies, these narratives do not provide the full story; instead, the emphasis is on the rhythm. They, in a similar manner, provide localities for storytelling performance material. Barber (2000: 9) observes that “every level of production is a site of creative potentiality.” She says that stories are drawn from the existing pool to be reshaped.

In the same manner, games for older children are hardly explored as places from which stories can be generated. In addition, children have been observed telling stories through gaming. Except for vocabulary, communication or listening skills, these games are said to strengthen various parts of their development, physically, intellectually or emotionally, “The overriding premise is that play (or some available free time in the case of older children and adolescents) is essential to the cognitive, physical, social, and emotional well-being of

children and youth," (American Academy of Pediatrics Virtual Career Fair (AP Virtual Career Fair))[18].

One of the children's games played in Kwa-Zulu Natal called of Uph' uJane the game talks about health, sickness and death. Here a group of children play the game, somewhere in the game they have to be surprised, feel sorry, be compassionate and eventually cry and mourn because someone has to die in the game. The researcher assumes that such games teach children various types of emotions as those emotions are being tested and made strong through the game. Furthermore, an element of contemporary culture emerges in these games, for instance, the name Jane is not a traditional name for people in Kwa-Mashu but is used in the game as it fits in the rhythm.

In keeping with storytellers' testimonies, such games make valuable storytelling material which can be adapted and prepared for telling stories to adults. Mahloane of Kwesukela says that critical thinking, creativity and knowledge, are important possessions of any storyteller. "Because knowledge of crafting a story becomes real in situations like that of changing children's games into stories." Mnyandu of Kasmedia insists that the lack of the 'know how' prevents storytellers from seeing stories in these games. Nevertheless, different performance material has appeared, and this includes chanting, idioms, personal experiences and dreaming and visioning.

4.6 Availability and scarcity of storytelling performance material

4.6.1 *Idioms*

Although libraries and bookshops are filled with books full of stories, Mnyandu and Ntuli argue that storytellers struggle to get stories from such places. Hence, they access some stories through other means such as games, chanting or from any oral literature. Developing literature within orality also points to the prevalence of common knowledge in the people's psychology; chants, idioms, history and the like seem to illustrate such possibilities and processes. According to Mhlambi (2012: 22), "proverbs are not only artistic articulations but

[18] The American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP) is an organization of member pediatricians working towards achieving good health and well-being for all infants, children, adolescents, and young adults. The organization has developed a platform for connecting physician job seekers and recruiters through the AAP Career Center, including the addition of online career fair events.

also critical discourses in which are embedded moral instructions for social cohesion." Although Mhlambi discusses proverbs as valuable topics for narratives, in this chapter, idioms and proverbs are used to explain their narrative roots; and are regarded as a philosophical and symbolic representation of truth.

Mabaso, children's storywriter and storyteller, stresses idioms and proverbs citing them as other venues for finding storytelling performance materials. He cites three proverbs which according to him emerged from stories. The following two proverbs were formed based on certain events that happened a long time ago; the first proverb is BangangoZulu eya eMakheni. This is an isiZulu proverb which is used when one attempts to explain a big gathering of people. Nyembezi (1986) states that proverbs develop over the years; they assist to explain people's knowledge. According to Jabulani Phelago, one of the historians at Freedom Park Heritage, an event that used to take place at Makheni was similar to the state of the nation address. Annually, a large number of people went to a place called Makheni in KwaZulu Natal - to listen to King Shaka's plan for that year. The Makheni event was the biggest event that people would look forward to attending every year and therefore attracted volumes of people. From the story about the annual event at Makheni emerged the proverb, "BangangoZulu eya Emakheni." that name of the place associated with this annual event and its impact, any gathering that sees a high number of people is explained using this idiom.

Similar to UngangoZul' eyeMakheni proverb is that of "Ukubuya kukaNxele" (the return of Nxele.) It is an isiXhosa proverb that came about from the story of Nxele. The proverb is rooted in the history of this political prisoner called Nxele who tried to escape from the Robben Island. According to the story, Nxele was a good swimmer so he anticipated that his swimming skill would help him escape from Robin Island imprisonment.

Nxele finally took courage, dived into the ocean and started swimming to escape. He had organised that people on the other side of the Island wait for him as he was surely coming. They patiently waited for him to appear from the sea. They had planned how they would take him from there, but they waited hours very a long time. Up until today, Nxele has not appeared; neither did he go back to prison. While some believed he must have been eaten by sharks or other animals in the sea, some believed he is still there in the sea, and one day the ocean will throw him out of the water.

This proverb is popular among the Xhosa people; it is applied in situations where one hopes or waits for something that never materializes. Although this proverb has its inception in politics, it has adapted to being used broadly in various social contexts, for example, it can be used as a way to describe an unreliable person, who does not keep promises. In a way, the proverb addresses certain type of immorality. Additionally, the same way story is used to record and recall events; such proverbs seem to be important as memorization strategies to remember information of a society, Mhlambi (2012) states that proverbs affirm experiences and she looks at them as a storehouse for moral values archived in them. Zodwa Radebe, director at Kwesukela, often tells stories that end with a proverb. She takes a traditional story and makes it the root of the proverb as illustrated in the story UMnike noMnikezeni.

4.6.2 Umnike noMnikezeni by Zodwa Hadebe

A long time ago, there was a man who had two sons named Umnike, and Umnikizeni. He loved his son equally. He did not have much, but what he had he gave it to them. Umnike would be grateful for whatever their father gave them, and Umnikezeni would complain. Umnike understood that their father gave them all he had, while Umnikezane thought he should have tried harder so that he could give them more.

You see, the problem with Umnikezane was that he always looked outside, he looked at what other people had, he would never look at what he has and this was the route of his ungratefulness. While on the other hand Umnike would look at what he had and what his father had and he understood that their father was giving all he had.

As they grew up, they drifted apart as their understanding of the worldview was different. They took their separate paths; Umnike followed his father's path while Umnikezane followed the path of the outsiders. Umnike did not accumulate much, while Umnikezane accumulated a lot of wealth as the outsiders put a lot on emphasis on wealth. Umnike grew to be a content man, because even though he did not have much but he knew who he was. And Umnikezane grew to be a grumpy man, because even though he had a lot of wealth but he could not be the outsider, amongst the outsiders he was never good enough because his upbringing was different from them and amongst his own he was also not good enough because he had parted with their ways.

They both started their families and had children. It was now time to part knowledge to their children. Umnike had a lot of knowledge to part as he had listened to his father, he had taken from his father and he had followed his father's steps. Umnikezane did not have much knowledge to give to his children, even though he had a lot of wealth but he did not know the values attached to the wealth.

When the children met, Umnike's children were very contempt just like their father; they knew where they came from and therefore knew where they were going. On the other hand, Umnikezane's children were as grumpy as their father. They did know who they were and were not sure where they were going. Umnikezane's children looked at their uncle's children and envied them and hated their father the same way he hated his father. When Umnike looked at the situation he then said to his children: *Indlela ibuzwa*

kwabaphambili, (you should ask a direction from those you have travelled it before you). This is what I give you my children and I hope that you will pass it to your children and your children will pass it to their children. It is believed that it was passed on and that is why today this saying is part of the Zulu proverb.

4.6.3 *Stories from personal encounters*

Fifteen years after the establishment of Zanendaba, storytellers began to create new performance material by individually developing stories relevant to the needs of their audiences as opposed to their funders as mentioned before. They tapped into their personal experiences and wrote stories based on happenings around their environments.

This new group of storytellers is exposed to information as they had undergone training in different fields of learning, in various forms of art. Most of them have attended multi-racially schools; therefore, although they were aware of their cultural heritage, they grapple with issues of identity. They were, as a result, more comfortable with modern stories while aiming to search for a correct entry into the culture. As such, this generation is mostly far removed from cultural knowledge of storytelling compared to an earlier generation. Earlier generation was more likely to engage with stories or storytelling at home, as is the case with Mhlophe. The latter group, on the other hand, did not consider folktales as effective to communicate their concerns; they, therefore, prefer to write up and present stories created by themselves. On the main, their stories reflect modern settings as opposed to traditional tales that involve unfamiliar characters. An example is a story from Wazi Kunene[19]; it called Praying for Couscous.

4.6.4 Praying for couscous by Wazi Kunene

Every morning at 4:40 am, I wake up and I pray, in English. I am convinced that God understands this language better. I have seen people at home pray in isiXhosa for years but still their children's lips are circled in what could be likened to a white chalk. However, since I came to varsity, I hear people pray in English and they eat couscous for lunch. I have never heard or seen couscous in my life until I came to varsity and made new friends.
So every morning I wake up at 4:40 am and I pray. I pray for my day to go well, for God to stop hunger, to strengthen the church and for God to heal the sores in my mother's stomach, to give my father patience and lastly, I thank God for all the goodness, well for the goodness I have faith I will see.
Before I left for varsity, my mother told me I should never forget prayer, "It is by prayer that God has shown you this kindness and blessed you with a bursary my child." My mother is a

[19] A poet-storyteller from Kwesukela

praying woman, I am an eighteen-year-old woman already but she is still praying to have children. My father wants sons and my mother and all my family think she has not done her wifely duties if she has not given my father sons.
Ever since I was a child, I would hear rumours and my aunts gossiping “unesilonda, uZolisa, unesilonda!” So I have always prayed for God to heal the sores in my mother’s stomach that make it a dry place for any foetus to grow or stay alive. We have even had funerals for siblings I have never seen, one moment my mother is sick, she goes to hospital and the next, it is small coffins, biscuits and tears.
However, when I came to varsity, it felt like I was on a mountain, so close to the clouds, almost holding God’s palms every night I would be in prayer circles. Praying for the world, for the church, for tests, for our future husbands, for peace and all that was good. I befriended people who looked like prayer giants to me, long silky hair, pink cheeks, driving cars, eating couscous, I believed all they had was brought by prayer. Siblings, big yards, chubby pets and little to no financial stress. I wanted my prayers to be heard by God just like theirs. Once, my friend Jessica came to my room, after I had been praying for four months for a laptop, she came to show me her new tablet. Don’t get me wrong, I was happy for her and when she said with a big smile, ‘God is good, all the time’, I immediately asked her to teach me how to pray. Prayers that God hears and responds to. I wanted my family and people back at home to look like praying people should look, like people with a God should look. Like Jessica and all the other praying giants.
Jessica became my prayer partner for a long time after that. We would pray for her sick family members and they would be better. We would pray for her family members visas for visits to different countries to go smoothly and that would happen as we asked. We even prayed for her grandfather’s farm to harvest more fruit and it would, as we asked. One day we were riding in Jessica’s car and one of her back tires got a huge hole. We stopped the car; we were just young women completely ignorant about cars and tires. The streets were quiet and for twenty minutes there was no car for us to stop and ask for help.
Jessica, the prayer giant just started laughing and praying. I was so nervous but also excited. I didn’t want to join the prayer, I thought, this is urgent and serious, God might hear my voice and not respond. I didn’t want to interrupt Jessica. She got closer to the tire and began praying and touching the hole on the tire.
I wanted to see this! For like 10 minutes Jessica was praying and touching the tire, if you have not seen miracles or even believe in them, you will not believe me tell you that I saw the hole of the tire close up! Like, just close up, like there was no hole to begin with. The hole closed up! Jessica shouted, “Thank you Jesus!” We then drove off, I completely believed in God that day.
I had seen a miracle and I wanted to see more. I must pray like Jessica, I must transform and be like Jessica and God will hear me.
I wanted Jessica to teach me how to pray away the sores on my tongue, nothing I prayed for came to pass. Teach me how to pray girl, I would always say to Jessica. She looked like God heard and responded to all her prayers. Teach me how to pray girl, I would always say, thinking about my father’s desires, my mother’s knees, the sores in her stomach and all sores all over our bodies, the sores on our soil, the sore of being alive and struggling. The sore of white circles like chalk on our mouths, all the sores, the sore of not having couscous.
The End

4.7 Invisible unknown factors

The story reflects a broad scenario in which the younger storytellers operate, as indicated in Chapter 1; they are well informed in the fields of writing and communication. But most importantly their world begins from a contemporary world perspective. Knowledge of folktales has hardly been a great part of them but are versed in designing a narrative structure, hence the production of stories such as the story presented above. As such, they are able to design their stories within the frame of folktales. This corroborates Barber's observation that the Nigerian work presented by Barber (2007) is neither traditional nor modern but in between the two epochs.

This new group of storytellers rarely tells traditional stories. Instead their themes reflect urban and current political concerns with stories based on experiences and observation of city life. Barber writes on the Nigerian popular theatre that the plays were constructed based on people real experiences, hearsays personal anecdotal narrations and explicit history and politics. Similarly, storytellers from Kwesukela's storytelling material is usually individually developed and created based on a storyteller's observation of social conducts, from all sectors of the community, that is, the manner in which township people behave; speak; the Tsotsi taal or slang language, taxi drivers; and more.

The environment provides amalgamated production of performance materials. Despite an observation that storytellers develop their own stories, similar to Barber's discussion on the Yoruba popular plays - structurally, the arrangement of plots is framed around the folktale format. This is also confirmed by Scheub (2006) who says that this fulfils a mission to contextualise classic tale and its function into modern spaces. Preparations are made in order to present a performance that is professional and relevant to the purpose of each storyteller. Material to be used is consciously selected. Here there are continuities and discontinuities of thematic concerns, and stories either indicate a narration that has evolved or is recycled from old materials for new contexts.

On the other hand, a scenario different from Barber's experience where actors in the Nigerian plays create and write their own stories, using their ordinary life experiences, South African storytellers usually enter the field guided by interest, which is often interpreted as a hidden talent. As such, they begin their storytelling career with no or very little experience in

storytelling or in the performing arts in general. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that there are no storytelling schools[20], colleges or institutions in the country, neither do South African higher learning institutions offer courses related to storytelling as performance art. Rananga (2008) points out that this art has not made it to the drama departments of the country's universities. He argues that storytelling has not received currency in terms of being an independent discipline in schools and higher learning institutions. Rather it has been placed in a peripheral position where it plays a complimentary role to other subjects instead of being a subject or a course on its own.

4.8 Dreaming and visioning

Campbell (1973: 3) maintains, "It would not be too much to say that myth is the secret opening through which the inexhaustible energies of the cosmos pour into human cultural manifestation, religious, philosophies, arts, the social forms of primitive and historic man, prime discoveries in science and technology, the very dreams that blister sleep, boil up from the basic, magic ring of myth." For Campbell, creative energies, discoveries, dreams etc. are magical and emanate from our innate basic self; they are inexplicable in human terms. According to him, creativity, and mythology cannot be tempered or suppressed as they are spontaneous productions of the psyche. He further brings out that, folk psychology scholars have been exploring foundations of, among others, myths and art development. He maintains that individuals have their private, unrecognized rudimentary, yet secretly pantheon of dream

Apart from developing new stories from existing materials or creating them by observing the environment and all that is happening around them, storytellers reveal some unpopular ways from which they obtain performance materials. Mentioned among others, is dreaming and visioning. Herein is a situation where a storyteller or artist occasionally dreams of a creative piece, songs, poem or an idea of a story. Visioning and dreaming are less explored locale for storytelling material. Contrary to popular culture approaches that begin creation from popular consciousness, dreaming and visioning trigger the creation from the unknown or sudden realization, respectively. However, the finished work of this locale eventually takes the shape

[20] At the time this study was towards completion, Wits School of the Arts had just began talks on introducing a storytelling course in their curriculum. Accordingly, FVPA 2A - Storytelling across Media and Cultural Contexts (WSOA 2021A)
This course will introduce students to the expressive power of storytelling through different media with respect to the ways in which stories and their worlds are shaped by the affordances and limitations of different media (comics, videogames, films, television series, live performances, oral storytelling, music, dance, etc.) as well as the cultural contexts in/from which they are realised.

of popular approaches such as those of Bauman (1992: 46) who notes that "all performances, like all communication, is situated, enacted, and rendered meaningful within socially defined situational contexts."

The *Bhenqe* story structure is similar to the Grandmother, and the Pig presented in Chapter 2. While the Grandmother and Pig illustrated types of stylization, in this chapter the focus is on how such style came about. Nevertheless, the similarity in the story delivery the emphasis herein is about the teller's invisible inspiration to come up with such rhythm. According to the storyteller, "My ancestors just opened my eyes, for me to see what has always been there but I could not see. They made me aware that I could use this differently because chanting is known and cultural." Nothemba affirms that this rhythm came while she was asleep. "I woke up immediately after the dream I recorded it, the song. There were no words; I added words afterwards. I then started looking for a story that would fit into the song, into the rhythm of that song."

4.8.1 *Inkinga yexoxo by Themba Mabaso*

Saw'bona lapho weBhenqe
Kunjani kodwa weBhenqe
Kwak'ukhon' ixoxo weBhenqe
Lalinengxaki weBhenqe
Phela yazi weBhenqe
Isilwane nesilwane weBhenqe
Kwakufanele weBhenqe
Sikhokh'irenti weBhenqe
Phel' uyazi weBhenqe
Ixoxo leli weBhenqe
Lihlalemhlabeni weBhenqe
L'hlalemanzini weBhenqe.[21]

Tu Nokwe attests to the possibility of receiving messages in dreams. She believes that is in the functioning of one's ancestors. "I have a number of songs that came to me through

[21] Nothemba is an independant artist/storyteller from Alexender. She assisted in stage-directing storytellers at Old Court Museum in Durban for the Storytelling World Cup 2010. She subsequently shared her knowledge with Ntuli during rehearsal. Ntuli eventually adopted the style.

dreams. And sometimes a song comes while I am awake doing my ordinary daily chores, it would come to me as if I am visioning it. Only to find it is there, it is a melody. I turn the melody into a song or story and there I have it," says Nokwe. Sipho Gumede, the late musician, attests to the reality of a dream that inspires art work. Mnyandu of Kasmedia, tells the story of Gumede's journey as a musician.

4.8.2 USipho Gumede[22] by Majesty Mnyandu

Sipho Gumede was born in Zululand to a beautiful family that was loved by the whole community. The community always had stories to tell about grandpa Gumede. This made Gumede very conscious about his roots. His search then begun. He visited all universities of South Africa where he researched information about his roots; asking questions about the genealogy of his folks. What he really wanted to know was what had inspired his people to aspire for greatness. Gumede was already a great man according to his friends and fans because he was a good jazz musician. This did not make him to relax, but he wanted to follow the source of his greatness so he went to all the ancient African heritage sites. This is because deep inside his heart he wanted to understand the magic that always happened whenever he tried to write a song. The magic was that a beautiful song would always come up he also noticed that this music only came when he was lying on the ground. Throughout his travel he was always referred to older civilizations. Finally Gumede was introduced to Maropeng the cradle of mankind.

As he came next to the site his body begun to shake, the music that always came to his mind became louder and louder. By the time he got inside the cave there was an orchestra playing wildly inside his head. This orchestra was strange because it was all the songs he had composed playing at the same time. This is where his revelation occurred. The heavenly music that always came to his mind actually was from this place of the international ancestors (What is international ancestors). As he was walking around the cave he saw a human figure rising from the ground. This person looked like all the races in one. She then said to Gumede do you know why our ancestor lived long? Because they lived in the caves that are deep underground - the ground is a friend of eternity that is why trees can keep growing up from the ground without a farmer. This is why when people are done with their life on earth they are buried in the ground so that they can begin their journeys to eternity.

It was from this day that Gumede decided to ask his sons to ask their sons to come here to collect music inspiration and ideas from the ancestors.

Disc*ussion: understanding dreaming and visioning*

Dreaming and visioning locales seem confined within individual mental spaces as they can be uniquely experienced, understood and explained by the individual. This is not to ignore the fact that people in the modern era operate differently from the oldest times where the original material could not be traced or claimed.

[22] The story was written by Mnyandu for an National Heritage Project funded by the National Heritage Council in 2015. The storyteller told the story at Marupeng Heritage Site, Wits Writing Centre and Museum Africa between 2015 and 2016.

Today the work of art is understood and handled differently. Individuals write down their stories; societies are aware of the origin of things including authors and publishers of written work; issues of copyright, plagiarisms and the like are clearly defined in legal terms. Almost every writer is aware of mechanisms that exist, which help them protect their work.

Alternatively, creativity is commonly associated with the ability to have an idea that one turns into reality, that is, an ability to come up with something new or unfamiliar. It also involves transforming old to new that the creative art industry is all about; likewise, the work of storytellers is creative. According to Dweck (2006), experience and substantial knowledge breed creativity; being open-minded in that, one is able to accept new ideas when they present themselves to that person and having an analytic mind that is able to ask new question also assist in developing creativity. Paintner (2007) introduces spirituality in creativity and states that it is about transformation and should challenge us to stretch and grow through a commitment to a set of practices. She describes creativity as a powerful shaping force in human life. “It is an intangible human capacity of a transcendent nature” (Paintner 2007: 2). Paintner further observes that certain epistemologies originate from within oneself and are directed externally. Accordingly, by engaging in art-making, one is tapping into imagination which is a source of creativity (Paintner, 2007).

Here this study differentiates between creativity, dreaming and visioning. Understanding the term visioning from the conversation with storytellers and using it in that context, visioning herein is explained as a dream that comes when one is awake instead of asleep. It is a certain form of being in a realization state, an appearance of wisdom. Within this explanation, one is in a realm other than a normal state. I am of the view that realisation is a different type of dreaming from the way dreaming is understood. Moreover, visioning is associated with the realm of spirituality due to its inexplicability. This kind of analysis is important for storytelling as it is connected to spirituality, as purported by Okpewho, Scheub, and others, as well as storytellers themselves.

Campbell (1973: 3) states:

> *Throughout the inhabited world, in all times and under every circumstance, the myths of man have flourished; and they have been the living inspiration of whatever else may have appeared out of the activities of the human body and mind. It would not be*

> *too much to say that myth is the secret opening through which the inexhaustible energies of the cosmos pour into human cultural manifestation. Religions, philosophies, arts, the social forms, the very dreams that blister sleep, boil up from the basic, magic ring of myth.*

The state of dreaming has different interpretations, which are culturally based. It cannot be denied that some may consider dreams as unreal or irrelevant to one's life. But one perspective comes from a Western scientific understanding of psychoanalysis as in the case of Freud (1955). Although Freud believes that dreams are wish-fulfilment during the awakening stage; that they develop slowly during the day only to manifest in sleep, he believes that dreams are the systematic working of the psychic which can be analyzed in depth. According to him, dreams are not meaningless or absurd but completely valid and correspond to individual needs in a wakened state. Stickgold (2017) states that this unique activity, brain functioning in sleep, provides both a valuable metaphor and a possible explanation for the way artists and other creative people operate, essentially thinking outside the box, whether consciously or unconsciously.

Pursuant to dream art[23] discipline, dream art is any form of art directly based on material from dreams, or which employs dream-like imagery. Dream Art Gallery (DAG) concurs that dream art draws on unconscious inspiration through dreams to create unique and personal art. DAG maintains that from time immemorial many creative and scientific minded people have been able to tap into the unconscious minds, finding answers to theorems, figuring out mathematical equations, writing song melodies, and developing characters for novels – all coming from their dreams, DAG affirms:

> Moreover, artists for many years have grappled with the idea of the real versus the unreal, and have visually explored the blurred boundaries between reality and dreams." "In our culture of constant productivity, it can be difficult to honor these natural rhythms …. Even our art may be affected as we wonder how many books, paintings or workshops we can create…. Embracing our inner monk in part means we can perceive mental blocks and spiritual or artistic dryness as periods of uncertainty, of incubating, of trusting the seeds deep beneath the surface.

According to DeEngelis (2003: 44), "the brain areas responsible for executive control, logical decision-making and focused attention shut down during dreaming, while sensory and

[23] http://www.realmeaningofdreams.com/dream-art.html

emotional areas come alive. In addition, short-term memory functions are deactivated, so that the emotional content of images remains, but the waking context does not." In the African context, dreaming is understood as a form of communication between the individual and her or his ancestors. They are taken as important information from the other world which is meant to assist the life of a living person, affirms gogo Nkomo, a traditional healer. She says that as much as traditional healers dream of medicines, it is proper to think that, this is equally possible that artists dream of elements related to his or her work.

As African healers, like Gogo Nkomo attributes stories that come through dreams as communication from ancestors, Campbell (1973) attests that tales that seemingly describe the lives of ordinary heroes are in essence symbolic expression given to unconscious emotional elements basic to the conscious patterns of human behavior. And that mythology is actually interplay between misguided psychology, history and cosmology.

As a way of describing the three methods of finding storytelling materials, the rhythm of the chant came to the storyteller in a dream; she woke up in the middle of the night and recorded the song. She played it in the morning; she added words and consequently found a story that fitted the rhythm. "The chant "Bhenqe" came as a realisation or a vision to say that these are the words of the story you are planning to tell in the future." The storyteller says that it was a realisation in the sense that she was not thinking about it or the story but was engaged in a meditation process at the time. She recalls, "It was like someone was whispering over my shoulders that this was what I was supposed to do. After that, I started thinking about words that would suit the rhythm." The contradiction has arisen from the storyteller explanation that she was not thinking about the story while the realisation came to her mind. As mentioned above Freud argues that one's dreams are a manifestation of one's wishes. In this discussion, it is clear that the storyteller got her performance materials by subconsciously wishing to find something new. This, however, happens unconsciously and through communication with the supernatural realm.

Freud associates dreaming with the world of spirituality; which may be experienced by some but not all. However, he is of the view that one can train oneself to be at that level of sacred space which brings about new ideas and knowledge in the world. Paradoxically, Freud and Campbell assert spirituality as empirical research findings while academically, spirituality is perceived unscientific and cannot be proven the same way the mainstream science does. Nevertheless, storytellers' spiritual experiences are affirmed in Campbell's (1973) utterances

that “the trance-susceptible shaman and initiated antelope-priest are not unsophisticated in the wisdom of the world,”

4.9 Conclusion

The chapter demonstrates how modern storytellers source out performance materials. Different locales are identified and discussed. The key points made in the chapter primarily relate to story-tellers’ ability to generate new performance material and create relevant material for audiences. This is so as to build a relationship with the audience.

The process through which storytellers develop new material is presented in the chapter together with relevant stories as examples. The NGOs’ role in the development of the material is clarified and compared with that of storytellers. Barber’s popular culture theory was used to explain the generative process and transformation of the stories. Entailed in the list are traditional stories themselves, chants, songs, musical instruments, rhythms and newly created stories, etc. The research notes that, at face-value, stories are in abundance while for storytellers these materials are not easily visible but require a certain skill to unearth or create them. The matter of the absence of storytelling institutions is presented as a problem for the propagation of storytelling, which according to this study, is a hindrance to the advancement of storytellers.

In accordance with literature and certain storytellers’ anecdotes or experiences, dreaming and visioning are some unfamiliar places where they find stories. The field is looked at prospectively, and examples are given in the cases of stories that emanated from dreams. Furthermore, mention is made to the effect of education that enables an eye to see the material in other oral genres such as idioms and sayings or proverbs.

CHAPTER 5 SOCIETAL CHANGE AND CONVERSION OF STORYTELLING GENRES

5.1 . Introduction

This chapter examines the existence of new genres in the storytelling field, concentrating on their origin and the role played by the NGOs in that development. There is a three-dimensional interplay between storytellers, environment and emergence of innovative ideas. The main aim of the chapter is to illustrate the effect of the environment in inspiring creativity and advancement. This analysis includes explaining the interplay between group interactions, resources and thinking capacity. Broadly, the chapter investigates the everyday work of the NGOs with storytellers. Arguably, various contexts including the political, economic, education and entertainment environments create conditions for the development of new genres.

The chapter begins with a premise that genres are developed by storytellers for the purpose of being unique; looking to stand out from the crowd in a field with limited resources. This view proceeds from the realisation that storytellers come up with new genres owing to the continuous natural creativity process innate in them. This hypothesis, generates questions such as: Are there new genres developed since South Africa's democracy in 1994? What enables the development of new genres? What is the importance of genres in storytelling? And lastly, what do storytellers understand about the usage of genres?

5.2 *Brief analysis of existing storytelling genres*

Like other art disciplines, storytelling is endowed with countless multifarious genres that fulfil different functions for different listeners. They vary from simple tales such as fables, and tales, that are very short with mostly two interacting characters. These are used for discouraging adverse behaviors and encouraging good morals. They include popular folktales, more complex myths about god and goddesses - epics, the song-poetry-like stories, and history stories and eventually contemporary stories that relate to modern living (Okpewho 1979: 22; Partridge, 1973; Thompson, 1951: 9; Littleton, 2002; Kipury, 1983; Bettelheim, 1975; Lipman, 1999; Belch, 1999; Estes, 1992; Canonici, 2008). According to Barber (2000), genres function as a guide to cultural producers navigating their way around

new possibilities to develop ideas. Well-known genres include folktales, fairytales, fables, myths, trickster tales and others, (Okpewho, 1977).

Fables are short and straight to the point stories with usually not more than two characters. Moral elements are clearly stated in fables at the end of a written fable. Aesop's fables are best examples of this genre. In fairytales, magic is widely used. In Western stories, these magical stories are usually called fairies. An example of a Western popular fairytale is the story of Cinderella.

Okpewho (1990) is of the view that African stories do not feature much of fairies but magical characters come in different forms. He suggests that it could be an old grandmother, a voice coming from nowhere to help the protagonist; it could be a bird or other characters. To this effect, genres differ with regards to the meanings to which a society or listeners give experience. Assumingly, myths as they are considered sacred since they communicate about the supernatural realm, and explain the appearance of things in the world – will provide a deeper spiritual meaning than would a trickster story which is mainly about the trickster and a dupe (Bauman, 1996).

Although a fairytale genre does not explicitly appear in African storytelling, the story of a girl who lost her parents at her birth and was eventually raised by an uncaring stepmother who had her own children can stand close to the Western Fairy tale type of stories. In the story, the girl was eventually taken care of by an old woman who would emerge from the water and appear to the girl if the girl was near the river. Although this story has elements of magic which characterize most Fairy tales, it cannot be completely classified as a fairytale. Okpewho (2007) points out that in the African stories an invisible character would be perceived to be the working of an ancestor rather than a fairy. Based on Okpewho's argument, therefore, an African cultural belief that ancestors are real instead of being magical partly explains why fairytales are rare or none existent in the African conception of folk-based stories.

The categorisation of genres considers various aspects including story content, structure, function etc. And this thesis focuses on new types of stories that have arisen in the democratic South African storytelling.

5.3 *Zanendaba storytellers and early genres*

In the greater scheme of things, storytellers seemed not to be necessarily conscious of the matters of genres. However, when analysing different types of stories, one finds a variety of genres. These were developed unconsciously. They were developed while in the processes of responding to a specific request from a host. In the interviews, storytellers highlighted that NGOs directors provide guidance as to what type of stories a host requested and those are stories they worked on, "we ourselves observe the environment and the trend, and design our stories accordingly," commented Mkhizwane of Zanendaba. During the interview, there was no apparent separation of story categories. None of the storytellers interviewed ever told a myth for their audiences. They, however, clarified that such requests have never come up. One of them said, "If we ever got such an invitation to tell myths, we would have created them. We give what the audience wants or expect from us." Another storyteller believes that genre development is a part of the creative process. "Sometimes the genre of a story only comes to the surface after the story is complete and in other instances the writer would not be writing for a gig but would be writing because she had an idea to write." Mkhizwane points out that when a gig comes up the storyteller goes into his or her bag of stories and finds a story that corresponds to the genres that are in demand.

Nana Mthimkhulu, an independent storyteller, says, "Most events are now thematic. We are used to asking the question. What is the theme of the event? We ask so that we prepare stories that go with the minds of the audiences, when the story finishes, we have new, different stories." In the study, theme and genre are considered as two different concepts. While the theme refers to a topic of focus in the discussion, a genre is a category under which a story belongs. According to Quoro.com,[24] a genre is any term for a category of literature based on distinctive stylistic criteria, and a theme is what a particular story is all about.

Since the establishment of storytelling NGOs, a variety of new storytelling genres have emerged in the storytelling field. This follows a history of predominately traditional tale-telling and mostly folktales, as opposed to other genres. As mentioned in the introduction, chapter 1, at the height of Zanendaba, folktale genre was most popular in the stories storytellers presented.

[24] https://www.quora.com/What-is-the-difference-between-genre-and-theme

Currently, the term folktale refers to a traditional tale. From the early days of modern storytelling in South Africa, storytelling has been mostly dominated by the telling of folktales. Mutwa (1964) assigns folktales to Nguni tradition and myths as specialty of the Khoi and the San. It is important to mention that the concept of folktales bears a double meaning. In one context, folktale refers to any traditional tale where it is an umbrella body for all traditional tales. In another context, a folktale is an independent genre on its own, according to Okpewho (1977) as a stand-alone genre; folktales are stories mainly about people instead of animals.

Folktales are enriched with cultural values and practices; these tales communicate matters of people interaction, community building, children's behaviours and the like. They also explicitly indicate class, gender or social roles. Stories such as 'The Cow's Tail Switch' and that of 'The House with Green Leaves Roof'' are good examples of a folktale. Both stories depict human life journeys, rules and codes of society, rituals etc. In both stories, dominant characters are human beings.

5.3.1 The Cow's tail switch by Buntu Tembani

Once there was a hunter. He had a wife and four children. The wife was pregnant with a fifth child. One day the man told his wife, he said "honey I am taking my hunting tools and I am going away into the rain forest, I will be back by noon. Please don't eat until I come back, I will bring you something nice," he said. The man then picked up his hunting tools and off he went, and disappeared into the horizon. At night the father was still not back, the family sat around the fire to eat but realised that they were not supposed to eat until father came back. So they waited and waited, their stomachs were growling, and mouths were watering, children were thinking, "mama we are hungry if we don't eat now we are going to die." And the mother could see by the looks on the faces that her children were very hungry so she said, "Alright children, we are all going to eat, and go to sleep, your father will come back tomorrow. But the days and the nights passed, still father did not come back. After many days the wife began to wonder where the father could have been. She looked for him all over but nowhere could he be found. The nights and the days turned into weeks, weeks turned into months and months turned into years but the father never came back. After a long time the mother gave up and forgot about her husband.

Something happened during that time, and I think you know what it was, the mother had her baby. A beautiful baby boy came streaming into the world, he had dark, dark skin and dark, dark hair on his head, the mother decided to call the baby Pupu. Everybody came to greet the new baby; they gave him many names and many kisses. Pupu grew up; he began to say few words, words like, mama, papa. He began to irritate his brothers and sister and until his mother would say " Stop it." But the best day of all was the day when Pupu got up and went to his mother, with those shaky steps, he asked the first question. "Mama where is my papa? "Well I don't know where your papi is, he went away before you were born and never came

back, I am sorry I don't know what to tell", said the mother. The other children were listening and heard the mother talking to their little brother. They then said, 'Mama, we are grown up now, we know what to do, give us a chance to go out and find papi, and we are going to bring him home" so the mother said " alright." She made food for the journey. The children left home and took the same direction their father had taken. They walked until they got to a place where it was overgrown by bushes and things; they looked and thought "there is no way we can go through here. They all agreed that they should go back home. When they turned to go back to the village, one child said, "Wait, I have been here with my father, I know how to go through here." That child got down to her knees, under the bushes wringing, the brothers and sisters followed until they were on the other side. They were on the clearing. They were scared, they suddenly realized that there were bones scattered all over the clearing. And all around the bones there were hunting tools, they picked up those tools, and realised that those were their father's hunting tools. They then figured out that if those tools were their father's, those bones were their fathers too.

They were scared to pick up the bones until one child said, wait I know how to connect the bones together, my father taught me. That child started connecting the bones together, the toe bone, to the ankle bone, to the chin bone, to the knee bone, to the thigh bone, to the hip bone. The fingers there, the neck, he picked up the skull, put it on top and there they had a skeleton. It was just a skeleton, it could not move, could not talk nothing. Another child said wait I can make the body move, my father taught me that. She picked some of the earth on the ground, saying some special word, spread all around father. Suddenly the father started to dance, they were all happy; they dance and danced and danced. They were all tired when the last child said, I can also do some, and she also picked some of the earth, touch the father's mouth saying some special words, Khuluma, mlomo khuluma. Father talked and said; "My children, thank you very much for bringing me from the land of the dead, let us go home to your mother" it was easy to go back so they all ran out of the bush heading home.

The mother was waiting. She saw her husband running with children towards home, when he got home, they talked and cried and looked at each other and finally they all sat down and the father told them how a leopard attacked him from behind, and sucked all the blood out of his bones. When father was finished with the storytelling, he told them that he was going to go into the hut and stay there for three days; it was the custom when someone was back from the land of the dead. He said, "While I am in the hut I want you to slaughter a fattest cow from the kraal. I want you to invite everyone in this village. They must come and celebrate with us. But most of all I want you to bring me the cow's tail." They did not know why the father wanted the cow's tail but they prepared and gave him as he had asked.

Inside the hut the father had beautiful things like bits, gold, green stone and other shiny beautiful things. He decorated the cow's tail with all those things, when he came out of the hut after four days people were all over the place singing, cooking, laughing and talking among themselves. They saw the father with the cow's tail and they all said, "that is a beautiful cow's tail, where did you get it? Others said, "Please give it me" but the father said, "No" I will give this cow's tail to one person, one person only, the baby. Because it is the baby, Pupu who asked the first question, "mama, where is Papa?" until then, you had all forgotten about me. The father gave the baby the cow's tail but he did not know what to do with it. He did as the cows did, whenever a fly went bussing by, he picked it up. Sometimes he beat his brothers and sisters until the mother told him to stop.

It was the tail the cow that was slaughtered for his return's from the dead and Pupu was very young. Pupu grew up and still kept that cow's tail. After many, many years when Pupu was old, very old and could no longer move around too much; he would sit outside his home, he would play with his cow's tail, the children would come and say, "That is a nice cow's tail, where did you get it, and Pupu would tell the story of his father. He always finished off by

saying, “You see this tail, it reminds me and I hope that it will remind you too that no-one is ever dead unless he or she is forgotten.

5.3.2 The house with green leaves roof by Bongani Godide

Once upon a time there was a young couple who had just gotten married. As a tradition the community built a house for this young couple as a gift for reaching that important stage in their lives. When the house was finished, its roof was made of green leaves because that was a custom in the village that a house of a newly-wed should have a roof with green leaves. That was another way to tell every person that, such a house belonged to husband and wife. The couple lived happily in their married life; there was hardly a serious argument between them. Sooner or later they had children. Still the family continued with their happy life. Now it was even better with more members, they enjoyed being together. Every night they sat as a family and told stories, competed with riddles and sang their hearts out. The husband was specially known all over the village that he was the best singer of them all. The wife, Yena, was a good storyteller, and the children were best in children games.

But as it always happens, things change and nothing stays the same. One day both husband and wife woke up in a very bad mood. It was like they had both gotten up from wrong sides of their bed. That morning they started shouting at each other, fingers were pointing both directions and blames were uttered. Bad words were thrown back and forth. Controlled by rage and not thinking what they were saying or doing, they continued insulting each other. They fought with words for a long time to a point that they actually both could not remember why they were fighting in the first place and how it all started.

Without thinking the husband stormed out of the door, banged the door behind him, climbed up the roof, and started ripping off the green leaves on the roof of their house. Now in this village, it was believed that if either husband or wife removed the leaves of the roof of the gift house that meant divorce. It meant that they were saying to the society we are no longer going to stay together as husband and wife, the marriage is over. Just at that point at the yard neighbours gathered, coming to see what was happing. They looked at husband removing the roof of the gift house, they wondered. Since it was tradition in that village that no one gets in between a couple when fighting, the neighbours stood there watched and listened to husband and wife throwing ugly words towards each other. They did not understand what was wrong with the couple. “This is the happiest couple in the village,” they thought. “It is a model for all young people who are hoping to get married one day,” someone said. But now, well things change, and change they do. People continue to look at the husband angrily removing the leaves of the roof of the gift house. “Haaaa! A divorce,” the people whispering among themselves. For all this time the wife was still inside the house, waiting for the husband to come back so they can continue with the fight. The husband did not come back. Then suddenly the wife came out and there she noticed what was happening. “Yoooo! He is really removing the roof leaves of the gift house, ah he is leaving me,” the wife thought. “What I am seeing is not true,” she continued thinking, “I know he loves me he does not mean what he is doing. I love him too; he is the best singer in this village. I need to stop him.”

But another thought crossed her mind, “no, no, I cannot talk first because if I do all these people here will think this whole argument was my fault, I will wait until he speaks first and if he does not talk, I will not utter a word either.” The wife then kept quiet. On top of the roof the husband went on ripping off the green leaves of the roof, but as the anger began to move out of his body, he only realized then that there were people all around the house coming to watch what was happening. He realized for the first time what he was doing. He asked himself, “I have taken off the green leaves of the roof of our gift house, does it mean I am

divorcing my wife, no way I love her, she is the best storyteller in this village. I need to tell her that I am sorry and that I love her very much." With him too, another thought came through his mind, "There is no way I can speak first because if I do, all these people here will think all this fight was my fault. She has to speak first or I am not saying anything, sorry. But now the speed with which he was removing the leaves went slower and slower. People continued looking up to the husband and down to the wife, hoping that one of them will say something.

It was the wife who braved the storm, she burst out and said, "Oh' husband, husband, I think those are the only leaves that need to be removed, enough now, get down, let's go and wash them in the river. We will put them back tomorrow." Up on the roof the husband listened, he was happy and thinking, "That is the wife I married, it was because of her wisdom that I married. It is only a strong wife who can save her husband and family from embarrassment; only the wife with a heart of gold that can sacrifice her happiness and pride for others," he thought to himself.

Slowly the husband stopped what he was doing, he slowly came down, held his wife with her hand and they both collected the leaves that had been thrown down. Both of them went down to the river to wash the leaves. The neighbours looked at them going to the river, looked at them washing and drying the leaves. The children saw their parents busy at the river; they join them and swam while the parents were cleaning the leaves. Other women in the village looked at their husbands and said, 'baba, the green leaves at the roof of our house are dirty too, let's take them out to wash them in the river. By the end of the day husbands and wives of the village were each washing and drying the green leaves from the roofs of their houses at the river.

According to the story, what happened that day, had never happened before and it never happened again; but, from that day on people of that village learnt that it was important that from time to time, each person takes off dirt in their hearts and wash it.

The concept of folktales is used in this thesis to refer to stories pertaining to mainly human beings, whereas an encompassing concept 'traditional stories' will refer to all old-time stories regardless of genre. In the section below, the discussion involves creative ability of modern storytellers.

5.4 Storytelling, cultural practices and development

At the centre of this investigation are the interconnectedness of culture, society and financial benefits. A similar argument is presented in the previous chapter where it was affirmed that there is no storytelling performance without an audience. As noted by Okpewho (1977), a genre or a type of story determines a type of audience to which the story is presented. Therefore, genres are important in categorising stories for different performances and audiences.

Mthimkhulu, one of the storytellers interviewed related an incident where after a performance an audience member questioned the relevance of the story to that specific function. She says,

“One storyteller told a death-related story at a corporate year-end function.” Mthimkhulu is convinced that storytellers were never called back to perform to that company again. Bauman (1992) is of the view that generic expectations are flexible, communicative resources that may be mobilized in different ways for different communicative ends, though the quotient of flexibility may vary from one genre to another. He maintains that “genre definitions and classification systems have been built on a wide range of features, ultimately taking in everything that people have considered significant about folklore: form, function or effect, content, orientation to the world, and the cosmos, truth value, tone, social distribution, and manner or contexts of use,” (Bauman, 1992: 54). In the words of Hanks (1987) genres are socially and historically specific conventions and expectations that accord with speakers composed discourse and audiences that receive it.

Kipury’s (1983) understanding of genres agrees with that of Bauman (1992). Kipury classifies the narratives in terms of their functions. He mentions the convenience of doing so but, cautions that the categorisations of tales can and do overlap. “For this reason, no classification of narratives and other forms of oral literature should be adhered to rigidly” (Kipury, 1983: 16). According to Bauman, categorisation of oral tales is not general, but societies differ in their analyses, and those differences are based on various features which include characters in the story, function of story, meaning, conventions, etc. He further observes that these features do not only differ from culture to culture but can also change over time within the same society. He observes that folktale characters fulfil seven roles, namely, villain, donor, helper, princess, dispatcher, hero (spoken or victimized) and a false hero. “Narrators of either gender vary their repertoire of tales as they move from childhood to adolescence and then to childhood and old age, narrating culturally and developmentally appropriate tales (Bauman 1996: 111). Okpewho (1977) adds that as in many African folktales that have more than a didactic purpose of moral values and entertainment, spiritual equanimity and educational goals are an integral part of African folktales.

Barber (1984) views genre codes as guiding principles to cultural producers when they navigate their way around creative activities and through genres ideas are given form. Accordingly, genres present options but are in turn guided by an artist as to which choice of genre to select. Barber’s generative approach brings in a concept of innovation and points out that generating genres should be viewed and assisted in the accumulation of knowledge with regards to generating cultural forms, “rules of thumb, dispositions, a sense of what goes with what, what is appropriate in what context” (Barber, 2000:11). As such, Barber maintains that

principles of genres are generated on the basis of the conventions of a particular genre which allows things to be said and the listener to interpret them. She stresses the understanding of how textual forms work, that is, “a feeling of words and how they are put together, a sense of form, of how the action is bodied forth upon the stage, and how the bits of a story cohere” (Barber, 2000: 11).

Similarly, Bauman (1992) looks at the genre as an orienting framework for the protection and interpretation of discourse. He points out that genre and categorisation have been used primarily in shaping frameworks for collection, archiving, teaching, and studying folklore. He further states, “The concept of genre takes on a more global scope, comprehending the entire domain of human discourse marked and formalized ways of packaging utterances, from greetings and conversational narratives to political oratory to novels.” He continues to say that perspectives centered on certain practices are important in explaining how textually identical or closely similar utterances can be used in one instance as myth and in other as legends; or understood sometimes as a proverb, sometimes as “just words,” (Bauman, 1992: 54).

Accordingly, such perspectives provide the theoretical foundations for historicizing generic conventions in response to and in the service of social change. From Barber’s perspective, what genres signify is different from how they signify. How genres signify can be explained through understanding their production processes. The generic approach, to a larger extent, pays special attention to context and conditions, processes and finally, cultural production results. In order to fully grasp this phenomenon, Barber connects plays with life and texts with experiences of the people and that locally-produced texts, composed and transmitted according to people’s own conventions in their own language, encapsulating their own concerns, do seem to speak as if from “within” (Barber, 2007).

Barber asserts that one interesting thing that societies do as a collective is producing text and this act is fundamentally based on the people’s knowledge and experiences. She further says that people creatively put in place social forms and dedicatedly maintain them and both the acts of establishing and maintaining are similarly creative as well as emergent and continuous. Like other cultural praxis, Barber regards text-production as a social, behavioral character. From James’ (2003) point of view, creativity is central to the production of new

text, which alternatively is central to human impulse. According to this analysis, people perform text in order to preserve, renew and as an act of reestablishment.

Texts are part of social reality as shown in the story of "Oliver Tambo" created by Justinus Dikgale[25], a storyteller at Freedom Park Heritage. The title of the story is "A Boy with Marks in his Body." It is about the late Oliver Tambo, one of the leading personalities of the African National Congress, ANC, a South Africa's liberation movement. The story arose from what Barber calls consciousness and experiences, as it was motivated by historical and political actualities of the country. The story is politically explicit. Presented below is an example of a clearly political story:

5.4.1 The Boy with four marks in his body[26] by Justinus Dikgale

Not so long time ago a boy was born with four marks in his body. One mark was in the forehead, one in the hind head, one is his left-hand breast and the last one was at the palm of his right hand. When he was born the parents went to different doctors to ask if the child had a sickness of some sort. "No, your boy is perfectly normal Madam," said the doctor to the mother. The mother said Ok, but just to make sure, she took the child to a traditional healer who also confirmed that the child was absolutely healthy and normal. The healer went on and said, "The marks run deep and can talk." That surprised the mother, thanked and left the healer. His name was Tamo, as his friends called him, but he became known by his marks. So, everyone calls him, the boy with four marks in his body. "You know, I was talking to the boy with four marks in his body," someone would say. "The boy with four marks in his body visited me," another one will claim. So, the boy with four marks in his body was popular in his village and most hoped to make friends with him.

Things happened around him and the boy with four marks in his body grew up. Things continued to happen, the boy with four marks in his body saw them happening. The boy with four marks in his body watched his mother and father getting paid by a sack of mealies and beans after working for the whole month on the Boss's farm, uBasi, as farm masters were referred to by their savants. The mark on his forehead went ting, ting, ting. On the day people in a town where his uncle lived and worked were told to leave their place because those people did not deserve the beauty and the convenience of the place, the mark in his left-hand chest went, ting, ting, ting. He was there when a bullet hit a baby on her mother's back; the mark on his hind head went ting, ting, ting.

On the day the mark on his hand went ting, ting, ting, the boy with four marks in his body had heard that the White man had come to take the land that boy had thought belong to him and his forefathers. Now things continue to happen, day after day one mark will set off and go ting, ting, ting. As it happens, as it always happened, the boy with four marks in his boy grew up to be a young man. He was already a young man when one day, all his marks in his body, at the same time, went ting, ting, ting, ting, ting, ting. He picked up his beg, went

[25] It was created in 2016 for the commemoration of Oliver Tambo at Freedom Park Heritage

[26] *The Story of Oliver Tambo*

outside; he joined others who had their bags hanging in their hands. Together with other people the young man with marks in his hand crossed the river. They sang songs about the people and homes they were leaving behind, those they were going to join and about themselves. They stayed in their new place, watching from a distance what was happening in their places back home.
Slowly by slowly, especially, in the new place people began to forget his nickname and start calling him Tamos. When he grew up, the marks in his body grew up and became even stronger. Each time there was a ting, ting in one of the marks, Tamos, did something good for the people he came with, those he found there and the ones who followed later after his arrival. He started building schools, training colleges, houses etc.

5.4.2 *Discussion*

The story of the Boy with Marks metaphorically depicts Olive Tambo's life as a boy growing up and becoming aware of his and his community's unfavorable political situation. Later in the story, it transpires that the dark marks in his body represent different political incidents that the boy would experience later in his life. According to the storyteller, the title and the description are meant to trigger imagination and suspense to the audience. Herein, the storyteller indicates an understanding of his society's symbolic management; elements that are easily understood, interpreted and felt exactly the way the storyteller hopes to invoke the emotions of his listeners.

In the story, the mark on the boy's body reacted each time there was an incident, particularly a political incident. The way the mark is portrayed to respond, may symbolises Tambo's intuitive nature and intelligence; as well as his reaction to political incidences. Barber (2007) states that textual traditions can be seen as a community's ethnography of itself, seeing them as reflexive because of these textual traditions criticiwe, acknowledge merging of social forms. Scheub (1996) points out that the critical part of patterning in oral narratives is simplicity. Thus, he says, "narratives do not become complex except when new forms are introduced to work with existing forms. In some narratives, the relationship between major forms is serial, almost picaresque, one set of images attached to the next, along with the chronological axis," (Scheub, 1996:156). Another example of Scheub's point of view is the story of *Jabulani and the Lion*. This story used to be one of Mhlophe's favorite stories at the time when she was with Zanendaba. While Scheub refers to images that get transferred to the next set of images, interpretation of those images changes with time. The story reads:

5.4.3 Jabulani and the lion by Gcina Mhlophe

Once upon a time there was a young boy named Jabulani, one morning Jabulani walked along the forest nearby his home searching for birds and wild fruits. Suddenly, he had a voice coming an opposite direction. Someone is calling for help, I need to find him maybe I can be of help" he thought to himself. He followed the direction from which the sound came, eventually came to a place where there was a big trap, made of iron. Inside that trap indeed there was something; there was Lion. He was trapped inside and could not rescue himself. "Please, friend help me get out of this trap," begged Lion. "Yooo, no ways I can do that," said Jabulani. Lion responded "Please, please, I will teach you how to hunt if you just help me. Oh, by the way what is your name?" "My name is Jabulani," answered Jabulani. He continued, "I cannot help you Lion because you are a lion, lion and humans are never friend. I know you will eat me as soon as you are free." "No, no, no, I will never do that, please trust me I am not that cruel. How can I attack someone who has just saved my life? As I have already promised, instead I will show you the secret of hunting. Thereafter you will be the best in this village, only if you can save my life, just this once. Are you honest about what you are saying? asked Jabulani. Lion confirmed, "I will even protect you in case other animals want to attack you." "Ok. I take your word for it," said Jabulani while starting to unlock the big lock that was there.

As soon as he finished and Lion was outside the trap, free and hungry, Lion laughed, "Ha ha ha, you are so stupid young boy where have you ever heard a lion making friends with humans? Besides, I am so hungry, I have not eaten for many days since I have been trapped. So really where do you think I should get food? Do you mean I should go hunting while you are here in front of me. You are also my menu so I will save myself the trouble of hunting and eat you instead?" At that time Lion was even closer to Jabulani. "Kulungile, it is fine, you can eat me but first let's ask other animals if what you are doing is fair," suggested Jabulani. Just then a few moments later a cow appeared. "Cow, shouted Jabulani, "can you please help us solve our problem here." The cow stopped and listened. Jabulani told cow what had happened and asked if Lion was fair to eat him after he had promised not to but to teach him how to hunt. Cow answered, "Lion is very fair, you humans you kill us every day, you take our skins and make them your clothes. Lion, kill the boy."

Lion was very happy to hear that, and was about to jump to the boy. "Wait, Lion, we cannot rely on one opinion. Let's find another animal to confirm before you eat me. Donkey came by. He agreed with Lion. "Humans make us work and work even when we are very tired, Lion kill the boy," he said. Jabulani was really panicking by then but said, "Lion, I suspect Cow and Donkey did not understand my question, let us, for the very last time, try one more animal. They saw Fox walking alone coming to their direction. Jabulani called out asking Fox to come and solve their problem. Jabulani explained the situation to Fox and asked if Lion was fair. Fox responded as if he was very confused. "I don't understand this problem. In fact, I cannot understand how such a powerful person like Lion can get trapped as easy as that. For me to be objective, can Lion go back to the trap, so I can see exactly how this happened. This will help me decide if Lion is fair or not." Fox told Lion to get back to the trap the same way he came out. He told him to go into the trap again and be in the same position as he was before he was rescued by Jabulani. He then confirmed with Lion if really he was again trapped exactly as he was in the beginning. "Ja, Yes, I am," confirmed Lion. He continued, "You see I was like this and could not even move like I am now. Fox make your decision quickly wean (you) and take me out of here. I am hungry and I am getting some cramps again; I am even hungrier. Jabulani was watching, waiting for Fox and Lion to finish, he was shaking and shivering thinking this was his last day and his parents would never see him

again. After Lion had confirmed to Fox that he could not move anymore; Fox said to Jabulani, “Run home as fast as you can, never look back. Lion is unfair, you helped him; he promised to return the favour but now he changed his promise in order to eat you. Lion you are unfair, ungrateful, stay where you are and die there.” Lion was sad and Jabulani happy, he arrived back home safe. He forgot about his bird hunting and picking wild fruit.

5.4.4 *Discussion*

This story fits into the folktales genre. A folktale is a type of genre that has assumed didactic presumptions in terms of its meaning which belong to both the past and the present. Storytellers at Zanendaba interpreted the story based on people’s experiences at the time; morals, values and restrictions on certain behavior were considered when attaching meaning to the story. As such, one was warned to be careful as to whom you help or interact with. The main message depicts betrayal, especial by a person one trusts. This interpretation can be associated with an isiZulu proverb that says *umlungisi uzithela isisila* ‘the one who tries to help ends up being the one who is blamed for what has happened.’ This added interpretation differs from the one which involves emotional healing processes through the story. These interpretations, which also place the same story under different genres, differ in the sense that first, over 20 years ago, at the inception of Zanendaba, therapists or therapeutic work was hardly popular. Hence the meaning was different. Secondly, storytellers’ work was still confined within the stage, in particular schools, not even libraries offered storytelling sessions during those days, (Rananga, 2008).

Therefore, a new interpretation is associated with modern living where it is assumed that emotional and psychological issues are on the rise due to modern lifestyle. Sometimes people find themselves in troubles that they do not understand. In the story, Fox, first pretended as if he did not understand the explanation as to what and how Jabulani got into contact with Lion or how Lion was trapped and eventually released by Jabulani. He said that he wanted to see and experience the whole process himself so that he would be able to judge who was fair and who was not.

A listener may not see a point in Fox wanting to experience the whole set up for him to understand, especially, if Lion himself did not deny that he promised. In fact, he agrees that he did, but now he has changed his mind because hunger pangs are too much. Fox wants them to start from the beginning and show him exactly how it happened. So what is Fox’s intention? Folks can be on the side of justice, at times. At this point, his intention is to assist

Jabulani to escape. Therefore, he had to see to it that Lion is thoroughly grounded that there is no way he can escape and eat them both. The only way is to trick Lion. He succeeds and Jabulani is finally free and safe. As mentioned above, trickster stories are about a power struggle. Scheub (1996) compares a trickster character and political situation in the old South Africa. He says Africans sought to maintain their independence against an increasingly hostile set of settlers. Like Jabulani in the story seeking a solution for his arrest from 3 different animals, Scheub points out three major events that precipitated a free South Africa, which is Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, the Soweto uprising in 1976 and the unpopulated revolution of 1985. “But these were not isolated incidents; they were one of the pieces, an unbroken effort on the part of Africans to remain, free people,” (Scheub, 1996: 293). According to him, the oral imaginative and historical politics comes to the juncture in trickster narratives.

The second meaning attached by Mnyandu of Kasmedia, a storyteller from Kwesukela is that of looking back in order to determine the origin of a problem rather than focusing on the problem, or continually blaming the result of that problem without solving it. He says, “I have successfully used this story when working with psychotherapists. It helps them begin the session and provide a path from which a client can trace his or her step back so that he or she will identify a point of focus to his or her problem.” Mnyandu further said that the story also helps the client to understand his or her denial or even confusion as they go through their problem.

An example that may communicate directly to the meaning in Jabulani and the Lion story involves a client who had a problem understanding why her mother and sister hated her after she had built three outside rooms in the yard of her parents’ home for renting them out. She tells both her sister and mother that the rent from the two rooms will support the mother and from the third room, she will take the money to herself. When the mother and sister refused and told her to back off, she thought they were greedy and ungrateful. As the story unfolds, it transpired that both the mother and sister had started building two rooms but could not finish due to financial constraints. Now, this client had access to bank credit so she could borrow money from the bank. She got the money, finished the two half- built two rooms and then added her own room.

According to Marilyn McDowell, who doubles as a psychotherapist and a *sangoma*, this story could have helped the client realise that she ignored the fact that the other two rooms are not completely hers. In fact, the mother and sister could tell her that they were still going to finish, but she took over without their permission, which of course she confirms she did not get. And since she missed seeing the beginning of the problem herself, she did not understand she was the actual cause of the problem in the first place. She would have learnt from the story that if she took one room for herself, she has not done anything for the mother since the other two rooms, although she completed them, did not belong to her since she found them half-way through to the finish. "However, she was completely satisfied to trace her steps back and see where she missed the point. She then understood the hatred among them as a family. She also said, she was not aware, and none of them could explain so transparently, and she was determined to go and fix the problem," says McDowell.

5.5 Generic trend in modern storytelling in South Africa

5.5.1 *Fighting for space and recognition within an organization*

Any discourse related to storytelling genres within an NGO environment should be explained and understood on the basis of being eager for uniqueness considered from various angles, politically; economically, culturally, educationally or even religiously. A strong intention to be better emerged from the storytellers' responses to interview questions, which from the researcher's viewpoint, creates a level of pressure by storytellers on to themselves. In chapter 2, the researcher alluded that the political transformation of the South African society in 1994, brought about new requirements from storytellers, which in turn, called for a transformation of categories of stories. As such, there has been the development of new genres in modern storytelling which respond to politicking on the one hand, and new audiences on the other.

In analysing stories collected during this research for identifying new types of storytelling genres, one finds structural similarities between old and newly created stories, and to some extent, content intentions. New genres comply with the traditional storytelling code of conduct, that is, they all attempt to pass on specific messages to listeners; these messages are positive and intended to build society. It is clear that these genres have been produced by observing the working and the needs of the people; that storytellers observe the functioning of a society and events within it, how words are used, and sentences put together by the society, and then create a story out of that material.

For Scheub (1996), it is important that the storyteller draws from the repertory of images similar to those of his or her audience since this provides a necessary common experience. “This, in turn, brings to the fore the importance of genre, which could be understood as an accumulated knowledge of how to generate cultural forms; dispositions; a sense of what goes with what, what is appropriate in what context,” (Barber, 2000: 11). During data collection, twelve new or unpopular categories of stories were identified. However, for this thesis, only four of these genres have been fully discussed herein; they fall under the categories of Contemporary, Personal, Politics and Compound stories. These were outstanding in that they appeared constantly from various storytellers, unlike others that were only heard from one or two storytellers. In this regard, although they exist, they still need to expand and be comparable.

5.6 Genres

5.6.1 *Contemporary genres*

The contemporary genre is interpreted using its original dictionary meaning of being current. These are stories that reflect a current life of a society and take various shapes and forms. In the true sense of the word, the contemporary genre refers to all stories of modernity, whether political, societal, diseases and life at large. They reflect on challenges that are confronted only by modern living. Essentially the genre has been added in the discussion to juxtapose it with traditional stories genre, which also incorporates all types of stories viewed as cultural.

For all intents and purposes, each of these stories can belong to their own categories of similar stories, but for the purpose of the study, none of the possible categories has a substantial repertoire of stories enough to stand independently. Hence, they are all grouped under a category of contemporary genre. These are important educational stories for the youth, whether vulnerable or not. However, the researcher did not come across enough of such stories to cluster them into a group or a genre, although it is evident that there is a potential genre which is made up of these stories. On that note, storytellers still believe in their responsibility as a mouthpiece for their society. Masoja Msiza states that using stories from the courts is another way of carrying on with the social responsibility using true evidence that links negative actions to negative results. “We tell these stories to the youth so that those inspiring to follow the crime route can think again. Actually, such stories aim to

make youth refrain from thinking about getting into criminal acts," confirms Bongane Godide who is associated with Nalibali Literary Program.

The main characteristic of the contemporary genre is that they are modern. All that cannot be singled out with certainty has been assigned to this category. For example, the story of the Green Apples and Pears originates from a contemporary young South African woman writer, whose aim is to communicate her frustration of being perceived or dubbed a coconut because she went to multiracial schools where she could not learn how to speak her African language or know about her culture.

There are multilevel meanings that an audience can extrapolate from the narrative. However, a prominent one here is that of an identity crisis. Booysen (2007) confirms that social identities in South Africa are increasingly being constructed around, among others, class and racial identities. He maintains that these sub-national identities point to persistent social polarisation.

5.6.2 *Apple and Pear Story*[27]

This story depicts a common occurrence experienced by people in intercultural interaction. In intercultural interaction there is a high possibility of acculturation; which at times is not fully accepted by a less dominant culture. Therefore, such stories confront cultural identity challenges and reminiscence of racism, as Oguibe & Enwezor, (1999) purports that African life was complicated by colonialism and White racial superiorities which brought about cultural confusion, among Africans, specifically. This turn of events, "went beyond simple binaries and pointed to the complexity of contemporary identities can be associated with democracy and multiculturalism" (Mhlambi, 2012:105). Moreover, Apple and Pear is political or for younger audiences it hides explicit political messages. This is a relatively new genre

[27] Refer to page 56 of this thesis

One additional unfamiliar feature observed in the story is its portrayal of fruits as life characters instead of animals or humans; which is usually the case with stories. Fruits have been given a power of speech to illustrate contemporary challenges faced by African youth, especially, those who attend Model C-schools which were formally known as White or private schools. The Apple and Pear story suits this genre as it cannot be made a traditional story popularly known for characterising non-human phenomena, neither can it be placed under apartheid or on a broader political scale. Blake (1990) called construction of the tale a wirey bounding line; a wirey line creates a frame which allows a free movement of characters. In the Apple and Pear, conflicting realities is the frame that binds the sweetness of fruit and the bitterness of bile caused by sweetness. Scheub (2006) adds that it is the creative task of the storyteller to create a sculpture, a connection between two extremes.

The following story is an example of a traditional story that can be paralleled to the Apple and Pear story, as the researcher acknowledges above that similar tales are present in the traditional repository. It is a story of "Eagle who lived like a Chicken." In the story, Eagle was made to think he was a chicken; so he acted and behaved likewise. Although the Eagle story impacts on identity, one also detects a meaning that motivates character building and confidence. On the contrary, the Apple and Pear story talks across racial lines and addresses ugliness of hating differences. Furthermore, it makes inferences to land ownership, a current topic in the South African political zone. To make deductions, the study adopts a view that stories involving identity being underpinned by race difference, would hardly arise in a homogenous community like it was before colonialization. Stories often respond to current events.[28]

The structure of the 'Apples and Pears' story emulates that of traditional folktales where animals humanized**.** Herein, fruits have been given human characteristics in the Apple and Pear story so that they can talk, dance, move, live or behave like humans. They are however not humans; they are fruits. Although there are a number of elements in the story that can qualify them as folktales, one determent of it as a folktale is not there, a setting. Folktales are predominantly set in villages. On the contrary, Apple and Pear does not easily reveal its setting. A tree could be in the city or village. Neither does the story fall into the category of

[28] http://www.sacap.edu.za/blog/counselling/south-african-identity-crisis/.

animal tales, since there are no animals in the story but fruits. Since it has been created with modern challenges in mind and aim to communicate on that level, it is not a traditional story; hence a contemporary story. The story starts with Apples and Pears being one people living harmoniously in the same tree, a notion that points to a communal setup, which most African societies practiced and is still the case currently.

The story of Amahewu below, narrated by Kotta provides additional new genre type in contemporary storytelling. Kotta says, "Themes are important because they align you with listeners." She is of the view that listeners attend sessions partly because they are interested in a specific theme. According to her, the story was created for a corporate event of a company that produced *Amahewu* (drinking sour porridge). The story is placed under the food genre. For Kotta, the story is important for it communicates the work of a storyteller in the corporate sector. In modern times, storytellers work with big companies, providing information to company staff members. These companies, in turn, provide opportunities for storytellers to develop new material. The *Amahewu* story can be told to any function where there is food, nevertheless *Story of Amahewu.*

5.6.3 Amahewu by Bongi Kotta

There was once a place called *Kwamanz' awapheli*. In this place lived a woman by the name of uMaMdokwe. UMaMdokwe had two daughters, Inye and Zimbini. They were both beautiful. Every morning at 5am they would wake up, open the windows of the house and clean. They would take out those big silver pots; wash them until they could see themselves in them. And Inye would look at herself through the pot, smile and say. *Ndimhle ngapha! Ndimbi ngapha* (I am beautiful this side and that side), that was the sign that the pot was spotless clean as she could see herself like in the mirror. Their mother would then cook her famous dish *umdok*o (soft porridge) using those pots. Everyone at home would eat it and they would not stop praising it. Men of the village would come to Madokwe's house to join the family as they ate (hence her name). But this would bother women of this village a lot and this created problems for her especially with uMaRadebe. Afterwards the daughters would go to the fields to plough some veggies and fruits then go and boys headed livestock.
The people of Kwamanz awapheli used to talk a lot about the way uMaMdokwe raised her children; they would say "*ukhohlakele ke la mfazi"* meaning that she is cruel. To some they felt that she was abusive to her daughters, saying that she does not even give them time to play but little did they know that at the fields Inye and Zimbini would work and work and work then take a rest and play. "*Hamba yedwa, hamba yedwa wheee ma!* Two sheleni" they would play and play and this made them very happy as they enjoyed playing together.
It happened one morning, after cleaning the house and the pots that the girls were waiting for their mother to cook her famous dish, umdoko as usual, but this time they heard the mother shouting. *Inye, Zimbini! Ma*! They replied, "*khawuleza, khawuleza, beka imbiza pha, ubeke emlilweni* (quickly bring the big pot and put it on the fire) she said to *Inye, Zimbini ngamanzi*

pha efatyini ugalele apha embizeni yiza (bring water from the blue drum and put in the pot), put a teaspoon of salt and pour mealie meal. Now stair", she said, as Inye stared, Zimbini started the song "Ntombentle emhlotshazana ehlal' ezantsi ezintabeni" they sang and sang enjoying themselves as their mother taught them how to cook the dish of umdoko. When they were done they dished up and added sugar and enjoyed umdoko. They were so proud of themselves as now knew how to cook their mother's famous dish and she was proud of them too.

This lifestyle went on and on for a long time and now the women at the village stated having a serious problem as they could not see their husband in the morning. uMaRadebe was got enough of the situation, she called a meeting of the women in the village to discuss uMaMdokwe, she was angry very angry, they talked and talked and talk but there was no solution until one woman said "*ukhuphiswano" c*ompletion of cooking the porridge! They all agreed, *nkqonkqo!* That was uMaRadebe at MaMdokwe's house knocking at the door. UMaMdokwe welcomed her in, "without any waste of your time I thought I should inform you that the women of amanz'awapheli will be hosting a competition of cooking uMdoko and you are going to be part of it Saturday morning ube pha sivene moss?" She said, with her nose up and her mouth lifted like a bird's beak. UMaMdokwe just stood there looking at her and she just nodded as she walked away.

The next morning was a Thursday and MaMdokwe invited her daughters to assist her in preparing umdoko they had to prepare 20 litter bucket for the competition and she wanted to do everything in time. As they were preparing the fire to cook there was a knock at the door, Zimbini opened the door, and there stood a 7 year old boy who was a stutter, he was gasping for air you could tell that he was running. He informed MaMdokwe that her father was really sick and she had to go and see him urgently. Without any waste of time MaMdokwe took a small bag packed a few dresses she had to walk for hour as her father's house was on the other side of the mountain. Inye! Zimbini, she called, they came as running, Mama! They said. My daughters I know that I taught you a lot of things, especially how to cook umdoko, *Ninga ndiphoxi ke* (please do not disappoint me) or the whole village will laugh at us especially uMaRadebe, I will be back very early on Saturday morning for the competition, you know what to do right?" she said. They both agreed and hugged their mother also wishing *grandpa* a speedy recovery.

They watched their mother walking away with the young boy, they were very worried about grandpa but as for umdoko they were confident that they were going to win the competition. They started cooking until they finished. They waited for umdoko to cool down before pouring it into the bucket. They slept, the following day in the afternoon they opened the pot… *yhooo yhoo yhoo yhooo* that was Zimbini, *into endiza kuyinthini na le* (Oh, what am I going to do now)? Yhooo Inye safa nguMama (Mama is going to be disappointed) she said. The porridge smelt sour and they didn't know what to do. Inye did not say a word she fetched, strawberries, bananas and she milked her mother's cows and brought cream from the milk. Zimbini was surprised as the sister separated the porridge in three potions. The first, she poured cream and mixed, the second one crushed bananas and mixed, the third she poured strawberries and mixed. The taste is amazing sisi! said Zimbini. Then they waited for their mother.

On the rising of the son their mother arrived at home, she was very happy to see her daughters but she was welcomed by an unusual smell. She asked, what is that smell girls? They did not reply but they brought her to the buckets full of the porridge in different colours and taste. When she got to taste she was very happy. They took with them a table and the porridge, picked up a lot of fruits and left for the completion. The whole village attended the competition, UMaRadebe was there will all the other women and she decorated her table better than all the other tables, the men of the village where the fist to taste and MaMdokwe's

table was at the end. They tasted all the porridges but before they could even get to MaMdokwe's table the same of strawberries and bananas were calling everyone. When people got to MaMdokwe's table they were no longer tasting but they were drinking and asking for more. UMaRadebe went to MaMdokwe's table, pushed everyone and she wanted to taste and see why the porridge smelt different. She then took a cup with her mouth listed like a bird's beak and she tastes… instead of putting down the cup she took another cup and drank. Everyone was surprised she smiled and said mmmmh! Mnandi everyone was shocked and they asked, what you said she repeated, *mmmmh umnandi Mahewu*!
Everyone was happy and MaMdokwe offered to teach all the women in the village how cook amahewu, they were very happy and their husbands never left in the morning ever again. They ate with their families every morning and there was unity once more Kwamanz' awapheli. And that is why today we have amahewu with banana, strawberry, cream and original today.

Amahewu as a drink is not necessarily a new food in terms of African foods, however the context within which this Amahewu story is framed points to modern experiences of people. Just to name a few modern indicators in the story, the storytellers mention words like, house and windows. Towards the end the story includes food items such as strawberries, cream, banana all mixed in this Amahewu. Such a practice of mixing foods with fruit has been more popular in modern societies than those in the past. Therefore, the story is categorised under the contemporary genre. One other contemporary genre that has been popularized by modern storytellers is that of political stories. It is discussed below.

5.6.4 *Political genre*

Political stories are not difficult to identify. They present political challenges as experienced by society. Since there have been numerous new stories in this genre, modern storytellers appear to talk to political themes much more explicitly than they were before democracy. Stories that fall under the political genre have appeared consistently in modern storytelling. Mnyandu' stories are characterised by apparent political themes. As an activist and member of the Communist Party's Youth League, his stories are obviously informed by his involvement in politics. Unlike in the past where political stories were hidden with animals stories, which, according to Scheub (1996), was a drawback for storytellers as they were accused of being apolitical with child-like stories. As the society evolves and storytellers begin to claim their space in society, practicing their right of freedom of expression and cultural freedom – more transparency and less philosophical approach are observed in

modern stories. One main characteristic of a political genre is the presence of political implication. An example is the story of Steve Biko and Curries Fountein Stadium[29].

5.6.4.1 The Life of a place is like the like of a man by Bongane Godide

A life filled with memories of the 1970's and Pro – Frelimo meetings and anti-apartheid rallies, security police and military Cadres. Steve Biko and the Black conscience movement, defiance and non-racialism, Curries fountain saw the best talent perform, the strongest minds inspire and the unity across the racial divide. The ground brought together people in a time when the law was meant to segregate; a voice in a time of silence.

The 1980's saw the Stadium grow with stature as it gathered it struggle credentials. Increasingly under the scrutiny of the security police the gatherings became more powerful as the country geared up for war. Yes, the curries remember all the speeches made by heroes such as Albert Luthuli and Govan Mbeki. It remembers the soccer games that defied the law and the court cases afterwards. It remembers the courage of those who were punished because they played soccer together. Yes the life of a place is the life of a man.
Currie fountain is now a very wise old man that teaches us with his memories the importance of knowing the past and the great human effort that changed it. The memory of curries fountain a place filed with the Heritage of Berea United, Maritzburg United, Aces and Swallows.
In its memories echo the words of Albert Luthuli, Joe Slovo, Steve Biko and Chris Hani. Memories of justice and the legacies of Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela, The life of a place is like the life of a man. T
The End

This story was also performed by Dikgale from Freedom Park. During the September month, Steve Bako's stories are usually performed in commemoration of his death in this month.

5.6.4.2 Bab' uncus's kraal story by Zodwa Radebe

It is said that long time ago in fearing the wrath of king Mswati, most survivors sought refuge in the place they called Selephi which is now known as Barberton today. Amongst these people that settled in Selephi there was a man called Nkosi which means a king. Nkosi was a very talented man everything he touched turned into gold. Nkosi used his hands to build his home. He built a very beautiful home. During the day his home would shine like the sun rays and at night it would shine like the stars. People were fascinated every time they looked at his home. Every time they would pass at his home, they would: "Wena wenkosi! What a beautiful home, God must be smiling at you." Nkosi would be very pleased with this compliment and he would wave his hand to acknowledge the compliment and smile to his achievement
One day a man called Mac Lachlan was passing by and he could not believe what he was seeing, this beauty was beyond measure. He asked people around what that thing that was

[29] The story was told by Bruce in Old Court Museum in Museum during the World Cup Storytelling project. He is an independent storyteller-poet and was one of the storytellers for the project

shining like the sun rays in the day and like the stars at night. People smiled at him and said, "That is Nkosi's home, oh! It is beautiful; God must be smiling at him." Mac Lachlan asked people to accompany him as he wanted to meet this guy who was so lucky.
When he arrived, he did as would people do and said, "Wena wenkosi! What a beautiful home, God must be smiling at you." Nkosi was pleased with this compliment and he waved his hand to acknowledge the compliment and he smiled, feeling proud that even the foreigners were appreciating his talent. Mac Lachlan did not end there, but he continued and said, "I would love to have your home, give me the price I will pay." Nkosi was puzzled, people were also puzzled, and they had never heard this before. Mac Lachlan repeated himself, "I would love to have your home, give me the price I will pay." As time went by, people started saying to Nkosi "but Nkosi this is a good deal, if you built this house with your own hands surely you can build another one and this time you will have wealth."
As difficult as it was, Nkosi was eventually persuaded and sold out. He moved to next piece of land. Everyone was interested to see what Mac Lachlan would do with the house. But to their surprise, the house was demolished and they started seeing big machines coming to the house and the house became what they would later know as the gold mine.
Nkosi and other people were very disappointed, and decided to leave the area. They moved about 10 kilometres to the South in the place they called Mjindini which means 'so far and no further'. Nkosi because he was such a talented man, continued creating, but this time it was not a house, but he came up with a dance called isibhaca. It is believed that Nkosi vowed that he would never invest in material things but in people, hence he created a dance which could only be invested in people and he believed that no one could take it away; this is the gold he left in people's lives.

5.6.5 *Discussion*

In addition to political stories presented above, the story 'We are one" bears features of a political narration as well as contemporary stories. And although homosexuality theme is not political, as such, it is relatively new or unpopular in storytelling. Looking back at Zanendaba, there is hardly a story that related to gays or lesbians retrieved from the storytellers interviewed including Mhlophe. Neither did this theme appear in any other stories collected excerpt on iBovu story. The storyteller attempts to engage in recent debates considering that homosexuality topics currently dominate contemporary conversations, and has signaled its existence that cannot be ignored. There are certainly various elements in the story that make it political, although also contemporary, for example, allocation of tenders has been racially controversial for a long time, and therefore, the subject in the study is political, especially when the two white people decide to relocate thinking the color of their skin could not find them jobs. Almost all the genres have one or more elements that might appear in other genres, as is illustrated by the next genre to be discussed, which is a Personal Genre.

5.6.6 *Personal stories genre*

According to Davis (1993), personal stories are stories that are uniquely yours. He says such stories include stories of close family members, events where a storyteller was personally involved; they are first hand experiences of a narrator and are true stories. In terms of this explanation, personal stories are separate from true events narrated by a third person. A narrated event in a personal story is delivered using a first person preposition to show a close relationship between the teller and the incident; that it was experienced first-hand.

Personal stories are emerging among modern storytellers, in particular, African storytellers. Otherwise, this type of stories has not been a popular genre in NGOs storytelling, neither has it been in the African traditional storytelling. However, Mhlophe again became popular after releasing *uZandile*. This was her personal history of her growing up with her father who was separated from her mother, and her mother stealing her from her father's household. It is such stories that Davis (1993) affirms as personal stories as Mhlophe narrates this particular event herself which she personally experienced. Names and places are given as they are known by anyone familiar with the area; times and dates are specific to the event and to the teller. Davis suggests that when developing a personal story create a timeline for your family and extended family and that personal stories arise from incidences or personal experiences with, for instance, taxi drivers, court cases, shebeens, teenage pregnancies, abuse, diseases, beautiful cars, illnesses, etc.

Ngomane from Kwesukela tells the story of her personal journey towards accepting a calling for being a traditional healer. She told the story at an International Healing Plants Conference which was held Wits Education Campus in Parktown in 2015. The conference consisted of professional psychotherapists, students, plant specialists and educators in the area of plants in general and spiritual plants. Ngomane also narrated the story at isiVivane[30] in Freedom Park. This was during Ungasali Annual International Storytelling Festival in 2017.

> We are not single-story families. The total identity of our family is contained in many stories, some of which are different for some family members and some of which take on varying degrees of importance at various times. As a whole, however, we tell stories to define and expand the concept of who we are, (Davis, 1993: 107).

Nozi repeated the story for a group of learners at Hector Peterson Museum for the National Heritage Council in 2015 and 2016. The story is titled UNokuthula, Mother of Peace

[30] Isivivane is a place at Freedom Park where the spirits of some of the departed freedom fighters are layed. On certain events different religious groups including traditional healers gather at the place for prayers.

5.6.6.1 UNokuthula, mother of peace story by Nozi Ngomane

A wedding that every girl in this community dreams about, a business man for a groom, distinguish guests dressed to kill, gallons of umqombhothi, bottles of ugologo and food……heeeee*! Ubuhle bodwa. nangu uNokuthula* entering the gates of her groom's home, emoyizela when everyone was ululating and saying what a beauty this was. Nokuthula was speaking to herself and laughing out loud while she was day dreaming about her big day. The mother said "Baba we should not disturb her at least she looks peaceful today, and the father said "I know they say laughing is a great medicine but if you laugh for no reason you need a medicine."

Hey, phela she has not been well lately, their only child, 20 years of age whom they named, Mother of Peace, Nokuthula. They hoped that she would have eternal peace. This morning she looked peaceful in her sleep unlike other times when they would have sleepless nights, she would wake up in the middle of the night sweating as if she had been running uphill, screaming, swearing or just singing a discord that would even irritate the deaf. When someone tried to help her and came closer she would kick, scream, bite, throw objects at them and even threaten to kill if anyone came too close. It would take about three to four men to help because she had a power of the biggest ox when she was under this sickness. This had started slowly as mood swings a few months back and escalated. No one could remember what, how or who triggered it.

Let me tell you something, if someone or something, somewhere goes wrong somebody somewhere is to be blamed so this was the case. Ohhhh poor old *gogo* Ntombi, her big mouth put her in trouble of being a suspect of witchcraft because she always talked bad about uNokuthula out of envy, because her granddaughters did not have good morals like Nokuthula. Now, everybody was saying she had a motive and they even had small meetings about chasing her out of the village. Fortunately gog' uNtombi was a strong old women; no one had guts to confront her. Hey! Hey! Phela that one belingafakwa lubuya nodaka.

What really troubled Nokuthula's parents was her habit of running away into the forests where she could stay for hours and hours all by herself. That seriously got the parents because the forest was not safe for anyone let alone a mentally disturbed person. Whenever she did this they would call the four strongman of the village to carry her back home. One particular day when this happened the strong man of the village failed to get her out of the forest; they came back and reported to the parents that she was too strong so they gave up.

This particular day was a day when Nokuthula's parents decided to go to a rural village which was a mile away to consult a traditional healer named Mahlaletsheni. She was known for her healing powers that she got from her ancestors. However, what she was really famous for was mirror reading, which was a very scarce *sangomastic* practice unlike bone reading, water reading or intuition reading.

That is why they went to see with their own eyes, in the mirror of course, who, when or what is wrong with their only child. In the mirror, they saw Mahlaletsheni looking very serious and deep in her thoughts consulting with her ancestors, burning the sage, at one moment speaking to herself. They saw their beautiful daughter clutching herself around a tree in the depth of the forest. Mahlaletsheni then turned to the parents and asked "do you know what that tree is. They said, "No." Mahlaletsheni told them that it was Umganu tree, "it is good for healing patients suffering from nervous hysteria, Amafufunyane." She told them that it was also the reason why Nokuthula ran to the forest, sit or clung to the tree.

For the first time the parents and other people realize that there was fresh running water and wild fruit and vegetables in the forest, there were many other plants and trees which could be

used to heal the body, mind and spirit. *Umganu*, Marula tree and *Unwele*, Sutherlandia, were some of those among these. Plants with anti-muscular inflammation and anti-bleeding properties and the power of healing snake bites were too found in the forest. Plants with broad and thick leaves and soft tree-barks such as Umunga for binding the wounds of injured warriors from the nearby battlefield were said to exist in that forest where Nokuthula would sit. The traditional healer then said, "The ancestors are directing Nokuthula towards the *Umganu* tree – she is beginning her journey of life and shall be healed." She is guided by the ancestors to regain her balance with the natural world and is led to embrace her holistic self. Nokuthula became a well-known traditional healer in her village and in faraway villages. Nokuthula, Mother of Peace, was free at last.

5.6.7 *Discussion*

Ngomane expresses her emotional confusion as she accepted what she calls, ancestral to be a healer. As such, while she continued with her storytelling work, she also works as a traditional healer in Alex and in Oliven where she lives. She believed that she is now in peace after falling very sick to the verge of passing on in 2017 and emphasizing that she is a double healer, as she heals using her bones as well as when she is telling stories. This assertion resonates with Von Franz (1996: 1) as she affirms, "In myths or legends, or any other more elaborate mythological material, we get at the basic patterns of the human psyche through an overlay of cultural material." Over and above Personal stories have arisen, other contemporary types of stories are observed. One recent genre offered by storytelling, in this study, is referred to as Compound Genre. The discussion below focuses on this unpopular genre.

5.7 Compound genre

The Compound genre is a relatively new genre in modern storytelling. The term itself has been constructed by the researcher for the purpose of explaining this category. By observation, stories in the compound genre are complex in structure, typified by more than one stories in one. Moreover, compound genre combines two different genres. This combination further makes this genre complex. In all the performances that compound genre was presented, it consisted of a personal story and a traditional story. This is not to suggest that compound genre consists of a personal or traditional stories only, however, currently, examples to be provided later indicate a presence of these genres, within a compound story.

Thirdly, there has been one dominant or central story within the integrated stories. Presumably, the less dominant story in a compound story enhances the other. Alternatively, a dominant story is used to highlight invisibility of the less dominant one. But, as observed, both stories together, clearly accentuate a meaning that a teller strives to put across. Therefore a compound story could be a combination of any two or more stories or genres in one oral narration. Lastly, compound stories tend to be longer than the usual length of about 10 to 15 minutes of story duration. Compound stories, on the other hand, would last 30 or more minutes.

The story of Chickens and the Hawk is told by Hadebe; Kunene tells a compound story, which is about "Why we tell Stories." Although the Kunene story is made up on a created story and a poem, the structure remains complex close to compound stories, as explained above. Baba Jamal, an African-American Storyteller, tells about his divorce through a folktale of a "Man with his seven white Cows.[31]" Similarly, Kotta's story "Ngibizwe Abadala", is a compound story where the storyteller narrates her experience witnessing some miracles during her aunt's ancestral initiation ritual. According to Kotta, after her aunt had disappeared for three months, she came out of the water as dry as she was when she left home. When telling this story, the storyteller enhances it by comparing it to a folk narrative of the ants that worked day and night collecting food for when winter comes; preparing for the future.

5.7.1 *How chickens lost hawk's key story by Zodwa Radebe*

I remember growing up as a little girl in my village. I remember running chasing after the butterflies; I remember my father telling us as his children that we must go to school because matric was the key. I remember thinking "oh a key to life." I remember listening to stories told by my friends that were narrated to them by their grandmother, because I did not have any. My favorite story was that of the Chickens and the Hawk. The story said that the reason that the chickens are always scratching on the ground it's because they are looking for Hawk's key that they lost and until they find it they will continue scratching on the ground. I remember feeling sorry for the chickens and trying to look for the key for them but got tired along the way and stopped.

Well I grew up, going to school and working hard to get the key for life, a matric. I don't know what happened but to get that matric it took me double the time that everyone else took to obtain theirs. When I finally got it, it was the most exciting day of my life; I had the big key to open doors to life. On the very next day after getting that key I went outside, and looked for a biggest door I could find. I saw a biggest door, went straight to it, I pushed in my key, opening the door and I could imagine the goodie-goodies lying around behind that door. I twisted the key for the door to open, nothing happened, I tried again, the door of life never

[31] Unfortunately the story was not recorded

opened, I wondered how and asked myself if my father was lying. It was only after that door did not opened that I heard that the key was now wrong, all the locks had been changed. I remember thinking I took so long to find the key, that's why. I was told the new key was called a BA degree.

I wasted no time I climbed mountains and crossed rivers looking for the new key of life called BA degree. I was now chasing time, big time; wanting to make sure the locks are not again changed before I come. I found the key hidden at the top of a mountain; I brought it back home. It was even bigger; one could see that it would work instantly. Like before, there was no time to waste, on the very next day I took to the streets of Johannesburg, looking for a biggest door I could find. I saw the door at a distance, went to it, I pushed that key in, I twisted it, the lock went silent. I tried again, of course there was a mistake, the key was big enough to open that door. I twisted the key again, this time the lock clicked but did not open, it was just silent. "I should have known my father was lying to us" I thought. The same irritating message came again, saying that the locks had just been changed; the right key for that door was then called MA degree.

I had never been so disappointed. It was at the moment that I remembered the story of the Chickens and Hawk.

It is said that a long time ago A Rooster and a Hawk were best of friends. Everyday Mr Hawks flew up in the sky but finally came down to see his best friend the Rooster. Each time he came he gave Rooster his key for safe-keeping. Rooster would give the key to his wife, Hen. Then the two men would go and chill by the river. Hawk was a very boastful man. He boasted about the nice food like nuts that he had at his house, about his fine shoes and clothes; about his walks that impressed young women. Rooster loved these conversations, he was learning a lot about life from his clever friend, Hawk. Unfortunately, the Rooster and Hen's children never like Mr. Hawk. "He is so full of himself," one said. Another one responded, "Even when our mother gives him something to eat he always refuse to take it but tell as how much food he has. I don't like him."

One day the chicks, by accident came across Mr. Hawk's key which their mother had hidden there. The children were very excited and decided to play hide and seek with the key. The first child took the key, hid it under some grass but the other found it. The one who found hid it under a log of wood, others also found it there. Well, they played with the key until it got lost, the last person who hid it could not remember where he hid it. They did not find the key until Mr. Hawk and their father came back from the river, their usual relaxing spot. "Hen, give me my key, I need to go back to my beautiful house. My food is waiting for me there. Quick, quick, bring my key," Hawk was demanding. Hen went to where she usually hid the key, but the key was not there, she thought and looked again. The key was not there. She asked the children if they did not see it, they all said no. Hawk was getting angrier and angrier.

Rooster apologized and started helping Hen looked for the key until one child confessed that they were playing hide and seek with the key and it got lost. You could have seen Mr. Hawk pacing up and down the house, breathing heavily and threatening everyone. "Rooster, I want my key now, if you and your family don't find my key, War unto you." The whole family now went outside to search for the key. They scratched the ground for half a night but no key could be found. Hawk was very fuming, "if you don't find my key tomorrow, I will eat all your children the minute I see them," he said that and left.

The following day the family first thing in the morning they scratched the grounds but they did not find the key. Hawk flew by that morning, hovering above their heads. He saw that they were still looking, he did not say anything but snatched one of the children and left with him. It did not matter how much his friend, Rooster, begged him to bring the child back and promised to find the key. It is said that since then every time chicks see Hawks they run

under their mother's wings otherwise each time Hawks sees young children, he snatches them for his meal. That is why the chickens always scratch on the ground they are still looking for Mr. Hawks key until then Hawk will eat the children.
After thinking about the story, I became aware for the first time of what it meant to be a chicken; I understood for the first time that by scratching the grounds all the time the chickens aren't looking for any key, they are living the life of a chicken that was how they earn their living. I remember thinking, if they are scratching the ground to get a key of life, I will continue searching for that key too. From there I began with my new search of the key called MA degree. I worked even faster; my aim was to outrun the locks that kept changing in my face. "There was no way I would miss the third door," I thought to myself. Like the chickens I searched under the roots of trees, up in the sky, and again across the oceans which is where I found it lying waiting for me to pick it up. It was the bigger than the two I have had. Indeed, after getting the third key the very first door I approached opened with ease. I jumped with excitement saying, "I finally have the right key. Oh, baba, my father was actually right." Maybe baba did not clearly told me this but the chickens surely did say to me, "live a life of human, keep searching." They said to me life is about looking and searching, finding and losing. Even today, like those chickens I am still scratching, searching and looking for this is the life of being human.
The End

5.7.2 *Discussion*

Similar to epic narratives, a skill of the storytellers is critically important when presenting compound genre. Kotta agrees that when telling such a long story, a storyteller can easily lose his or her audience. While Kotta confirms that when she first told the story to high school learners, they did not understand the message instantly, Bauman (1974: 305) points out, "it is part of the essence of performance that it offers to the participants a special enhancement of experience, bringing with it a heightened intensity of communicative interaction which binds the audience to the performer." Kotta continues to say that after a while, she perfected her links or connections within the story; using her voice, repetitions etc., she worked on important emphases. She finally saw an improvement in how the story was understood and received. As such, Okpewho (1990) maintains that within the scope of a dramatic act, an oral narrator has sufficient resources for coping with some of the responsibilities of representation. One of the resources, according to Okpewho, pertains to the notion that a storyteller would accomplish the job by paying attention to voice modulation.

5.8 Conclusion

Several innovative genres prove to have been produced since 1994. This chapter has explored how genres are created, how they contribute to societal wellbeing and how storytellers have benefitted from having them as opposed to not having them.

As the genres were identified and categorized in accordance with their content - accompanying stories were provided as examples of the work of modern storytellers. In the chapter, a comparison was presented between contemporary stories that have assumed similar appearance to traditional tales. Some unique differences between old and new stories were shown.

The role of storytelling NGOs in the development of genres was explained, as well as nature of the relationship of storytellers with their directors and co-storytellers. It was also mentioned that responses from the storytellers interviewed reveal a lack of knowledge when it comes to genres. To that effect, this research takes note of the fact that the production of these genres was either coincidental or determined.

CHAPTER 6 : INTERACTION OF STORYTELLERS WITH AUDIENCES

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter drew attention to the scarcity of storytelling material and focused on areas where storytellers source out these materials. This chapter investigates the storytellers' interaction with audiences by exploring processes involved in the consumption of story as well as the interpretations of meaning.

This study looks at how in one way or the other, storytellers influence an audience into staying in the story, and in turn, how the audience influences a performance's success or failure. Of critical importance here are responses of audiences to storytelling performances and to stories themselves; hence an analysis of how a storyteller-audience relationship plays out in a storytelling performance. The chapter brings in an understanding of an existing relationship between a storyteller, story and performance.

In the previous chapters, storytellers were portrayed as sole drivers in the entire process of telling stories. Having received the theme, they are said to decide which story to tell for their audiences, they plan delivery methods of those stories and finally give a performance. As this series of the action unfolds, audiences are assumed to be passive listeners or consumers of the stories.

However, according to Barber (2000), an audience plays an important role in the rolling out of a performance. She purports that the audience does not only feed the actors with their responses during the performance but audience members also take it upon themselves to extract a significant lesson which they can recount, contextualise and reapply afterwards in their own lives. She continues to say that performance, "at the same time, constitutes the audience – by its use of time and space and by its mode of the address-as particular type of modern collectivity" (Barber, 2000:205). Therefore, what this chapter investigates is how styles ground certain techniques intended to point audiences to a particular direction; as well as the impact of such techniques to audience participation, in particular - in influencing meaning.

Storytellers plan their performances and stories in advance. They take control of what and how they will portray themselves on stage. During the interviews, storytellers agree that at

the preparatory stage, they incorporate audience. The fact that a storyteller is in charge of his or her storytelling performance does not necessarily disregard contributions of the audience that aestheticize their performances. Neither does he or she operate completely outside the perimeters of their audiences. While funders subtly influence the choice of themes of stories, audiences do the same. An argument herein maintains that as much as funders dictate themes they consequently exert influence on who becomes an audience in storytelling performances. Subsequently, such audience validates relevance and favourable outcome of the performance they have watched. The chapter attempts to demonstrate the critical role that is played by an audience in storytelling development.

Neuroscience approach delves into brain make-up of a human being and clarifies how stories activate certain responses in the brain that enable reception from a listener. This section talks about how story psychologically rather than culturally, affect listeners. Further deliberation on types of performances is discussed on the storytelling-based performances section. Conclusion marks the last of the chapter sections; it summarizes what is covered in the entire chapter.

6.2 Impact of audience in storytelling

The primary aim of this chapter is to interrogate an interaction between storytellers and their audiences. The chapter explores various elements that emerge in a storytelling performance, at play during the performance which in turn enable audience members to interpret meaning. The aim is also to explain the effect of the audience to storytellers, that is, how storytellers are affected by responses from their audiences. To this effect, the questions are posed to understand the relationship between storytellers and storytelling audiences. The chapter engages with questions such as how storytellers create a bond between them and their audience.

What mechanisms are put in place by storytellers that assist the audience to gain some life meanings in the story? Secondly, to analyze audience participation in the storytelling process and critically examine the role that audience play in the life of storytelling.

6.3 Storyteller audience meeting ground

6.3.1 *What are possibilities*

According to Scheub (1996), the image in storytelling navigates between the audience's mind and reality. He says that it is constructed in a way that it shapes the audience's perception of the real. Moreover, that image is made up of words that are given a unique framework using rhythm, intonation and gesture. To this effect, performance-based approaches take into cognisance the context of the verbal art and argue that audience too defines the storytelling context and that it is an active participator in a storytelling performance process. Scheub (1996: 60) argues that this is due to the inclusion of unspoken elements to which he refers to as "the music of the word, the rhythm of the human body, and the complex web of relationships between performer and audience." With this statement, Scheub explains how storytellers invite audience members' participation in the performance, and thereby their responses determine success and failure of the performance.

Additionally, Barber (2000) comments on sponsored shows of the Nigerian theatre companies and says that the social atmosphere at sponsored shows was quite different. The audience for these shows was largely attended by affluent middle-age women with towering head-ties and shiny handbags and the afternoon performances added to the atmosphere of respectability. In the case of storytelling attendance in South Africa, except for Kwesukela, which hosted monthly storytelling performances, storytellers hardly have consistent performances. High profile individuals are still rare in storytelling performances, unless a host is also high-profile. Instead, ordinary community members, librarians, teachers and schools still make up storytelling audience

Figure 11: Fusion of participants

Figure 12: Facial expressions of younger people

Figure 13: Audience captivated

Figures 15, 16 and 17 are pictures of audience' facial expressions as they are listening to a storyteller narrating her or his story. Except for the man in front, who does look like he is listening with some thoughts going on in his mind, the rest of the group have their eyes fixed on the storyteller in front of them. There are expressions of wonder. On this Scheub (1996:54) maintains that "because images are evoked rather than created by the performer, the participation of the audience is critical; the artist requires the active assistance of the members of the audience in the transformation of plot clichés into vivid images."

6.4 Determining factors in the choice of story contents

As part of data collection, storytelling sessions were observed in order to take note of issues that affect the production of stories by storytellers. In the previous chapters, it is asserted that funding or sponsorship has an influence on the content of stories. In this chapter, the audience is given as one of the main factors that influence the content of stories

6.4.1 *What and how audiences take from a performance*

Data for the audience chapter was collected using face to face interviews, video recordings, and note writing. The audience was interviewed immediately after the performances. They were informed of the research beforehand, and questions were made available. Questions were mainly about the performances, the story and storytellers presenting stories. A moderator facilitated the question and answers session. Answers were then analyzed for

findings purposes of this research. It is subsequently found that members of the audience who attended these performances valued messages in the stories more than the style of a storyteller. Many people that came for these shows varied, in venues where storytellers were, tended to be better attended than those that NGOs or storytellers themselves organized.

Often times, performances that took place in university classrooms, students were rather reserved and participated minimally where they were invited to participate, or only a few would accept the invitation to participate. Students outside the classroom, on the other hand, would even complete a storyteller's sentences or clichés. Accordingly to Barber (2000) finds actors and audience seeing their role as actively instigator, where both their respective creative activities cross path; in that instance plays and publics were simultaneously generated." With regards to audience types, this category is based on three prominent elements that were observed in the research process. These main elements of diverse responses from the audience relate to language, racial and age groups.

Responses from one racial group to another differ considerably. Some more experienced storytellers like Msiza, Mhlophe, Mnyandu, Kotta, etc would hold together different audiences until the story comes to finish, while other storytellers would succeed in one group but not the other. The storyteller must understand his/her audience. For Barber, this widely diverse constituency of audiences is a result of urbanization and modernity, but common knowledge and interests of both teller and audience bring the two together.

Regarding the age groups, storytellers feel that although responses are polarized, if they are positive, they are satisfactory in different ways. For example, if the disposition of an older group was good, the storyteller takes it as she or he has been listened and understood. She or he feels the task of educating and healing has been fulfilled.

Storytelling audiences vary greatly, from school learners to adults in the society to corporate boardroom and professors in universities. People, in general, do consume stories, as noted by Hofmeyr (1996). However, for one reason or the other, storytelling still has school children as their main audiences. In 2014, 2015 and 2016 Sibikwa Annual Storytelling Festivals had schools and teachers as its main audience; Ungasali Storytelling festival at Freedom Park museum has been dominated by school audiences for 5years from 2014 to date. The situation is the same with Kwesukela events, schools, teachers and librarians make a larger part of the

audience; as explained in the NGO chapter. Zanendaba performances have learners as its primary target. Barber (2000) is of the view that there is a future benefit stored up in young audiences.

According to Barber, audiences constantly react to the performance of plays. A similar reaction is observed in storytelling, and even, there a type of audience reacts differently from another type of audience. As she observes in the plays, audiences react to storytelling as per invitation. They join in enthusiastically as they are invited by the storyteller to participate in a call and response songs, in particular. An enthusiasm with which the audience is willing to participate and feed into the story is a measurement of the success of the performance. Although cultural and linguistic backgrounds play a role regarding involvement in this communication, the less or over willingness to participate could be interpreted as being less or more interested in the story from the side of the audience.

Sometimes, the audience laughs whenever the storyteller is funny. Barber (2000) looks at laughter as the lifeblood of the actor-audience rapport. “Through the constant ebb and flow of hilarity, audiences showed that they were following the narrative and appreciating the wit,” (Barber, 2000: 209). As mentioned earlier, this chapter presents the relationship between the storyteller and the audience from the neuroscience point of view. While Barber explains the interaction of the storyteller and the audience from the societal or cultural standpoint, neuroscience explains it from a natural science point of view. Hereafter, the focus is on how the story affects the brain which consequently brings about the interpretation of meaning than the action that informs results from listening to a story.

6.5 Audiences’ role in storytelling

The audience is an integral part of storytelling performance and as audience members; they have much to say about performance as the storyteller self can say. Storytellers point out that, if there is no audience or less than the expected audience in a show, they consider that show a failure. And Barber (2000) agrees that the audience plays a significant role in various aspects of performance including the generation of content. In turn, Barber states that the audience takes it upon themselves to extract an important lesson which they can recount, contextualise and reapply later. Wits Writing Centre consistently host storytelling monthly performances, although the performances are primarily organised by Kwesukela, other storytellers perform

there regardless. These performances are attended by Wits students and by any person; and are publicised broadly by Kwesukela outside the university. Drama students, language schools and graduate teachers and learners began to be regular audience members.

Storytelling in South Africa has still to develop and attract large audiences in storytelling performances[32]. This is contrary to situations in Europe and America where storytellers from these countries have already established consistent audience attendance in storytelling shows or festivals. An example is the Jonesborough Festival which attracts more than 3000 people a day in the three days storytelling festival, notes Sobol (1994). Wilson (1990) states that in the United Kingdom storytelling attracts ordinary members of the society, and further says that, in the West, storytelling initiatives were pioneered by ordinary individuals whose aim was to counteract the growth of a bourgeoisie class in the late sixties and early seventies

6.5.1 Amarula by Kagiso Molefi

A long time ago there was a young woman who wanted to plant Amarula trees because she thought there were not enough of them in her village. Her name was Slindile. "We will never go hungry again, if we can have more of Amarula trees," Slindile told the villagers. The community agreed, some of them promised to help Slindile. Others pointed at empty spaces where they thought would be perfect for the trees.
On the very next day, Slindile together with other women and young women woke up early morning. They took their hoes to use for digging and off they went to plant Amarula trees for village. By the time it was noon, holes had been dug and Amarula seeds had been planted. Slindile alone had planted more than all of them put together. Towards the end of the day, they were all very tired and decided to stop for the day; they arranged to continue the next day.
The following morning, not all of them came back for digging, planting and closing the holes because they were very tired. So only a few came on that day. Still, even those who came, it was not long before they all, one by one started saying, "I cannot take it any long, I will go home and rest." So by noon, Slindile was all alone.

[32] *Wits writing centre Storytelling performances took place monthly; storytellers were invited to participate, regardless of affiliation. New storytellers also participated in the performances to showcase their skill. These were one hour long performances, usually only two or three storytellers would be featured for that month. On this day, three storytellers performed, namely, Kagiso Molefi, Zodwa Radebe and Bongani Godide. Molefi narrated a story about Amarula tree, Radebe told about a girl called Demazane and Godide performed a story of a village football cup. Except for Radebe who worked at Kwesukela, the two storytellers were independent storytellers. Godide who took part in the FIFA World Cup Storytelling Project in 2010 was from Soweto and Molefi from Daveyton on the East Rand.*

On the third day again, a number of them came and worked. This time it was Slindile who was very, very tired from working extra hard the previous day. She could not even remember how she got home. On the third morning, she looked for her hoe around her place. She did not find it. “I must have left it where I was working, so she went to the place of planting Amarula but it was not there. She spoke to those who were there, ‘Oh! Basadi! It looks like I have misplaced my hoe. Please come and help me look "hle!"
They all came together to help her find the hoe. They looked until they got tired. She actually suggested that they should stop looking and go and work for the day 'cos it was already midday day. She then continued to look on her own. Then suddenly a bird flew by and took her sun hat that was made out of plastic bags. She was even more worried.
She started crying out of frustration but she kept her eyes on the bird flying away, she was looking at the bird as if asking for mercy. The bird flew for a short distance then suddenly dropped off the hat. Slindile hurried to get it. On arriving there, she found her hoe. She was so excited that she did not even worry about the lost time. She realised that she had worked too hard the previous day she left the hoe at an unusual place. The women were happy to hear the news
The women were still ready to continuing, Slindile announced, “We can go home now, and wait for the rains because we have planted more than enough for the next few years. Ke lebohile basadi”
After two years Amarula trees had grown all around the village. The people of that village were never hungry again.
The End

6.5.2 UDemazane story by Zodwa Radebe

In the times when people were ruling, it is said that there was a girl that had lost both her parents and was then raised by her grandmother. Her grandmother loved her so much and every time when she had done well, the grandmother would say: *‘wean uyakuba unina wamakhosi namakhosazana’*. This would make Demazana very happy. She always then tried to make her grandmother happy so that she would say, “wean uyakuba unina wamakhosi namakhosazana. Although Demazana did not understand what this meant exactly the way her grandmother would say it, it made her very happy inside.
Demazana’s life became the life of excellence because all the time she would do well to please her grandmother so that the grandmother would repeat her words. One day Demazana went to the river to fetch some water for her grandmother, and when she came back she did what she usually does, “gogo, gogo, sengibuyile ukuyokukhela amanzi” but on this day it was different, there was no response. She repeated herself, *‘gogo sengibuyile ukuyokukhela amanzi’,* and Demazana was expecting to hear her grandmother’s voice saying *“wean uyakuba unina wamakhosi namakhosazana”* but this did not happen.
She started getting terrified, what could have happened to her grandmother? She ran to the house only to find that her grandmother had passed one. Demazane was very upset and cried so much that all the neighbours came to see what was happening.
Demazana was now left alone; there was no one to look after her. She decided to go far where nothing will remind her of her loss. It was too painful to bear; she just wanted to forget everything. On her way to a place where no one will know her she had a voice saying *“wean uyakuba unina wamakhosi namakhosazana”* this was strange, there was no one around her, and she had made sure of that. The voice repeated *“wean uyakuba unina wamakhosi namakhosazana”*, Demazana was confused, she did not understand what was happening, but decided to continue with her journey. Demazane went until she saw a little light, she was so

tired but knew that she could not sleep in the wilderness, she tried to walk fast but she was too tired to walk, and she just fell and fell asleep there.
When she woke up there was a man sitting next to her, Demazane was so frightened, but the man said, 'don't be afraid, I could see you were very tired and did not want to disturb you'. Demazane was surprised when she thought no one would care for her, and now here is a stranger just watching. This man continued, "I am told to come and fetch you, I was told that you are coming'. Demazane was now puzzled; she has never told anyone where she is going, how does this man know about her? Demazane was too weak to speak and too puzzle to reason she did not say anything. The man said let us go I can see that you are weak you need to get some food.
They got to into the big house, and there were many people who seemed to be excited to see Demazana. She was given food and told to rest as she still looked tired. In her sleep, she saw her grandmother, and she was smiling at her. After that smile, her grandmother said 'battle babuyisele nkonke emuva ukuza kulunge', and she woke up. The same man that found her was still sitting next to her when she woke up. He asked what her dream was and she told him. The man was so happy and went out screaming with excitement and everyone came in the house thanking Demazana although she did not know what all this was about, it felt good. She had never thought she would feel this happy after her grandmother had passed on but realized that her grandmother was still with her even though she had left this world. Demazana became a very important person in this community as she had a gift, and when she grew up, she married a king and then became *'unina wamakhosi namakhosazana. Cos'cos' yaphela.* The End

6.5.3 . The Village cup final by Sanelisiwe Ntuli

Soccer is one of the most popular sports in South Africa. Its popularity started a long time ago. Soccer was even played in remote villages. Boys from different villages would organise themselves, identify a vacant land and ask for permission to use it as soccer fields. Well, as you know, grass in rural areas grows wildly and need to be tamed. You cannot play in tall grass. So, there was a need to have the grass mowed. However, what do you do when there are no lawn mowers? Well, there are natural lawn mowers.
Firstly, they would drive the cattle to eat the grass in their intended soccer field. The cattle would graze there for days. The cattle are long grass eaters. After that, they would drive goats in. Goats are short grass eaters. The goats would eat there for days. In the end, the grass would be comfortable to play on. Well, they would practice there for days.
During the Christmas holidays, teams in different villages would challenge each other for the game of soccer. Sometimes the local chief would put up a goat as a trophy, and different teams would come and play for it.
One day the chief put up two goats as a trophy. In this soccer tournament, a winner was to take both goats home. News about this challenge spread like a wild fire.
"We will be there to watch!" the people would say.
"We are going to win this match!" Different teams would say.
The day for the tournament came. The matches started early in the morning, and the finals were scheduled to take place in the afternoon. The two fat poor goats earmarked as a trophy, cut lonely figures as they graze nearby.
They were tied in robes and unable to run away. Every team members would come and point at them, "Tonight these two goats will be in my belly!" each one would say.
Villagers came in full force and watched each match with enthusiasm. When a goal is scored, a roar of thunder would be heard, "Goal!!!" The goats would be scared by the noise to death.

As the sun climbs up, defeated teams would leave the playing field deflated and tired, their hope of goat meat and dumpling evaporated.
In the afternoon there were only two teams remaining. It was a final match. The spectators were fired up and on their feet. The two teams played with determination. Occasionally, one would hear a noise, "Goal!!!" When the final whistle was blown, there was a huge noise of jubilation, "Yeaaaah!"
The winning team jumped up into the air and then ran straight to the grazing goats. In jubilation, they untied the goats and carried them over their shoulders, just as people do with the trophy. "We are the winners, we are the champions!!!" they shouted, "Yeaaah!!"
Well, the goats were not impressed. They were, in fact, scared. They started to kick. In the confusion that resulted there because of the celebrations, the goats got free; they ran away, passing under people's legs. They disappeared into the bush. By that time, the sun was about to set. They searched for the goat frantically.
Well, it became dark. "Congratulations to the winners!" said the chief. "But I am sorry about what has happened to the prize. It is dark now. I would suggest that we stop the search and continue with it tomorrow." The chief was right. It was too dark to search. So, people left for home with the hope of stating the search the following day. Early in the morning, the winners stated to search for their two goats. Well, they searched the whole day. There was no sign for the missing goats. They gave up eventually.
It was a month later that they heard rumours that the got were found by one of the losers. They ate the goats by night. This is what use to happen in olden days. At least now things have changed. The trophies are no more alive, and they are incapable of running away.

6.6 Responses from audience to storytelling performance: a question and answer session

Facilitator: Did you enjoy the storytelling session? Which was your favorite story and why? Who was your favorite storyteller and why?

Audience Member 1: *The story about Amarula reminded me of my aunty whom I knew for years and years, and people said I looked so much like her. She liked making Amarula but, it was only during the unveiling of her tombstone that I realized we shared the same date of birth, it was amazing.*

(There is an interjection from someone, "*Yho!*")

Audience Member 2: *The performances were good, especially the one about the villagers clearing the playground. a man trying to move from a masculine side to a feminine side where you do things in a feminine way, it was quite eye-opening because Africans don't have resources so, we always make a plan and life goes on. I think the stories are so relevant. I might think it's just a story about this scary goat and these people wondering what happened to the price, it is like a land mark of a tree that can be cut at any time, then loose the direction. You will be surprised in future they influence your decision making. So, storytelling*

can be very good for a parent to impart knowledge. I liked Zodwa's performance when she ends with a quote, it was touching. It made me think or imagine what it would be like to be unina…..…(the audience finished the sentence for her, ….wamakhosi namakhosazana*) jaah, I can't say it properly, but I liked it.*

Audience Member 3: *I liked the first story of Amarula too, because it was more like a recent story than the two stories, I could relate easily. I also like the other stories, although they spoke about chiefs and things that we didn't relate to, like, thinking of using cows to lawn mower that was very funny. The other teller was talking about different issues, she talks about losing someone you rely on, growing up without a direction and the story was about the issues of love too, love from nature, other people and love, love as we know it he he he," she laughs,* (and laughter from the audience), She continues, *"it is the same as in the context of today, and her usage of multilingualism in the story was very nice."*

Although it was agreed that storytelling was still relevant even more now than before, there was a counter argument to the first comment.

Audience Member 1: *But I believe that if we start from here, we will then be able to interrogate that this this is very nice – where did it come from and then from there we can go back as people to claim our heritage.*

Five felt old stories are still needed to be heard so that they are informed of the past to determine a way forward. The rest did not have an opinion. The youth, on the other hand, thinks listening to stories is good for them; it builds their integrity, as one says that the second story taught her some lessons, such as appreciating little things in life, and she can do something about her life.

Audience Member 5: *Basically because of the way the story was told singakhile as a person,* (it built me as a person*). In the few minutes of listening to it, in the few minutes talking about it, in the few minutes of the storyteller talking about her life or what have you [sic]. The message behind the story itself hit home for me.*

From the above responses, it is evident that storytelling can equip audiences with the tools to face life challenges, problem-solving skills, and inspire creativity. One respondent's concern was that the youth of today is usually told to do something but, they are not told how not to do something. "So, you see when we are listening to stories we learn how not just relax but anticipate so that we actively stop a problem from germinating or continuing.

Politics insinuations arose too, as one audience member comments:
"If you look at history, history is stories, and we talked about stories told, I mean stories about Africa told by Europeans, and they are distorted. They say things that are not important or mean anything to you. So, for me, it is important that I don't only listen to stories, but I tell stories myself so that my voice and point of view is heard too."

On the other hand, a woman emphasised that children should listen to stories more. She said that *"I always tell my friends that we should buy small radios so that our children can listen to stories. You know, because when we grew up, storytelling was our way of learning. That's why we have such good listening skills."* The power of story to evoke or inspire imagination, memory and emotions came through strongly. There was no strong response on the question of style. While the facilitator tried to bring the audience back to the question, the audience stuck to what they gained from stories. No-one commented on the styles. While trying to say something regarding the manner in which the story was told audience members without always reverted back to messages in the story.

Facilitator: *Which performance style did you like most?*

Assistant Facilitator: *Not stories but style.*

Facilitator: *Yes.*

Audience member 6: *I liked the first story because it was more. That you sat down when you were telling your story, to me was actually like, whoops! You know I thought to myself, she is fit, but it is not difficult, you just have to learn. Oh, I liked the way you changed voices. It was done very well. Also, there was sequencing in the story,"*

6.7 Discussion

This is the feedback from a performance that took place at Constitution Hill in 2015. Audience members commented on the significance of stories and storytelling, such as that storytelling helps them to remember, to visualise, a few commented on the aspect of style.

Storytelling is a consumable communication medium. The influence of storytelling on audiences is limited, as some audience members may present to be more vulnerable and

others may not be vulnerable to the art as they listen and reflect on stories they had listened to. On the aspect of heritage, one aspect of interest in storytelling is the use of language. The purpose of language in storytelling is common, and it is to appeal to an audience in the first language. However, as South Africa is a multilingual society, storytellers are often faced with the dilemma of choosing a language for a story when hosting audiences from different language backgrounds. Some storytellers believe that some South African languages are mutually intelligible and that techniques employed when telling a story can aide with the comprehension of the essence of a story. This is debatable since even though languages may be mutually intelligible, other audience members may not have exposure to the storytellers chosen language to the extent of understanding its literary properties such as proverbs or idioms.

Due to the multicultural nature of South African audiences, most storytellers end up using English as a method of reaching out to a broader audience. This choice may not always be beneficiary to the agendas of the storytelling NGOs or their sponsors because sometimes NGOs are outsourced in projects of cultural diversity promotion. Language has semantic power; even though on the one hand the South African storyteller may have difficulty with appealing to an audience in their first language, language helps create meaning. While storytellers may choose to use a major language to appeal to a broad audience, using individual audience members' cultural language can contribute to cultural imagery and consciousness. Drawing from Corner's (1980) observation that performance is a "product of [media] skills and technical and cultural practices", the actual storytelling performance can be understood as "the moment of reception, consumption or 'decoding' by audiences and readerships" (Corner, Davis & Walton, 1984: 267).

Storytelling language can be understood in literal and metaphoric forms. While the discussion above expresses the literal human language use in storytelling, storytelling language encompasses chants and song which can be in any language and are seemingly easy to teach to audiences in an immediate instance. Chants and songs in storytelling are ordered and follow particular structures. The success of a story with chants and songs is dependent on the storyteller leading the chant or song, and the storyteller's ability to set rules clearly, in the manner that will not distract the focus of the story in order to maintain the attention and interest of the audience. With chants and song as languages of a story, the storyteller has an added responsibility of explaining these codes, which as was mentioned above, is a way of

‘decoding’ the story. Moore (2011) is of the opinion that individuals using relatively more of an explaining language will evaluate positive utilitarian experiences more positively and negative utilitarian experiences more negatively than individuals using less (or no) explaining language.”

There is no evidence on why audience members come to storytelling sessions, unlike knowing for example, why community members listen to the radio. From observation, it is often other storytellers or artists that attend storytelling performances when it is individual storytellers that are hosting sessions. When there is a storytelling festival sponsored by government departments or big organisations, we find that in addition to having other artists attending these events, the audience members are often decided upon by the organisation hosting or are called upon by the government department that is promoting structural agendas. This calls then to storytellers to attract their own audiences that are not just other practitioners. The lobbying of audiences by NGOs for themselves can change how their sustainability is funded too.

Generally, storytellers who were only trained in their communities took centre stage and began performing for different audiences. The old skills were improved to suit the multicultural type of audiences. Initially, the storytellers presented their stories only in English rather than in their own indigenous languages. Mkhizwane of Zanendaba storytellers say, “It felt right and acceptable to translate all the stories you knew in your language as a child into English, even at a time when you were going to perform for a non-English speaker who would understand your language perfectly." There was a time where storytellers in NGOs had to translate Zulu chants and community songs into English because they would be associated with illiterates when performing African languages. However, the rhythm and the flow would just not cut it, and so a decision was made to risk the rejection and stick to African languages. Consequently, they saw a need to mix English and an African language in the same story.

The new upcoming storytellers argued the inability of the storytellers to tell in their languages. Drawing from the existing pool of oral resources and knowledge, the storytellers began including more rhythms in their storytelling. There was more story chanting that enhanced the telling in the way that a member of an audience outside the culture would still be engaged. The rhythm and the sound of the language inflection became a draw card for a

listener who does not understand the language. For an African listener, the stories reaffirm certain part of identity in the sub-consciousness, especially youth who are now part of storytelling groups to become storytellers themselves.

The nature of storytelling is that even four people in the audience make the performance more enjoyable and the intimacy allows for an effective transmission of the message. According to Scheub (1994: 3), “the language of the tales is not a language of realism; it is a language of art.” One image or set of images frequently come to stand for something else. Fantasy should not be interpreted in a literal way. It is a means of getting beyond reality, to explain the essence of real-life crises and rituals.” It is through images that the meaning of performance comes to the fore.

Research findings reveal that the audience considers certain factors when deciding whether or not to attend a storytelling performance. While there is couple of these factors, such as the, budget, safety etc. the study concentrates on two of them, these are important for the analysis of the relationship between storytelling and audiences. As Okpewho (1977) observes, storytelling performances vary, and the variation depends on several factors, like whether the storytelling show is a host-based performance, storyteller-initiated performance or festival-based performance.

6.8 Bases of storytelling performances: units of analyses

6.8.1 *Host-based performance*

Such kind of a performance is made possible by a person other than a storyteller. Here a storyteller gets invited to do a performance by someone. Often the storyteller comes to an organized audience set-up, which could be corporate performance, conference, schools, or any place where the audience consists of group members know one another or not. The host invites the storyteller to an audience that he or she had put together. The host put in place all necessary requirement or needs of the storyteller before the storyteller comes. Advantages of a host-based performance are that an audience and the fee are usually guaranteed. This does not, however, predict any audience reaction to the performance. Instead, two opposing reactions can be expected, and here generally, storytellers aim to do their utmost best to impress the host. For one obvious reason and which Nozi of Kwesukela, the storyteller attests to a prospect of being called back again and again. On the contrary, if this audience did not

like the storytelling performance chances of being booked again are slim or null, which put a storyteller's interest at stake under these circumstances.

A majority of storytellers interviewed confessed that they performed with a wish that they be called back the next time. "This is how we can secure and maintain sustainable income", one said. Purposefully, a counter point is ignored, a point that, that the host liked the performance does not guarantee a call back as some hosts have budget issues too. For this thesis, the focus is the situation where there are no budget constraints. That notwithstanding, a storyteller does not know any company's budget availability.

An example of host-based performance pertains to one Kwesukela storytellers performed for a group which had over a hundred people; it was an international conference. After the performance, more than half of the audience members expressed their gratitude, how much they enjoyed the performance and how the performance clarified some complicated issues regarding the theme of the conference. According to the storytellers, not even a single one of those people in that conference expressed a different view, except that it was a brilliant storytelling performance. Instead, others went to the extent of asking for contact details so that they would keep contact, in anticipation that Kwesukela or the storytellers would render a similar item for their projects in the future. The storytellers say that over two years have passed and no follow up invitation has come.

There are intricate scenarios that inform hosts' decisions to hire or not to hire an artist. Mkhizwana observes that getting praise after a performance does not guarantee the next gig. She says that it could mean, you have a potential but work more on your skill. Or immediately after you, a better storyteller came their way. According to Okpewho, audiences as consumers or buyers of the story have particular wants. Herein, two primary determents have been considered, namely, relevance and cost. Relevance has to do with whether the storyteller is in rhythm with the environment in all respects. Was the storyteller on point with the theme; was the storyteller sensitive to cultural matters, was the story relevant to the audience. Dress code counts in storytelling, not that it should always be traditional. As noted by Sobol (1999), dress code forms a façade of the whole performance; it adds meaning to the storytelling show.

Many storytellers struggle with charging; they either charge too high in that they compromise a possible invite back. At times they charge too low that they, in turn, feel exploited. In an

interview, there was no agreement as to the cost of storytelling. An audience evaluates whether the cost is affordable or whether it met the value for money scenario. Such evaluations assist the audience in understanding their behavior towards the storytelling show.

6.8.2 *Storyteller-initiative based performance*

Storyteller-initiative-based performance is a type of performance where a storyteller is proactive in publicizing him or herself. Storyteller-initiative based performance is commonly done through word of mouth. A storyteller invites people close to him or her to come and watch a storytelling session. Income cannot be guaranteed in this type of performance unless a storyteller possesses a sponsorship. If the performance is externally sponsored, the show is generally free; otherwise, anyone coming to that performance is expected to pay a small amount to enter.

As an individual, a storyteller is unable to pull through expensive publicity. He or she can reach out to people familiar to them, friends and families, a market which is hardly viable in terms of high monetary expectation. Since the performance is free or cheap to attend, such performances generally attract humble audiences. Although in this type of audience, individuals are not influential to one another since they do not usually know one another – audience members individually access their time spent in that show, that is, whether it was valuable. Or a storyteller visits establishments with the aim of marketing himself or herself to the public, these establishments are often schools, libraries, companies, institutions and the like. Storyteller-initiative based method to find work is not an easy method for the storyteller to master. They have to research the market thoroughly and ascertain the nature of the audience. Storytellers have to ask and answer questions such as, why do I want to perform here, will I find enough number of people who would pay for my service and the like.

Wilson (2006) is of the view that decades after ‘disestablishmentarianism’ - the legacy of 1968 radicalism in Europe, that aimed to do away with cultural establishment and all that supported it – contemporary storytellers have not begun to make a big case about the value of their work; instead they easily subvert and offer more democratic solutions. On the main, they have just simply dismissed one establishment to replace with another:

> This is certainly the case in the United States, where the endorsement of the National Storytelling Network and the invitation to perform at the National Storytelling Festival can make or break a career. It is fast becoming the case in Great Britain and

> Ireland too. The challenge for storytellers in the future is to be continually willing to challenge standardization and orthodoxy, particular when it appears within their own ranks, (Wilson, 2006: 147).

The storyteller-initiative method audience requires experience in publicizing oneself; it is hard to even for professional storytellers. As shown below, storytellers hope for a Host-initiative base method.

6.8.3 *Festival-based performances*

This type of job acquiring method depends on availability of festivals and whether the storyteller is invited to participate. According to storytellers, festivals tend to be consistent and take place on annual bases, mostly; usually operate on referral basis after which an invitation is sent to storytellers by festival organizers. Similar to storyteller-initiated based performance method, audiences in festival-based performances do not know one another except in circumstances where attendants come as a group of friends or family members. Here a fee is usually guaranteed. Mahloane says that for her it is a privilege to get invited to participate in a festival. “You meet very good, well-known storytellers in festivals,” she says. Kotta adds that festivals are best for publicity since media is always present; and that festivals bring a sense of pride and honor to a storyteller. It sort of implies that “I am known, good and favored” says Wazi. “Being there confirms your level in the field,” reiterates Msiza, an independent storyteller.

From the storytellers’ experiences, festival-based performances affirm their worth as storytellers or artists. It is therefore a wish of most storytellers to be invited to a festival. This acceptance motivates the storyteller to excel in their performance. Festival-based performances are settings where a performer cannot be easily called back if the host was unsatisfied with the performance or even the behavior of the storyteller. Kotta stresses that storytellers may be called back again and again if they are good, favored by the audience and are able to draw a large number of people to the festival. Being able to attract people, according to Kotta, you are a crowd puller. As such, audience responses matter more here than in other methods.

The question of what makes a storyteller likable and preferred brings us back to narrative and stylization. Herein the researcher assumes that storytelling audience members attend storytelling shows for different reasons. Reasons could be for listening to messages in the

story in order to get educated, inspired, entertained, healed etc. The section below looks at how audience interact with story that is told, method through which the story is delivered or and even with personality the storyteller.

6.8.4 *Discussion*

As storytelling is an interaction based communicative art, audience reaction to story manifests instantly. To that effect, any reaction from the audience makes the teller aware of the audience sensitivity to story contents. Stories can poke issues that general society or mass media is reluctant to publicize but, which, according to the storyteller are to part of the conversation. Storytellers have power and freedom to influence agenda. A storyteller may choose to write and tell a story that they see fit for social cohesion, and they can also choose not to address any socio-political issues and stick to using storytelling for entertainment. However, this too provides evidence on audience's reactions to story topicality. "Because the better educated members of the audience are, the more attentive to public affairs, it is reasonable to expect them to be more responsive to media agenda-setting effects than the less educated" (Zhu and Boroson, McCombs et al., 1997:71).

The meaning an audience attaches to a story, to which they have listened, is mostly determined by the skill of that storyteller to command certain attention from the audience. The skill enables the storyteller to evoke various responses from the audience, ranging from emotion, the physical and vocal. It is offered for the enhancement of the audience experience; the essence of spoken artistry (Bauman, 1986). Results like these are enabled by the art of the storyteller who constantly elicits responses from members of an audience. This is not to deny the fact that Turner (1987) puts forward that, humans are a product of society pedagogy, but there are inherent resistances to conditioning.

Turner's stance brings to our awareness that, although the story can be influential, human beings still possess the ability to attach a different meaning opposite to that intended by the story or storyteller. This, in the end, provides a room for new learning to occur allowing a different perspective of understanding. According to Scheub (2000: 157), words and sounds and the body have similar effects in oral narrative performance. They provide patterns and

forms, and everything that is expressed in such performances is expressed through these properties. While observing various performances presented by a Gambian oral artist, Innes (1978) notices some audiences giving more attention to certain parts of the story than other audiences would. In an attempt to contribute to a scholarship of behavioural patterns of audiences explored before this study, styles, as well as emphases that a storyteller puts on one part of the story, affects the way the story is received by the audience. Moreover, without these subtle dramatic efforts, Okpewho (1977) considers the story in the oral tradition to be ineffectively told.

According to Scheub (2012), each storytelling performance is unique, while Mhlophe, the founder of Zanendaba maintains that one cannot predict how the audience will receive the performance because people watching the performance have their own individual opinions and perceptions. She further states that storytellers themselves do not perform the same way in all the tme. Scheub points out that apart from the fact that energy varies, audience sends different responses which can sometime change the performance completely. In addition, Kotta says, “I, being a storyteller as well and having used to tell stories to noisy youth and school learners, or in company functions to entertain staff members, once told stories to a group of academics and students and some storytellers at one of the universities in Johannesburg. I told purely traditional stories and nothing of modern reference. The silence that was there in that room almost derailed me. While telling, I began to wonder if people in there were actually real. Good enough these were educated people and maybe respectful. They stayed until the end of the performance which took about an hour and a half, except for one. We knew each other on a personal level. I then wondered that of all the people there she was the only one who got bored to the extent of leaving. That worried me a little, but there was not much I could do. I went on performing until I finished.

Two weeks passed, I met the person again on campus. I was surprised that she asked me to tell her the end of the story I was telling at the time of her leaving. She first told me what she thought the ending was, I told her my ending. “What a story,” she gasped. According to Bauman (1992) audience communicate their frustrations in listening too. He puts forward ground rule that a teller should not monopolize the floor for too long because other members of the audience cannot stand around and listen very long, (Bauman 1987:102).

6.9 Narrative influencing body and mind

6.9.1 *Effect of story to audiences*

Storytelling NGOs and storytellers themselves have agendas. These agendas are meant to influence audience's mindset or thinking; they could also be intended for behavioral change or purely awareness of current affairs. And some audience members are rendered more susceptible to these agendas than others. MacKuen & Coombs (1981) offered two theories on audience susceptibility to media agenda setting in general. The theory of attentiveness maintains that "the audience's susceptibility to the media agenda is a function of the individual's attentiveness toward incoming information and his or her cognitive ability to process the information" (Zhu and Boroson ed. McCombs et al., 1997: 70).

The Second theory by MacKuen et al (1981) is central to the cognitive framework. Its assertion is that "those with higher education and political interest have developed a more effective self-defense mechanism against external influence and thus are less subject to agenda setting" (Zhu and Boroson (ed.) McCombs et al., 1997: 70). The difference between Mackuen et al's assertion and functioning of storytelling is that the storytelling primary objective is to inform rather than persuade. A narrative is structured in such a manner that listeners deduct meanings suitable to that individual. Whatever conclusion an audience reaches regarding the story is for the benefit of that audience member. The story has, therefore, functioned to activate dormant images to the mind of audience to assist audience members with certain life decisions. Narratives do not necessarily concern themselves with social standards, but, life in general. Critical to observe from Mackuen et al and Campbell's perspectives are communication vehicles they use to reach their audiences. While Mackuen et al make use of factual information in persuasion endeavors; Campbell employs myths and stories which have been described by Denning (2004) to be a tool that can serve as a powerful tool for organizational change including the introduction of knowledge management.

A similar process is explained by Scheub, who states, "Image is a visualized action or set of actions evoked in the minds of the audience by verbal and nonverbal elements arranged by the performer, in an interchange to carry meaning, requires that a common experience of images be held by both artist and audience, with the artist seeking by a judicious and artistic use of images to shape that experience and give it meaning," (Scheub 1996:53). Scheub has

pointed out that images are the basic material of oral narrative art forms and mediates between audience and reality. He recalls, “You know what is good about this kind of storytelling while listening to it, it starts to create this vision. I saw the flowers, I saw the moon, and I saw the background. I could hear the sounds; it was like my brain was seeing these things.”

A number of respondents reported that they identified with what was happening in the story. For Barber (1984) to grasp the meaning of the cultural expression, it is crucial to pay attention to how words are put together, how the voice is used to bring across certain messages and present to the audience certain images. Scheub further states that images are so constructed and manipulated in a performance that they shape the audience’s perception of the real. And an image is composed of words that are given a unique framework by means of rhythm, into a nation, and gesture, by body movement (Scheub, 1996: 53).

Storytellers engage in lengthy rehearsals before the performance. Here the aim is to project the performance in front of the audience; it is also the wish of every storyteller that the audience understands, like and establish personal meaning with the story she or he is presenting. In that way, the performer has achieved the goal and purpose of the performance. Additionally, even though Bauman (1977) argues that an audience is not a passive receiver of information in the story but an active participant in the actualization – indeed – a production of meaning. The significance of the story and how the audience reacts to storytelling have long been proven as was mentioned above and in the previous chapters. Answering the question of how the story affects a listener in different levels is therefore important as the explanation provides an understanding of an existing link between people, story and circumstances. To that extent psychologists and neuroscientists have recently become fascinated by the human predilection for storytelling; posing questions such as; why does our brain seem to be wired to enjoy stories? And how do the emotional and cognitive effects of a narrative influence our beliefs and real-world decisions? Here, three levels were used to explain the process; they were emotional, psychological and cognitive levels.

6.9.2 *Psychological, cognitive and emotional explanation*

According to Campbell (1984), myths are psychologically “true.” Even when the myths portray fantastic events and creatures, we still respond to them because they map to our

psyches. Campbell drew inspiration from the ideas of the noted psychiatrist and critical thinker, Carl Jung. Jung purported the concept of "Archetypes," he explains it as universal collective unconsciousness of human beings[33]. He looks at archetype as primarily about the psych, soul and universal basic patterns of psychic functioning; and points out that humanity regardless - possesses collective consciousness; collective consciousness contains archetypes, which are elements general in dreams and myths of all mankind across cultures. Von Franz (1996) looks at fairy tales as the purest and simplest expression of collective unconscious psychic processes; they, therefore, represent archetypes in their simplest and most definite form, (von Franz, 1996: 1).

From this viewpoint, as much as every person possesses these elements or characteristics, moreover, once they are activated within the mind they regardless manifest similar responses outwardly. He postulated that the mind is reflected in these Archetypes. Archetype explains Jung's argument that myths and stories motivate archetypes of our minds and that is why they have such power in every culture.

6.10 Conclusion

The chapter focused on audiences' responses to a live storytelling performance presented by different storytellers. A comparison is made between a style and a content of the story. The purpose is to show an influence of the audience in a storytelling performance and how storytellers are impacted in the process. The chapter illustrates a bond that comes between the performer and his or her audience. It is also mentioned that the storyteller has his or her audience in mind while rehearsing for a performance, hence the role of the audience in determining content and styles be analysed.

Types of jobs possibilities were mentioned, three that were identified during interviews were host-based, storytelling initiative-base and festival base jobs. While in the storyteller-initiative performance the storyteller in proactive, festival and host-based storyteller gets invited and therefore partly reactive. In the Host-based performance method, the teller gains access to the constituencies of the institution without having to worry about the audience. Often the host ensures a fee for the storyteller, although not always guaranteed. A fee is either

[33] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jungian_archetypes

dependent on a number of people attending or a host has a secured budget to pay for the performance.

A science point of view is presented to show how a story is received and interpreted in the brain. In this regard the neuroscientific approach is used for this purpose, that is, how stories work in the mind of listeners is explained, what elements of the story impact which part of the brain, which consequently enables a listener to create meaning out of the words presented in front of him or her. The psychological and emotional explanation, on the other hand, looks at the impact of the story in other internal parts of the body. The researcher also looked at different types of audiences, examining various audiences' behavior toward storytelling performances. Certainly, in chapter two, an argument was brought up, presenting funding as a partly determent of the types of stories to be delivered as well as audiences of those performances.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

The study set out to investigate the establishment of storytelling NGOs after South Africa's democracy in 1994. Analysis of the emergence of the storytelling NGOs and the availability of cultural oral narrative enabled the researcher to explore the adaptation and growth of storytelling in the democracy era. According to the research, the site of storytelling has transformed from being a homogeneous community to a multicultural and multidisciplinary space of art. This is because modern storytellers in NGOs independently forge engagements with different racial groups. In this process, new styles and genres have emerged to serve this contemporary society. The transformation experienced by storytelling reflects the continuity of tradition and the existence of African people's reassurance of cultural identity, creative energy and ancient knowledge, which have been previously denied.

Two main theories were used to explain the argument of the study. These were the Popular Culture Theory of Barber (1997, 1984 and 2000). Barber's theory was used alongside Bauman Performance theory, (1977 and 1992). Scheub's theory on popular culture supported the two theories. Popular culture theory explains sub-consciousness of a group of people that enable them to share understanding. The theory also explains the emergence of a new culture which, although seems new, is popular in the minds of people connected to the culture. It was shown how people's previous knowledge subtle invades new spaces in which people found themselves and thereby influence and populate their receptiveness to unfamiliar situations. Barber and others demonstrated how artists fuse traditional and modern knowledge to create a new culture which will be accepted by their followers because they see themselves in that art.

On the other hand, Bauman's performance theory discusses the impact of a performance which in turn enables the audience to accept the information presented to them. Baumann has defined performance as a heightened form of communication and calls it meta-communication, that is, a communication about communication. According to Bauman meta-communication operates beyond an ordinary form of communication or conversation; meta-communication rather employs certain quality that may only be understood by a specific group of people. A performance, likewise, integrates code-specific elements that are societal or community based. Hence, it is a communication type that is meta-communicative. Under

the circumstances, the culture-specific communication arrangement requires a performer to vary each key performance as per community or society.

The methodology adopted in this study is ethnography. The researcher's fieldwork involved engaging with professional storytellers, in particular, those that belonged to NGOs. Different storytelling performances and festivals were visited, and data was collected from the events and storytellers. Data was collected using voice and video recordings, telephone calls and taking notes. Since most festivals took place in Gauteng, storytellers nationally came to the province. Although the majority of data was collected mainly in Gauteng, other storytellers came from various provinces.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the study does not provide extensive discussion in general matters relating to funding the arts. Instead it concentrates on the role storytelling NGOs play regardless of these serious challenges. Shown in the study and emphasized are new components that have appeared in the storytelling field. Furthermore, while storytelling seems to be further growing with communities, as we have identified new upcoming storytellers and organizations – there are not clear broader future focused plans to move it beyond community level. A combination of political, cultural and personal interaction has been identified as an enabling factor in the rise of the NGOs. While the study acknowledges the existence of many storytelling organisations established after 1994, more attention is put on, Zanendaba, being the first formed storytelling NGO in South Africa.

Zanendaba is subsequently compared to Sibikwa and Kwesukela NGOs. Challenges and opportunities experienced by the NGOs as well as by their storytelling practitioners are highlighted. The study further highlights creative methods that the NGOs used to live through challenges and insecurities of losing funding. The primary question that the study aimed to answer focused on the roles played by these storytelling NGOs in the development of storytelling in the current dispensation. With this question, the study aimed to locate storytelling in the aftermath of South African democracy. As such, it contributes to the development of storytelling. Moreover, it affords space for a broader discussion on storytelling in democratic South Africa.

The study has further shown that the emergence of these storytelling NGOs had to be explained and understood bearing in mind cultural roots of storytelling in South Africa as

well as historical and political contexts within which they arose. An important aspect that was broadly explored in the thesis related to the ability of storytellers to work with the limited material to produce new styles of telling a story, modern stories, new genres and multicultural audiences. It was shown how storytellers respond to audience's expectations while in return audiences respond to those performances. What was observed in this regard was the success in recycling old ideas and the competence to recognize new ones, resulting in merging the two ideas to produce a new culture, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.

The study has also shown the role of storytelling NGOs as three-fold: at the top is their commonly-known function of passing on values and morals to societies, reiterating history, archiving important cultural principles and the like. One of Zanendaba's objectives was to preserve the art of storytelling. For the study to explain how this goal would have been achieved, venues where storytelling performances were presented and examples of stories told were included in relevant chapters. These were consequentially analyzed and interpreted. Essentially, venues, performances and interpretations indicated that these traditional features assisted in the preservation of the tradition of storytelling. Added to the traditional functions is the contextualization of storytelling in modernity as highlighted the institutionalization of storytellers which subsequently provided space for further development of storytelling and storytellers. At the bottom of the ladder is its elasticity of being a tool used for diverse purposes, given the examples of using storytelling for nation-building reasons, business and healing milieu.

About the State's interest in utilizing the art for nationalization, the study has displayed a top-down approach which has contributed to the creation of innovative storytelling material. This conclusion is based on the research information revealing that the three NGOs fit themselves and their interests into the interests and needs of funders, the State in particular. They display behavior that prioritizes States or funders needs before theirs. Nevertheless, it has been shown that the entanglement of the NGOs and the State demonstrates a give and take the relationship as shown by how the State makes use of the art skills to speak out its plans and decisions. On the other hand, NGOs themselves benefit from the State by receiving funding which enables them to further their objectives as explained in chapter 2, regardless of the fact that the funding has never been enough.

As a result, the researcher maintains that the State has, to a certain degree, contributed to the evolution and contextualization of stories and storytelling practice. Essentially, the chapter draws attention to the State's unintended contribution to the development of modern stories and thereby influencing a paradigm shift regarding repositioning of traditional stories which calls for concentration in the creation of new stories. This is indicated by how modern storytellers have moved from their initial intention of telling traditional stories, which at times encode political messages, to stories of explicit politics, social cohesion, reconciliation, nation-building and others as prescribed by the State.

Furthermore, new storytelling venues are identified among others are museums, corporate, correctional services centres, restaurants and more. To this effect, the has researcher maintained that although NGOs have been striving to achieve some of their goals, such as grounding as independent performance art, as per one of Zanendaba primary objectives, some goals have not been brought to successful conclusion. Among the non-achieved goals is the establishment of a storytelling school which Zanendaba and Kwesukela have attempted to initiate and financial stability is still a major challenge for the NGOs. This has transpired within the fact that although storytellers are housed in these NGOs, they are still regarded as freelancers since NGOs, due financial constraints, are unable to keep fulltime members beyond a secretary or administrator positions.

7.2 Audience

One of the key conclusions the study makes is that responses from audiences indicate that styles in the eyes of the audience interviewed are graded less than the story content; that is, listeners still rate the content as more important in a storytelling performance. However, stylization has been considered by the audience as important in amplifying the message. Despite that content is the first to be observed and favoured by the audience, audiences still perceive styles of storytellers to be critical in assisting in passing on the message and in the interpretation of meaning. One audience member states that messages are conveyed through words and body equally.

The study shows that audiences play a crucial role in determining what stories storytellers should tell and in the formulation of new styles by storytellers for them to appear favourably to the audience. The study further presents audience attraction to storytelling as influenced by

cultural and current environment consciousness. Herein, a familiar concept of storytelling delivered in a manner that speaks to the audience's popular way of knowing increases acceptance of storytelling performance by the audience.

7.3 Material

The researcher found that the creation of traditional-like stories still takes place among modern storytellers. Additionally, it was learnt that there are rules in the NGOs regarding sharing stories that there are boundaries that govern the sharing of performance materials. Although this policy is not stipulated anywhere in the NGOs documents; in essence, the NGOs lack all types of policy documents. The oral agreement still guides storytellers and ensures a cohesive working environment. It has shown that these materials are drawn out from a variety of places and circumstances, from traditional oral sources to modern settings like written sources and experiences such as observing what is happening in the environment.

Even though the Generative materialism approach brings forward an understanding that now, out of traditional narratives, new narratives begin to emerge, aligned to these previous ones – some storytellers point to dreaming and visioning as sources for developing new material and add to the repertoire of stories and storytelling, songs and rhythms.

7.4 Storytelling in the modern era of electronic technology

Various sites have been identified where storytelling found expression, especially during the times of racial discrimination in South Africa. It is the time when storytelling suffered degradation and no recognition, although it remained firm in people's conscience. Moreover, throughout time storytelling continued to exist in different guises. African protest theatre and written literature are two examples provided for sites where storytelling techniques are identified to have been employed in the past. The additional contribution that the study made to this body of knowledge pertains to new styles and genres. Regarding the styles, it was noted that some factors account for the storytellers' ability to create their styles.

7.5 Genres

A broad spectrum of existing categories of genres has been identified. Together with different styles that came through in the research, genre development is another area that is interpreted

as an achievement of storytelling since democracy in South Africa. Again, it was mentioned that the State prescribed themes and laid out its priorities and contributed to the development of the new genre of storytelling. Findings also suggest that old cultural materials are still used as a springboard from which new genres develop; and that, societal challenges too, influence the development of new genres. For example, the appearance of HIV/Aids as a disease forced storytellers to create genre related to health.

Five new genres found in modern stories were critically discussed in that chapter. The chapter brought to our attention that development of genres was created by storytellers after assessing the environment including the need of audiences. Contrary to other elements like creating styles, a story where storytellers consciously put certain storytelling elements together with the intention of starting something new - however with genres it was not the case. The appearance of genres was coincidental to the aims of the storytellers and the NGOs. This point has been illustrated by Amahewu story where the storyteller's intention was to build a story for a client that produces Amahewu; consequentially a food genre story came about.

One other very unfamiliar genre that the research brought to the fore is compounded genre. Compound genre shows two stories in one; one story explains the other, but the other finds meaning from the other and elaborates the storyteller's action regarding the other. Therefore, compound genre consists of inner and outer stories. The inner story is used to understand what goes on with the outer story. This philosophical genre assists in dramatically expressing certain meanings in the story.

Story analysis exercises reveal subtle political insinuations in many traditional stories, for example, that of Tiger and other Animals; Singing dog and many others. Eventually, the political genre is explained as explicitly and politically engaging stories. And as much as there have been political stories in stories in the past, most of them have not been explicit. Moreover, what is key to the discussion on the evolution of storytelling is the fact that modern storytelling fits into the multicultural audiences with their different linguistic knowledge. Since it is commercialized it is no longer only about moral effects, cultural freedom, and storytelling but also about financial benefits.

In the story of the Green Apples and Pears, on the other hand, the storyteller confirms the evolution of culture and storytelling. In this story, the study detected and showed a symbiotic link between modernity and tradition that produced a new genre of tales relevant to current and post-1994 society. The researcher is of the opinion that, because these relatively new genres are emerging in the field, they need to be performed for them to be known and motivate more similar stories.

7.6 Further observation

As Barber explained, the study has found stories collarating with people's experiences. As such, there is a particularly direct and close link between the storyteller's own social experience and the stories they generate. The study revealed that the stories embody the text and tap into people's experiences to produce character and communication between them, within their familiar settings.

Looking at factors that account for creativity, the study concluded that a competition of creativity among storytellers may have been inspired by the lack of new performing material, especially for storytellers who work closely together, as those belonging to NGOs. Currently, the storytelling NGOs in South Africa are mainly concerned with the practicality of the story.

As mentioned before, it has been ascertained from the research input which was confirmed by Barber (2000) and Okpewho (1996) that what mattered most to audiences regarding storytelling performances was the story itself. Audience responses to preferences between a style, genre or story – was explained in chapter 4. A question posed was, what part of storytelling attracts audiences the most, a message in the story; the style of a storyteller or a genre itself. Responses from audiences highlighted a message the most important. And that style, genres, aesthetic and other supporting elements in the story -enhanced performances.

Although the NGOs have made some strides in promoting and professionalising storytelling, like former anthropologists, they focus on one side of the art - performance, since they are art organizations rather than education-based organizations. Formalising their activities more sustainably is not given attention rather practice gets more attention than theory. This includes Kwesukela, which is registered as an academy of storytelling. But in practice no storytelling classes are conducted there. A school in storytelling would allow a space for in-

depth learning and understanding of material development, search or collection of performance materials, formalization of new material and the like.

According to this study, the storytellers' ability to introduce newness is perceived as advancement in the field of storytelling. This is linked to the emergence of storytelling NGOs in the new dispensation. Findings reveal that, although storytelling as a performance has advanced, there is lack of theoretical accountability in storytellers. Regardless, there are no clear long-term plans by the State to take storytelling to a level beyond individuals or individual NGOs. This lack of genuine interest in the art poses a danger of having storytelling continuously regarded as a dying art, while on the ground societies or NGOs prove otherwise but lack sustainable support.

Occurrences and circumstances such as colonialization, apartheid and industrialization were said to be primary in the devaluation of storytelling in Africa. Nevertheless, a point was made to the effect that new circumstances related to political changes in South Africa subsequently unveiled the face of storytelling and revealed its original nature.

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ADDENDUM

Questionnaire for directors

1. What is the name of your organisation? ----------
   -
2. Who founded the organization ----------
3. Is storytelling the primary work of your organisation, if not where does storytelling fit in? ----------
4. What was the reason behind establishing this storytelling organisation or a storytelling component in your organisation? ----------
   ----
5. What is the vision of this organisation for storytelling? ----------
   ----
6. Do you think storytelling is advancing or regressing after the democratic era and why
   ----
   ----
7. What is your main role in this storytelling organisation?----------
   ----
   -
8. In your experience, how can you describe public's responses to storytelling?----------
   ----
   ----
9. How many storytellers do you have? ----------
10. How do you find storytellers? ----------
    ----

11. How do you train them? ----------

    -
12. In terms of styles, do storytellers perform in different style or they have the same manner of performance? ----------
13. How are they different from one another? ----------
    ----
14. Are there specific terms for these styles? ----------
    ----
15. Which one is more popular and why? ----------
    ----
16. What types of stories (genres) do you tell for audiences? ----------
    ----
17. Which one is the most popular, and why? ----------
    ----
18. Can you name new genres that modern storytelling has created, if there is? ----------
    ----
19. In your opinion, does a type of story (genre) influence stylisation? ----------
    ----
    -
20. Which genres are most favoured by your audiences and why? ----------
    ----
21. Where do you find these stories? ----------

    -
22. How is your storytelling different from the traditional forms? ----------
    ----
23. How do you incorporate or bring together modern techniques and traditional forms?--
    ----

    -

Questionnaire for group interviews

1. Do you belong to a storytelling organisation?
2. Are there advantages in belonging to an organisation as oppose to being an independent storyteller?
3. What are those if any?
4. Is there a difference between traditional storytelling and modern storytelling
5. What about traditional and modern styles is there a difference?
6. If there is, how many modern styles do you know of?
7. Do you copy each other's styles as storytellers belonging to the same organisation?
8. How do you develop a style?
9. Do you think audience prefers one particular style over another, why?
10. Does the field of storytelling have genres, if yes what are those?
11. Do genres enhance meaning in a story?
12. What is your favourite genre, and why?
13. Can you differentiate new genres from the old ones?
14. Where and how do you find stories
15. Do you create new stories and how
16. Do you have more relevant information that you think can benefit this study that you can add

Questionnaire for storytellers

Personal information: This is optional

1. **Name:**
2. **Name of the organisation you belong to:**
3. **Experience in Storytelling:**
4. **Contact number:**

Please respond to the following questions by writing your answers on the space provided below the question

3. Do you consider yourself a storyteller?----------
4. When did you start telling stories and why ? ----------

   ---
5. What kind of storytelling do you do? ----------
   ---
6. Where do you get your stories? ----------
   ---
7. Do you also write your own stories? ----------
   ---
8. What is your target audience? ----------
   ---
9. How does the audience respond to your storytelling performance? ----------
   ---
10. How many languages do you use when performing? If you use only One, continue to question 10 ----------
    ---
11. Is there a difference when telling in one language as oppose to the other? ----------
    ---
    ---
12. Does storytelling have different styles, if yes what different storytelling styles do you know? ----------
    ---

13. Do you have a particular style that you follow when rendering a storytelling performance? ----------
---
14. How is your style distinguished from other storytellers' styles? ----------
---
15. What factors account for the establishment or adoption of a style? ----------
---
16. Do styles have the social meanings attached to them? ----------
---
17. To what extent does age determine stylisation? ----------
---
18. Does Storytelling have genres, if yes what are those genres? ----------
---
---
19. What is your favourite genre and why? ----------
---
20. What do you understand about aesthetic (beauty) in storytelling? ----------
---
21. What makes storytelling aesthetic? ----------

-
22. To what extent does style contribute to aesthetic? ----------
---
---
23. To what extent does genre contribute to aesthetic ----------
---
24. Who determines aesthetic, the audience or the performer, please elaborate further? ---
---
---
25. Does an audience have any impact in your performance ----------
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